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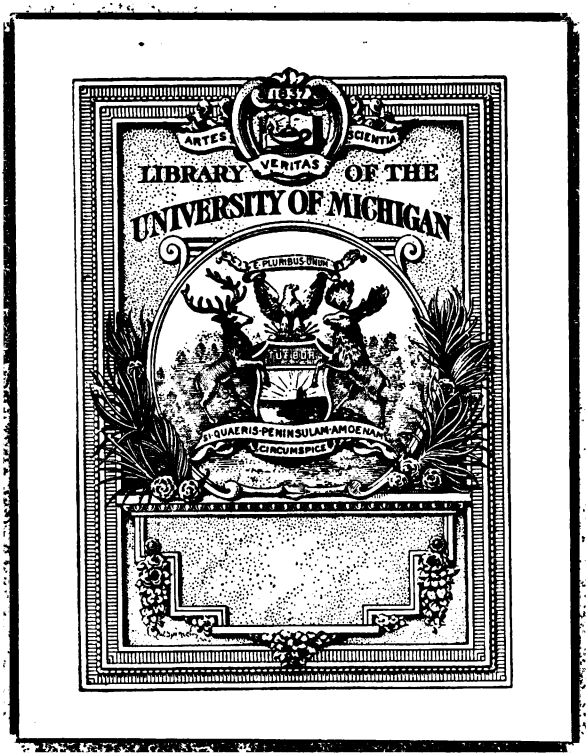


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THE

# CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

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THE

# CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº XXVII. *APRIL* 1832.

## ART. I.—IRELAND BEFORE AND AFTER EMANCIPATION.

1. *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.* By W. J. FITZPATRICK, LL.D. Two Volumes. New Edition. (Dublin, 1880.)
2. *Letters on the State of Ireland.* Addressed by J. K. L. to a Friend in England. (Dublin, 1825.)
3. *A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Roman Catholics.* In a Letter addressed to his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley, K.G. By J. K. L. (Dublin, 1823.)
4. *Pieces of Irish History, illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen, and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government.* (New York, 1807.)
5. *The Speeches of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.* (Dublin, 1853.)
6. *The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P.* Edited by his son, JOHN O'CONNELL, M.P. (Dublin, 1846.)
7. *The Condition and Prospects of Ireland, and the Evils arising from the Present Distribution of Landed Property; with Suggestions for a Remedy.* By JONATHAN PIM. (Dublin, 1848.)

GREAT empires have frequently a thorn in the side, and perhaps generally by some fault of their own. Russia has long held Poland down with difficulty and by the strong arm; France holds its solitary colony of Algeria upon the same



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terms; the new empire of Germany has already a malcontent province in Alsace-Lorraine; and even free and constitutional England has its thorn in Ireland. Normally in a state of sulk, and breaking out periodically into paroxysms of violence; impervious to conciliation, and hardly obeying even the very plainest dictates of self-interest, Ireland and the Irish people make about the most uncomfortable partners possible for the steady-going, peaceable, law-abiding Englishman. Whether the force of honest purpose on the part of England, and persistent endeavour to make amends for centuries of misrule and misunderstanding between the races, will at last overcome the sullen reluctance and aversion which still holds England and Ireland apart, it is too soon as yet to say. To a generation which has seen the *entente cordiale* between England and France, or, more striking still, which has looked on while Austria made its peace with Hungary, and united with it in peaceful constitutional union, hardly anything can be incredible; and experience seems to teach that a policy of conciliation fairly and perseveringly pursued must at length break down the strongest animosities, whether between races or individuals. But as yet there are few signs of that much-to-be-wished-for result. The student on this side of the Irish Channel can but continue to view with an attention needful, though it can hardly be called agreeable, the successive phases of Irish discontent, as they are evolved in due order before his eyes. Perhaps he may surprise the secret of bringing about a permanent order out of disorder; perhaps, and more probably, there will be little or no result of all his watchfulness. His labour may have to be, like virtue, its own reward. He is not on that account, however, to consider himself absolved from that careful study of the facts of the case which may qualify him, at least, to make the attempt.

We shall begin our retrospect with 1782, the year of a great political triumph for the Irish party; viz. the repeal of the 6th George I., known as Poynings' Act, by which the Irish Parliament had previously been controlled in its legislative acts by the English Privy Council: an Act which dated originally from 1494. This was, it must be remembered, the period of the penal laws, of a chronic state of hostilities with the Continental Powers, particularly with France, and of an almost prohibitory commercial policy on the part of the British Government, which pressed heavily upon Irish trade and manufactures. The British army, at all times small, was required in America, on the Continent, in

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half a dozen parts of the world at once. Ireland was denuded of troops. An hostile expedition might at any time have been landed on its shores by some Continental Power at war with England, and there were no means of defence in existence. Application was made to Government to station more soldiers in Ireland, to secure it from a sudden attack. The reply from the Secretary of State, Sir Richard Heron, was that none were at their disposal.

In such a condition of affairs, the population had only themselves to depend on; and with a brave and combative race like the Irish, the understanding of this fact instantly occasioned measures for self-defence. A Volunteer movement was commenced, and spread with remarkable quickness. All classes were seized with a military enthusiasm, and (we seem to be writing rather of England than of Ireland) gentry, farmers, tradesmen served in the ranks side by side. Lord Charlemont organized the first regiment, which chose Armagh as its head-quarters, and he himself took the command of it. This was in 1777. County after county took up the movement, and with a totally unexpected alacrity raised and equipped one or more regiments of Volunteers, of which the men, when enrolled, elected their own officers. In a brief time nearly a hundred thousand volunteers had been mustered, and officered by men of the first rank and consideration. To all intents and purposes a national militia, if we do not call them a standing army, they performed many duties of police, escorted the Judges of Assize on their circuits, guarded prisoners to and from the gaols, assisted in the maintenance of public order, and were constantly *en évidence* and before the eyes of their countrymen. But, strangest of all, this force was not under the control of the Crown; and it was at once evident, although no disloyalty was alleged against any corps at first, that a force had been created that could as easily be turned against the Government as for it. It is inconceivable how any responsible Government could have supinely permitted so formidable a force to be created among a population more or less disaffected to their rule. But when it was once brought into existence, the opportunity for interfering with effect had passed; and it become impossible to suppress or even to control the Volunteers, except (as it was too soon shown) through the bloody and costly process of crushing a rebellion.

The leaders of the popular party saw their opportunity, and used it. What Government, they argued, would venture to oppose a party with a hundred thousand armed men at its



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back? And their expectation seemed about to be realized. Accordingly, the English Government endeavoured to conciliate. Some relaxation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics was made in 1778, and the laws restricting Irish trade were repealed in the following year.

Growing bolder with this success, the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons concurred in 1782 in an address to the King, claiming that 'the Crown of England is an Imperial Crown, but that Ireland is a distinct Kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof.' The English Parliament assented to this claim with a strange facility; Charles James Fox, who was the ruling spirit in the then Administration—the short-lived one of Lord Rockingham—remarking that 'he would rather see Ireland wholly separated from the Crown of England than kept in subjection by force;' and he added that 'unwilling subjects were little better than enemies.' The curb, therefore, was by common consent taken off the Irish Parliament. The control had doubtless been less weighty in practice than it would appear to be in theory; and it might seem the less dangerous formally to dispense with it, that the Houses were composed of adherents and warm partisans of the English connexion. No serious consequences in fact followed this step. The great Irish leaders, Flood and Grattan, quarrelled with each other; the Young Ireland party was divided therefore into two camps, and the public attention was drawn away by the savage attacks of the rival champions upon each other. Thus their next movement, in favour of a Reform of the (Irish) House of Commons,[1] so as to withdraw it from the influence of the English Government, altogether failed. A Convention of the Volunteers was called to support the movement. At Belfast met five hundred delegates from two hundred and seventy two corps, and passed resolutions urging the Volunteers of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught to seek for themselves those electoral franchises necessary to their participating in the management of their own affairs, and without which 'the forms of a free government would be a curse, and existence cease to be a blessing.' A still more imposing demonstration, in which many members of both

[1] It can hardly be said to have been without justification. Unless the Parliament of that day was very much calumniated, the state of things was quite as bad as the 'rotten boroughs' of England. Two-thirds of the three hundred members of the Irish House of Commons are asserted to have been the nominees of not more than a hundred persons. As a consequence it was 'notoriously venal.'

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houses of the Irish Parliament took part, was held in the Rotunda at Dublin. But it was all to no purpose. Grattan would not actively support, though he did not oppose, the project, which was identified with the name of his rival, Henry Flood. Without any leader of commanding ability, the members of the Convention quarrelled among themselves. There is little doubt that the Government, through its partisans, secretly fomented these divisions.[1] The Convention separated at length without taking any decided step; and the complete failure of a meeting from which so much had been hoped drew after it the condemnation of that Volunteer movement upon which it had been based. It had disappointed expectation, and lost most of its moral weight thereby. The Volunteer corps were gradually dissolved; although doubtless the ranks of the Irish rebellion, which broke out ten years later, owed much to this previous organization.

The Irish Estates were now independent in the exercise of the legislative power. But a large portion, indeed the larger portion, of the population were altogether outside the sphere of this independence. The Protestant Dissenters of the North, no less than the Roman Catholics of the South and West, were excluded from all share in political power; a fact the pressure of which was never forgotten. The failure then of Flood's efforts to remedy this evil drove all classes of the aggrieved into fresh agitation. A new political association, 'the United Irishmen,' was formed in Ulster, in 1791; and for the next few years continued to be the centre of revolutionary and treasonable designs. It can hardly be doubtful that had the Premier, Mr. Pitt, been free to act as he thought best, much of what these men banded together to obtain would have been speedily conceded. He had already, in 1792, induced the Irish Parliament to pass measures for the admission of Roman Catholics to the electoral franchise and to certain offices both civil and military within Ireland. But these instalments of Reform were far too small to allay the excited feelings of the peasantry, now fast rising to the point of exasperation. Fresh societies, the 'Defenders' and 'Peep o' Day Boys' on the one side, and the 'Orange' lodges on the other, filled the country with outrages, such as those with which the last two years have made even this generation so

[1] The then Lord Lieutenant, Lord Northington, wrote to Fox with a cynical frankness: 'Our next step was to try, by means of our friends in the assembly, to perplex its proceedings, and to create confusion in its deliberations.'

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unhappily familiar. The Pitt Ministry would have been willing to go further still in the direction of concession. Lord Fitzwilliam, who had been sent over by them in 1794 as Viceroy, was in full agreement with the intention of a Bill for the entire emancipation of the Roman Catholics, which Grattan was desirous to introduce in the following spring. But the Cabinet was divided on the question. The Orange party went, it is said, so far as to threaten revolt, if emancipation were granted; and Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. His successor, Lord Camden, was consistently opposed to any concession whatever to the Roman Catholic claims; and after this disappointment, the waves of distinctly revolutionary agitation rolled higher and higher. Now for the first time Irishmen began to look to the foreign enemies of England. One of the leaders of the United Irishmen, Wolfe Tone, crossed over to France in 1796 to seek support from the Directory for an Irish revolt. France, at that time in a state of chronic war with England, eagerly welcomed the proposal to embarrass her great rival. In the exceedingly curious collection of *pièces justificatives* issued in America by Dr. MacNeven (who was a member with O'Connor and Emmett of the secret executive of the United Irishmen), the following account is given of these negotiations and their issue:—

'About October, 1796, a messenger from the Republic arrived, who, after authenticating himself, said he came to be informed of the state of the country, and to tell the leaders of the United Irishmen of the intention of the French to invade it speedily with 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. Shortly after his departure, a letter arrived from a quarter which there was reason to look on as confidential, stating that they would invade England in the spring, and positively Ireland. . . . . No attempt or advance was made to renew the negotiation till April, 1797, when an agent was sent. . . . . About this time a letter arrived, which assured us the French would come again, and requested that a person should be sent over to make previous arrangements. . . . . This person departed in the latter end of June, 1797. By both these agents, rather a small number of men, with a great quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery and officers were required. A small force only was asked for, because the executive, faithful to the principle of Irish independence, wished for what they deemed just sufficient to liberate their country, but incompetent to subdue it. Their most determined resolution, and that of the whole body, being collected as far as its opinion could be taken, always has been in no event to let Ireland come under the dominion of France, but it was offered to pay the expenses of the expedition. The number required was [redacted]000 men at the most, and at the least 5,000' (pp. 223–226).

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The attempt at invasion was in fact made and failed. A squadron of forty sail, carrying a force of 25,000 men, under General Hoche, the victor of La Vendée, eluded the British fleet, and made its way towards Ireland in December, 1796; but the ships were dispersed by a storm; twelve were taken, and seventeen reached Bantry Bay, only to return to France without daring to land the troops on board.

What the consequence would have been of the landing of the entire force under a leader so able as Hoche, it would be hard to say. How wide-spread the panic had been may, however, be gathered from the measures taken afterwards. Martial law was proclaimed, and columns of soldiers and yeomanry scoured the country, striking terror into the peasantry, or 'croppies' as they were nicknamed from their short-cropped hair, by the infliction of hideous severities, which speedily provoked equal retaliation. 'The insurrection,' said MacNeven before the secret committee of the House of Commons, in August, 1798, 'was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whippings to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.' Thomas Emmett said substantially the same thing; and the statement may be accepted, so far as regards the immediate (and probably premature) explosion of the insurrection. These leaders avowed that 'they wished to keep back the insurrection.' Lord Castlereagh on the contrary referred to 'the means taken to make it explode.'[1] Another descent of the French was promised and expected, and 'it was our wish to wait, if possible, their arrival.' But the exasperation of the people would not suffer this. The energy with which the Government acted forced on the crisis. On March 12, 1798, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been designated as chief commander of the rebel forces, was arrested with three other leaders. On May 4 the Roman Catholic peasantry of the south rose in arms. A body of 14,000 men, headed by a village priest, marched on Wexford and seized the town. Reprisals on the Protestant inhabitants at once followed. Some were flung into the river, others imprisoned and fined. Such outrages as these at once destroyed whatever small chances of success the revolt may at first have had. The United Irishmen in the North, who were mostly Protestants, drew back. Even the Roman Catholic gentry in the South, who might have been expected to sympathize with the move-

[1] MacNeven's Examination, p. 242.

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ment, were repelled by conduct which threatened all classes alike with general disorder and lawlessness. The English troops meanwhile were swiftly gathering around the rebel army. Their camp at Vinegar Hill was stormed by Lord Lake on May 21, and the defenders killed or dispersed. All the summer long the soldiers were occupied in trampling out, in scattered parishes and distant mountain glens, the dying embers of the insurrection; and hardly was the work over when the French succours, or at least a detachment of them, actually landed. Eluding the British cruisers, a force of 1,500 men, under General Humbert, stole along the iron-bound north-west coast, and landed in Killala Bay. Humbert was a brave and energetic officer; but his blow was struck too late, and he had lost his chance. He succeeded, indeed, in pushing back a force of militia and yeomanry, which had been sent to intercept him, and in taking possession of Castlebar. But his force remained isolated; the peasantry, however well affected, had little disposition to risk another battle of Vinegar Hill; and, surrounded and greatly overmatched, Humbert was under the necessity of surrendering himself and his whole force to Lord Cornwallis on September 8, 1798.

Thus, at a cost of 20,000 English lives, and probably of not less than 150,000 Irish, the insurrection had been crushed out. It remained for the Government to improve their victory; and this they were not slow to do.

At the beginning of the next year (1799), the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, brought forward a project for the legislative union of the Irish Parliament with that of England. Experience had shown that the violence of faction was embittered to the last degree by the lodgment of the supreme legislative power in the hands of a single and comparatively limited party. No law had too sharp an edge for them to turn against their political opponents, if it appealed to their interests or their fears; and the present generation, which has seen what tactics Irish members of the British Parliament can on occasion stoop to employ, can form some conception of the method of transacting business in the Irish Legislative Chambers, where all sections were alike familiar with that very peculiar method of transacting business. The British Premier thought it at least possible that the Union would take the conduct of affairs out of the hands of a selfish faction, and lodge it with persons who were competent and comparatively disinterested, the Lords and Commons of England. And history will doubtless verify the correctness of this supposition, and rightly estimate the great benefits

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thereby conferred upon all classes in Ireland, whatever may be thought of the effect produced upon the *English* House of Commons. It is perhaps no more than was to be expected from the perversity of human nature, that no sooner was this Legislature, of which the Irish had complained so bitterly, transferred to England, than they wanted to have it back again. The cry for 'Home Rule,' with which we are so unhappily familiar of late, is apparently prompted by nothing more than the desire to have these old abuses back again, but with *the parts changed* and the Roman Catholics in the ascendant, which their numbers would enable them easily to obtain. An assembly composed of docile followers of an Ultramontane clergy might be safely trusted to do some very strange things; and the nineteenth century might even have the opportunity of seeing once more put into practice the old maxims of religious intolerance, and deliverance of obstinate heretics to the 'secular arm,' with the request, of course, that they might be gently dealt with. But this is by the way.

However beneficent the after effects of the Union, it was by no commendable methods that it was carried through the Irish Parliament, to every one of the selfish interests of whose members it was diametrically opposed. Not less than a million of money was, it is believed, spent in buying off the opposition of the boroughmongers, while pensions and even peerages were bestowed with a lavish hand upon other opponents. It is not a creditable chapter in the history of either country. But the English Ministers might reasonably plead that they adapted their conduct to the class of men they had to deal with; that no other inducements would have had the remotest chance of succeeding; and that it was essential, in the interests of Ireland itself no less than those of England, that the thing should be done and done speedily.

Substantial benefits to the whole of Ireland, it must be allowed, immediately followed the passing of the Act of Union, which became law January 1, 1801. Every restriction upon the trade between the two countries was immediately removed; the English and Irish Exchequer became united, and the currency of the two countries was assimilated: acts of which the beneficial effect was speedily visible, and which vastly increased the prosperity and wealth of the Irish people, though they did not secure their gratitude.

The stage was now clear for the next great event in Irish history, Roman Catholic Emancipation. We obtain

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at this point a fresh guide, in the memoirs of the remarkable man whose life we have prefixed to this paper. Bishop Doyle has the distinction among his co-religionists—and it is of no small worth—of having been among the most powerful champions of their religious franchises, perhaps, with the single exception of Daniel O'Connell, the most powerful and effective of all. From the time when he began to occupy a public station, his life was part of the history of Ireland; *quorum pars magna fui*, he might have said of all the religious questions of his day. His powerful and masculine intellect, and extensive learning, enabled him to treat many questions with remarkable facility and force, and to make himself as great a power in the literature of his generation as another Irishman, Dean Swift, or as Bishop Berkeley, had been in previous generations.

We shall therefore endeavour to follow the incidents of the struggle for Emancipation, as they are reflected in the life of Bishop Doyle. It may be well to begin by supplying here some brief sketch of the 'penal laws' under which the Roman Catholics of Ireland had so long writhed, as an appropriate preface and background to the narrative of their removal.

'Could you,' says J. K. L., in one of his powerful pamphlets, 'by any power create a happy valley, like that to which Rasselas was introduced, in every parish in Ireland, and place all the inhabitants within it, yet if you left the penal laws on the Statute book, though not in operation, you would not remove the discontent and heart-burnings from Ireland. There are thousands of people in this country who scarcely know the nature of any law, whether favourable or penal; but you will not find an old woman, or a ragged child, who has not imbibed from the breast, or is not taking into the grave, the hatred and horror of the system by which you govern the Irish Catholics. They know not what the system is, but they think it is a something horribly, ineffably unjust and wicked.' [1]

And an observer, not himself belonging to the incriminated class, speaks in no less decisive a manner as to the effect of these laws:

'It is not merely as it regards education, that the penal laws have been injurious; their influence has been extremely hostile to the interests of morality. It is impossible for any one to travel in Ireland without observing that they have made a character, naturally open and unsuspecting, jealous, and in some instances deceitful, They have operated as a check to the exercise of the tender and endearing charities of life; they have literally attempted to divide

[1] *Letters on the State of Ireland*, ix. p. 286.

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the father against the son, and the son against the father. They have placed the people in circumstances in which prevarication and cheating are natural; in which the low vices of savage life are produced. . . . . .'[1]

The penal laws themselves were shortly these :—

1. As to *education.*—No Papist could be admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, except by conforming to the Established Church, and taking all the tests, oaths and declarations. No Popish university could be endowed or even erected; and no Popish school could be endowed. A Papist who should take the oath of allegiance, and make certain other declarations, was thereby qualified to instruct, either publicly or privately, youth of his own persuasion, but he was not to admit any Protestant into his school, nor to become an usher or under-master to any Protestant schoolmaster. Protestants and converts from Popery, who educated their children as Papists, were to be subject to the same disabilities as Papists; and if any such convert, being a justice of the peace, was convicted of having done that, he was to be fined 100*l.*, be imprisoned for a year, and become incapable of being an executor, administrator, or guardian.

The children of Papists were deemed to be Papists until they should conform to the Established Church.

Papists other than ecclesiastics, who had taken the oath of allegiance and made certain other declarations, became thereby qualified to be guardians of their own children, or of the child of a Papist, but not of the child of a Protestant.

2. *As to Marriage.*—Every marriage celebrated by a Popish priest between two Protestants, or between a Papist and a Protestant, was absolutely null and void; and the priest celebrating it was guilty of felony and to suffer death. Magistrates might summon any person on mere suspicion, and examine them on oath respecting their knowledge of such a marriage.

3. *As to Exercise of Religion.*—All superstitious meetings and assemblies of pilgrims at wells and pretended sanctified places 'were declared riots and unlawful assemblies.' Crosses and pictures publicly set up were to be demolished. All monasteries, friaries, nunneries, or other Popish fraternities or societies, were forbidden. No burials were to take place in the vacated buildings not used for Divine service. Secular priests registered as such, and having taken the oath and declaration prescribed, and also regular priests who were

[1] *Dewar's Observations*, p. 21 [second paging].

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actually in the country at the passing of the Act (21st and 22nd Geo. III. ch. 24), might officiate in private, but not in 'any church or chapel with a steeple or bell,' nor at any funeral in a churchyard. Nor might they 'assume any symbol or mark of ecclesiastical dignity or authority, or assume or take any ecclesiastical rank or title.' Popish ecclesiastics not so qualifying were to be imprisoned until 'transported beyond seas.' To return was high treason, and any one harbouring such returned ecclesiastics was to forfeit 20*l.* for the first offence, 40*l.* for the second, and for a third all his goods real and personal. Every Popish priest who became a Protestant was to receive 40*l.* yearly from the county in which he last officiated as a Roman priest, until he should be provided for by some ecclesiastical benefice or licensed curacy of the same or greater value. If any person should seduce a Protestant to renounce the Protestant and profess the Popish religion, 'the seducer and the seduced shall incur the penalty of *præmunire*.'

4. *As to Property.*—Papists who had taken the oath and declaration were allowed in 1782 (through recent relaxations of the law) to hold and acquire real estate the same as others. But they might not purchase any advowson; and the right of presentation to any benefice, belonging to any Papist, was vested in the Crown. They might take lands or tenements in any manor or borough, by sale or bequest, if previously belonging to a Papist: not if the seller, testator, or ancestor were a Protestant. In that case, the lands in question went to the next Protestant 'of the inheritable blood.' Papists might take leases, but not upon secret trusts, and such were 'discoverable' in a court of law, and might be forfeited. If the wife of a Papist had become a Protestant, the courts of law would make provision for her out of his property at their discretion; or for children in the same case, even during his life, on a bill being filed in Chancery.

5. *As to Franchises.*—No person could hold any ecclesiastical office without making a declaration against transubstantiation; nor any office or employment, *civil* or *military*, except the office of high constable, overseer of the poor, churchwarden, surveyor of the highways, or any like inferior civil office. The penalties for breach of the law were very heavy: a fine of 500*l.* and deprivation of civil rights. Papists were not entitled to vote at vestries, except they were churchwardens; were not to be parochial watchmen; nor, though barristers, could they be King's Counsel; nor advocates, nor proctors, nor sub-sheriffs; nor were Regius Professorships of

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medicine open to them; nor might they serve on grand juries unless a sufficient number of Protestants could not be had.

No Papist could vote at any municipal election, or at the election of any member of Parliament. If elected a member, he could not sit nor vote until he had made the declaration against transubstantiation; nor, if a peer, could he vote or give a proxy until he had done this, which was of course equivalent to abjuring Romanism.

Such (minor details of hardship being omitted) were the penal laws, now happily swept off the pages of the statute book for ever. They had, however, endured, in even greater severity than the above sketch discloses, for two hundred years. They had ruined many opulent Roman Catholic families. Dr. Doyle himself, his biographer states, belonged to a family whose estates had been confiscated in pursuance of them. Hundreds of others had been driven or attracted to conform to Protestantism. The mark that they have made on the history of Ireland and on the character of her people is both deep and lasting.

James Doyle was born in 1786, a posthumous child, whose widowed mother supported herself and him by acting as village schoolmistress at Clonleigh near Ross. He is described by Dr. Phelan as 'the noisiest little creature I ever knew; half dressed, he used to scamper upon the common at Clonleigh, and shout vociferously.' He was in his twelfth year when the insurrection of 1798 broke out, and, living in a district which was one of the chief centres of its strength, he saw much of its progress. Indeed, he once came unpleasantly near being made a party in the struggle, boy as he was:—

'Accompanied by his friend, Martin Doyle, afterwards pastor of Graignamana, who resided, when a boy, near Ross, they incautiously sauntered along the banks of the Barrow while the district continued to be still disturbed. A sudden but irregular discharge of musketry aroused them to a sense of their danger; and, in less time than we take to write it, a hot conflict between the royal troops and the insurgents proceeded to rage around. Martin Doyle dragged the future bishop, who was by some years his junior, into a clump of furze, and there anxiously awaited the cessation of hostilities. Dr. Doyle, many years after, in a conversation with Martin, referred to this incident of their young days. "The only beating I ever got," he said, "was from you, while both of us lay concealed in the furze bush." "You deserved it, my Lord," was the reply. "You kept popping up your little black head after every volley, to see if the battle was over. I at last lost all patience, and flogged you unmercifully with a hazel switch. You lay pretty quiet after—*Deo gratias!*—for had our hiding-place been observed, we should, in all probability, have been piked or bayoneted' (vol. i. p. 9)

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In 1805 he entered upon his novitiate as a 'Hermit of S. Augustine' at Grantstown. Later on, instead of preparing at Maynooth for holy orders, he determined to pursue his studies at the ancient University of Coimbra in Portugal. He was rightly of the opinion, which he expressed in after years, that 'a person receives greater information and improves his talent more by studying at a university than at any private colleges.' He might have added that religious and theological studies are best carried on in a country where the type of religion they are intended to inculcate is placed in such a position of popularity and advantage as to develop to the utmost all its capabilities. Where the dominant tone of thought is hostile to a particular form of religion, there the students belonging to that communion will involuntarily feel themselves under a shade. They will be forced into a defensive position, which is no small disadvantage to all men, and particularly to young men. The depressed state in which the Roman obedience in Ireland was during James Doyle's student years doubtless incapacitated the native institutions for imbuing the minds of their students so thoroughly with the principles of their faith as could be done in countries where, as in Portugal, it was in the ascendant. The air was full of an antagonistic principle, hateful and depressing to adherents of the Pope. And this inability was not because of any deficiency in the studies, or of want of ability in individual teachers, for the college courses in Ireland and on the Continent were, as Dr. Doyle himself testified, much the same, but because a university alone affords the width and completeness of culture which is supplied by a large staff of instructors, each with his special department of learning, and each, also, presumably among the foremost men in it; that stir of intellectual excitement, that stimulus to a generous emulation, arising from the contact and collision of many minds. Now Irish Roman Catholics were at this time excluded by the tests not only from their own single university of Trinity College, Dublin, admission to which, as an Elizabethan foundation, they could hardly even profess to expect (though it has in our day been granted to them), but also from every other university in the United Kingdom. James Doyle did well, therefore, to go to Coimbra.

He had been somewhat more than two years at Coimbra when the invasion of Portugal by the French armies took place, and the national rising against them which speedily followed brought a new page into his experience of life. All ages and conditions of men were summoned to arms. A mili-

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tary corps was formed from among the students of the university; and in this Doyle was conspicuous. To the British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, which landed in Mondego Bay in the summer of that year, he and some other Irish students rendered, from his intelligence and intimate knowledge of the language and the people, important services; and for the short six months which elapsed before he finally quitted Portugal, he spent a busy, hurried, and adventurous time, during which he saw much of men and of affairs, and mingled both in war and in diplomacy. Many offers were, it seems, made to him, if he would enter permanently the Portuguese service; but he declined all, and returned to Ireland in December, 1808.

Doyle now went back to his convent at Ross; and in 1809 and 1810 was ordained successively deacon and priest. For some years he had charge of a class in theology there, and in 1813 he was invited to fill the chair, at first of Rhetoric and afterwards of Divinity, in Carlow College, one of the most important at that time of the theological institutions of the Roman Church in Ireland. We have an amusing account of his first introduction to the head of it:—

'Mr. Doyle was shown into Dean Staunton's presence. He had never before seen Mr. Doyle. He surveyed the lofty figure from top to toe, and, after a momentary scrutiny, inquired what he could teach. "Anything," replied Doyle, sonorously, "from A, B, C, to the *Extra Vagantes*." This supplement to the books of canon law,[1] and which, among students, sometimes gives rise to obvious punning, embraces a stage of theological lore rarely attained by the ordinary run of ecclesiastics. Dr. Staunton did not quite like the confidence of the answer, nor the tinge of haughtiness which stamped his mien. Long accustomed to the tuition of youth, a rebuke flowed with ease from the president's lips: "Pray, young man," he said, "can you teach and practise humility?" "I trust I have at least the humility to feel," replied the friar, "that the more I read the more I see how ignorant I have been, and how little can, at best, be known"' (i. p. 49).

During the six years which he retained this post his mind and powers were visibly maturing, and 'his reputation as a wise and learned ecclesiastic increased daily.' He had now outgrown that rusticity of habits and manners which had marked him when he emerged from his convent to go to Carlow.

[1] The author does not describe quite accurately. The *Extravagantes* are certain decretals of the later Popes, beginning with Pope John XXII., which were not digested or ranged with the rest in the earlier collections. But they form a part of the existing canon law, and therefore can hardly be called a supplement to it.

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He had become most punctilious in person and dress, 'erect, grave, reserved, dignified and austere;' he was now *ad unguem* the college don, and, as some said, the future Bishop. Rumours became frequent of his nomination to this or that see. The aged Bishop of Kildare, if we are to credit a story somewhat hesitatingly told by his biographer, uttered a kind of prophecy that he should in three years be succeeded by 'the greatest ecclesiastic that ever graced Kildare;' and referred in thus speaking to Doyle. Dr. Doyle was nominated to the See of Kildare and Leighlin as *dignissimus* in 1819; and having been selected by the Pope out of the three names sent, as is (we are told) usual, to Rome as candidates, he was consecrated in November, 1819.[1]

He seems to have received the news of his nomination with a proper seriousness of spirit; 'he coloured deeply as good-natured congratulations came from those around.' 'There is not much cause for congratulation,' he said; 'nevertheless, if it is God's will that I should accept this responsibility, then God's will be done.' He would have been more or less than mortal had he not looked forward with a pardonable ambition, and been gratified when the object of it was attained. His *nolo episcopari*, therefore, was in all probability no more than was usual and considered decent. But he resisted with becoming seriousness the proposal of friends at Rome, more zealous than discreet, to bring personal influence to bear to ensure the selection of his name. He protests: 'I am ready to accept of any responsibility which the Church in its wisdom may think me fitted to bear; but if I thought for a moment that my elevation to the mitre was attributable to any irregular influence among my friends, I would resist to my last breath that burden which should be "dreaded by even the shoulders of an angel."[2] Nothing under heaven could induce me to grasp a crozier on such terms.' And he rightly observes, in writing to a private friend about this time, that 'the apparent advantages of it (the Episcopate) are few and transitory, while the labours and dangers of it

[1] It is curious to learn that during the imprisonment of Pius VII. by Napoleon (1809-1814), Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Quarantotti, who had the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs during the Pope's absence, had granted a veto to the English Government on the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland. But the Act was afterwards annulled by the Pope on the remonstrances of the bishops in Ireland. Probably Quarantotti, during the oppression of the Pope by Napoleon, thought it well to make friends in any way he could with Napoleon's bitterest enemies.

[2] Council of Trent.

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are great and permanent.' Yet we must not acquit him of palpable affectation, when, having been informed that the Episcopal soutane and cope were being made for him, he exclaimed: 'Would that it were my shroud they were preparing!'

After his consecration he at once began to gird himself to the performance of the task which lay before him. It was no easy nor light one: for during a century previous it had been the custom to appoint only very aged men to bishoprics, and these, through infirmity or inactivity, had permitted a great relaxation of discipline. A gradual secularity of life and habits among the clergy had become the rule, very similar to that which obtained in the Anglican Church some half century ago. Many of the parish priests carried on farming as a speculation, and (we are told) made money by it. 'Hunting priests' were as common in Kildare as 'hunting parsons' in Hertfordshire or the Midlands. At the frequent race meetings the clergy were usually to be seen. Their solemn black cloth and long clerical boots, by comparison with the scarlet coats and top-boots of the county squires, pointed painfully the contrast between their profession and their practice. Many of the priests did not, however, wear their ecclesiastical dress at all. It had fallen into disuse, probably as a tradition of the severe period of the penal laws. Almost all the Roman clergy, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, used to wear brown; and when one bolder than the rest ventured to appear in a black coat, he was blamed for 'needlessly exposing the clergy to insult and persecution.' No splendid ceremonial was attempted in their chapels.[1] The vestments and altar-cloths were, on the contrary, not unfrequently ragged and untidy; and the Bishop, after his injunctions for the amending of the evil had been apathetically disregarded, was reduced in some instances to the necessity of tearing the chasuble into ribbons or otherwise destroying it with his own hands. On one occasion he found the chalice in use to be *cracked*, so as to allow the sacred Element to ooze away. He called for a hammer, and one not being at hand, he took up a paving-stone, and with it crushed the chalice at a blow. Nor was this parsimony about the appointments of the Church a consequence of mere poverty. There were three parishes in the diocese of the annual value of 500*l.*, fourteen where it was

[1] The author is responsible for the story that at the first attempt to 'get up Benediction' at Oscott, they could procure no better incense than a little resin which the sacristan scraped out of some broken knife-handles in the kitchen!



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over 200*l.*, and some few where it approached 300*l.* The Established Church could probably not have exceeded this, if indeed it could have equalled it. The abuses incident to the holding of 'Stations' at the houses of farmers in the country parishes, after which, as we gather, the priest had not seldom been tempted into convivialities inconsistent with his office and duties, he at once repressed. He prohibited his clergy altogether from appearing at places of public amusement or resort. The 'secret statutes,' written in Latin, of the diocese, which he drew up, order: 'Let them not be present at public entertainments of the laity, unless some work of charity or some function of moment may require it.' Hunting and horse-racing were also prohibited: though at a later period, when Dr. Doyle's reforming zeal had presumably somewhat cooled, this rule was relaxed so far as that each priest was permitted to attend a race in his own parish, 'with a view to the preservation of order among such of his flock as were present:' a *salvâ conscientiâ* which, one must hope, was satisfactory to both sides.

He was not content with enforcing by regulations external decency of life among the clergy; he strove also to promote a high tone of personal piety and earnest sanctity among them, by the revival of spiritual Retreats and of periodical 'Conferences' in the diocese. He demanded, we are told, from every priest 'individual attention to, and rigorous fulfilment of, all the various and difficult, and often painful offices of their duty.' He desired that 'every pastor should be a slave to his vocation.' He redistributed parishes for the sake of the better administration of them. The ecclesiastical fees he regulated by a fixed table. He laid down what is undoubtedly the true theory of *fees* by forbidding, under pain of suspension, 'any clergyman from withholding his ministry from any person, rich or poor, on account of dues or emoluments; so that the office of the priest must first be discharged, and then the individual gives what is prescribed by usage or by the letter of the statute.' Customs of collecting dues which caused scandal he prohibited. He encouraged the formation of religious confraternities, and recommended his people to join them. In every parish throughout his diocese he established a lending library, 'stocked with books of religious and moral instruction exclusively,' which were given out to the poor *gratis*; to others at a charge of one penny a week. Libraries would, of course, be of little service if the ability to read was not general among the people; and accordingly he took every means in his power to promote the establishment of schools

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for the poor. The Roman Church, however, has never been conspicuous in Ireland (or anywhere else) for its efforts to this end; but Bishop Doyle adopted at first what must be called, for a Roman Catholic prelate, a liberal policy towards mixed schools under Protestant management, and permitted his flock under certain conditions to send their children to such schools.

New and more stringent Lenten regulations were issued. In 1820 he held a visitation of his diocese, which revealed vast arrears of episcopal duty to be made up, and then began a round of Confirmations. The number of persons confirmed almost exceeds belief. We extract one account:—

'One of the first parishes in which Dr. Doyle had decided upon holding Confirmation was Portarlington, then containing a population of 9,000 Catholics. For nearly twenty years there had been no Confirmation administered here. Upon arriving at the old chapel on the appointed day, Dr. Doyle found a large concourse of people assembled outside, while within its walls there was not room for a pin to drop. The parish priest had been long blind and infirm, and did not appear; the curate, therefore, took his place. "Where are the children?" said Dr. Doyle. "Good God! can these persons stand in need of confirmation?" The priest's affirmative brought a tear into the bishop's eye. He surveyed the surging sea of heads around him, white as the foam of the ocean. There were few present under sixty years of age, and some had reached fourscore. The expression of devotion in the countenances of the poor people severely tested our prelate's sensibility. He knew that their exclusion from the light of the Holy Ghost had not been through their own fault, and he struggled hard to suppress his emotion.

'"Some of these old people can hardly know their Catechism," he said. "And I fear I would not be justified in confirming them." "My lord," replied the curate, "you must only take for granted, on my assurance, that their faith is sound. I am well acquainted with their religious sentiments." Dr. Doyle turned to an old woman, not less than eighty, and asked her if she knew the Apostles' Creed and *Salve Regina*. She replied in the affirmative, and repeated them with such accuracy and devotion that the bishop seemed quite pleased, and forthwith prepared for a general administration of the Sacrament. One thousand people were confirmed that day. Dr. Doyle at the close preached a touching exhortation, and announced that next month he would hold a visitation at Emo in the same parish. So great were the numbers in attendance, that no church could hold them. Lord Portarlington threw open Emo Park for the occasion, and beneath a monster marquee Dr. Doyle administered Confirmation on that day to thirteen hundred persons.

'From the then Curate of Portarlington we gathered these details. The scene may be regarded as a sample of what took place in other parts of the diocese. Dr. Doyle's labours continued unceasing. He



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had to pull up an overwhelming accumulation of neglected duty, and he laboured more in a few years than half a dozen prelates of ordinary zeal could accomplish in a lifetime. "James," he said, afterwards, to the Rev. Mr. Delaney, "you know not what I suffered. My brain was bursting with the myriad dictates of duty which crowded into it"' (p. 127).

Not less impressive for a different reason was the recommencement, almost the re-creation, of the system of Spiritual Retreats for the clergy, which we have referred to above. It had been in disuse certainly ever since the Reformation, until Bishop Doyle took it up as a powerful engine for good.[1] A thousand priests, we are told, and nearly every Roman bishop in Ireland, assembled at Carlow, by his invitation, in July, 1820. He conducted the retreat unaided, and preached three times each day for a week. Many a missioner amongst ourselves does, of course, as much or more in our day; but it was much less usual at that time, or rather it was entirely unprecedented, for a preacher to make so great an effort; and it created a correspondingly deep impression. 'We never heard anything to equal them (the sermons),' says a witness, 'before or since . . . We thought he was inspired. I saw the venerable Archbishop Troy weep like a child, and raise his hands in thanksgiving.' Another account we may as well quote:—

'Nearly forty years have elapsed,' observes another priest, 'but my recollection of all that Dr. Doyle said and did upon that occasion is fresh and vivid. He laboured like a giant, and with the zeal of an apostle. There he stood like some commanding archangel, raising and depressing the thousand hearts which hung fondly on his words. I can never forget that tall, majestic figure pointing the way to heaven with an arm which seemed as though it could have wielded thunderbolts, nor the lofty serenity of countenance, so eloquent of reproach one minute and so radiant of hope the next. It seemed as if by an act of his will a torrent of grace miraculously descended from heaven, and, by the same mediating agency, was dispensed around. It was a glorious spectacle in its aspect and results. The fruit was of no ephemeral growth or continuance, but celestially enduring. To this day I profit by a recollection of that salutary retreat.

'A trifling accident occurred in one of Dr. Doyle's most impassioned appeals, which, as it illustrates the violent zeal which moved him, may perhaps be recorded here. He preached from the altar, and in expatiating upon the crime of sacerdotal levity, he pointed to the tabernacle with tears in his eyes and an expression of the most

[1] We cannot help mentioning as a parallel, though of course on a smaller scale, Bishop Wilberforce's delivery of his celebrated 'Ordination Addresses' at Cuddesdon in 1855–1859.

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poignant reproach. "The Lamb that is outraged," he exclaimed, "reposes meekly here;" and forgetting that he stood so near the tabernacle, the bishop flung back his arm to indicate the spot, with a force that crushed in the gilded door of the sanctum.

'"For the ten days that the retreat lasted," observes Dean O'Connell, "Dr. Doyle knew no rest. His soul was on fire in the sacred cause. He was determined to reform widely. His falcon eye sparkled with zeal. The powers of his intellect were applied to the good work with telling effect. At the close of one of his most impassioned exhortations, he knelt down on a *prie-dieu* immediately before me. The vigorous workings of his mind and the intense earnestness of purpose within affected even the outward man. Big drops of perspiration stood upon his neck, and his rochet was almost saturated"' (p. 129).

In some respects Dr. Doyle's rule over his clergy savoured of despotism. He once publicly reprimanded, in presence of his flock, a priest (of S. Malins) who came out to say mass *with spurs on his boots.* He entirely prohibited priests from bequeathing to friends or relatives any property which they might have acquired by their office. His regulation was that all property procured by the altar should finally go to ecclesiastical or charitable purposes: an excellent principle indeed, but hardly, one would suppose, a fit subject to be regulated by a positive rule, which would admit of numberless evasions. The rule shows the strictness of the diocesan statutes.[1]

The penalty he has been known to inflict for a disregard of this principle, was the forbidding of the 'month's memory' for the offender.[2]

Another abuse was the common habit of parish priests devoting themselves to farming; and this he strictly forbade, limiting them to, at the outside, fourteen acres of land.

We have mentioned more than once above the 'secret statutes' of the diocese. These were drawn up in Latin, and were collected into a small volume, which it was incumbent on every parish priest to possess. Whenever a priest fell into

[1] There seems, however, to have been some restriction resembling this, though not exactly identical with it, anciently (that is, in the sixth and seventh centuries, A.D.), in the French and Spanish Church, and also in that of the Province of Carthage. But see *Bingham*, book v. chap. iv., sect. 8, 9, *et seq.*

[2] This was a custom by which the death of a clergyman was notified in all the churches of the rural deanery, or of the diocese—we are not assured which—and prayer made for him. It is worth consideration whether there might not be some unobjectionable form in which a similar custom might be introduced among ourselves. It would do much to promote unity of feeling among scattered parishes.

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any dangerous illness, it was directed that the rural dean should visit him and render him spiritual aid. 'He shall inquire whether the sick man has made his will as commanded, and he shall use the greatest diligence lest the registry of baptisms and marriages, or the holy vessels, vestments, coverings or ornaments of the altar, whether they belong to the parish or the priest, should fall into the hands of any layman. He shall put them into a safe place, *and carry home along with him the copy of these statutes.*' The book was, therefore, extremely scarce; and it is said that 'a noted Evangelical' offered seven guineas for a copy at the sale of a priest's effects, and failed to obtain it even at that price.

After the Bishop's own death, a MS. book, we are told, fell into the hands of his successor, in which were noted, for his guidance, the names of families, no member of which, he ruled, 'should be at any time ordained priest.' We have, in this sketch of Dr. Doyle as bishop and diocesan administrator, anticipated the current of events.

We must now go back to 1801, and carry our narrative down from that point, where we left it before this digression.

The Act of Union had been passed in that year, and carried partly by the assistance of the Roman Catholic party. It passed as it was, but by a single vote; and the opposition of the popular leaders would unquestionably have secured its defeat. Their support was obtained, there is little doubt, by the promise of Pitt that the Union should be followed by a total and unqualified religious emancipation, and by some alteration of the system of tithes. The great Minister found, however, that to fulfil this pledge was beyond even his power, great though his influence was. A large and comprehensive scheme was before the Cabinet; but the plan was divulged before it was mature to the King, and he at once declared himself against it. 'I count any man my personal enemy,' he said to Dundas, 'who proposes any such measure.' Pitt's rejoinder was the statement of his entire plan to the King, strongly urging that 'the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated are no longer applicable to the present state of things.' The King, however, was obdurate; and was perhaps secretly not displeased to get rid of a Minister whose influence had long overshadowed the throne. Pitt accordingly tendered his resignation in February, 1801.

An era of repression followed in Ireland. The Roman Catholics, disappointed and discouraged, sank for a time into supineness. A 'Catholic Committee,' formed after a while to

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advocate their claims, was dissolved by proclamation, and Lord Fingal, with other delegates, was put under arrest. A similar effort later on, under a new and vigorous leader, Daniel O'Connell, to form a 'Catholic Board,' was dealt with in the same way. Their prospects were so unpromising that the veteran orator, Henry Grattan, several times refused to move in the cause. At length, in 1820, he came to London to present a petition for Emancipation, and died while there. But it seemed as if the death of their leader, and the public honours which were paid to him (he was buried in Westminster Abbey), had removed some of the burden of weariness and despair from their hearts, In the following year bills were brought forward by Mr. Plunket for Roman Catholic relief, which proposed, *inter alia*, to concede to the English Government a veto on the appointment of (Roman) Bishops in Ireland; and to this the Pope was, it is evident, willing to have agreed. But the Bill, though it passed the House of Commons by 216 to 197, was thrown out by the Lords.

In the agitation which ran through the Roman clergy in Ireland, the public meetings, the petitions to Parliament, and the communications with prominent members of the House of Commons, Dr. Doyle for the first time came prominently to the front in politics, in which he afterwards made so distinguished a name. He was, it appears, the medium of communication between the Roman Catholic prelacy and their representatives in Parliament, and made suggestions, several of which were adopted. Opinions were, however, greatly divided upon the concessions proposed to be made. On the one hand, Protestants considered the proposal to take the shackles off the Roman Catholic religion fraught with danger to the Constitution, and fiercely opposed it; on the other, many Roman Catholics were reluctant to accept the oath of Supremacy, even as modified, or to permit the exercise of a Government veto on the appointment of Bishops, even as the price of emancipation. The assemblies of the clergy came to varying conclusions in different dioceses; and it is amusing to note that Dr. Doyle, though the leader of the 'veto' party, could not carry his own clergy with him. They passed a civil colourless resolution, in which the question at issue was quietly ignored. The Bill, as we have said, failed; and the subject of the veto dropped out of sight, never to be resumed. Dr. Doyle, however, lost no opportunity to prove himself not only a devoted prelate, but a loyal and well-affected citizen. A powerful pastoral address on the Ribbon conspiracy, which he issued in 1822,

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produced a remarkable effect. Three hundred thousand copies of it were printed and distributed at the expense of the Government; and Daniel O'Connell, than whom there could be no better judge, bore public testimony, in a speech to the Catholic Association in 1824, that it 'spoke with such persuasive eloquence and sincerity of intention, and appealed so successfully, through the force of feeling and truth, to the reason, prejudices, and passions of the peasantry, that it did more to induce patience and tranquillity amongst them than twenty Insurrection Acts in full operation. No man could tell where the disturbance would have ended had not the spring of insurrection been stemmed at its source.' And we take the following quotation from another pastoral address of Bishop Doyle delivered shortly before. It is to be feared that the pastorals of too many Roman Bishops speak in a very different tone now.

'Where is the landlord amongst you who is an oppressor? Where is the employer who is not humane? Where have you been sick, and they have not relieved you? Where have you been naked and they have not covered you? Where have you been hungry and they have not fed you? Where have you been houseless and they have not sheltered you? And if you could point out exceptions, are they not rare as the stars that fall from heaven?' (p. 148).

He now came forward on a somewhat different stage, that of theological controversy. Dr. Magee, the Archbishop of Dublin, delivered, in 1822, a 'charge' to his clergy, somewhat unduly controversial, and in which he threw down the gauntlet, with what certainly seems to us very unnecessary chivalry, to Roman Catholics on the one side, and Dissenters on the other; employing tolerably strong language of both. He was speedily replied to by Dr. Doyle[1] in a letter which, for condensed vigour of style, powerful grouping of facts or quasi-facts, and dexterous employment of all the weapons of irony, sarcasm, and denunciation, is probably as effective a piece of controversial writing as will easily be found. The Archbishop had taken up the mere Protestant ground of opposition to Rome: which, if it be logically tenable, is, at all events, very difficult successfully to defend. No argument admits of being put more effectively by a dexterous polemic than the Roman. Few men knew better how to state his facts *ore rotundo*, to marshal his arguments and to overwhelm his opponent by a dexterous *petitio principii*, than Dr.

[1] He invariably employed the signature of J. K. L. on these occasions, *i.e. James Kildare* and *Leighlin.*

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Doyle. We will not express any opinion on Lord Wellesley's (the then Viceroy) declaration that 'Magee manifestly got the worst of it.' But it was a pretty quarrel indeed; and high was the interest occasioned by this 'clash of crosiers,' in which the high rank of one disputant, and the brilliant ability and considerable learning of the other, drew the attention of the whole country. We must find room for one of Dr. Doyle's characteristic objurgations:

'J. K. L. regretted to hear from such high authority as Dr. Magee that at the present day those whom your grace considers "the National Clergy are in a state little short of persecution." I know the nature of persecution so well that I shudder at the thought of its being revived in this country against any set of men, and more especially against the Clergy of the Established Church, many of whom, in my opinion, deserve even the praises bestowed upon them *all* by your Grace; but hitherto, I must confess, I considered them, in a temporal point of view, the most happy, if not the only happy class of persons in Ireland;—their dignitaries all in splendour, amassing wealth almost beyond calculation, the parochial clergy enjoying sinecures, that *otium cum dignitate* which the Roman philosopher preferred to the dignity of a consul, or even to the power and privileges of a dictator. But how much we are deceived, and how true it is that no man lives contented with his lot!' (vol. i. p. 211).

His pen was never idle for long together; and the next year (1823) saw another lengthy publication, entitled 'A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics, in a letter addressed to the Marquis Wellesley, by J. K. L.,' which produced a powerful effect in encouraging the Roman Catholics, depressed though they were with so many failures in their endeavours to obtain religious emancipation, and in rekindling the agitation, which, in a few more years, was at length crowned with success. The Bishop removed about this time from Carlow itself to Old Derrig, a short distance into the country. The house, we are told,

'was a large, wild, and neglected, though picturesque place, scantily furnished, except with old books, especially Latin. His visitors wanted nothing, because (as went his apology for this) S. Paul said that Bishops should be hospitable. His own usual mode of living was as simple as possible; his little S. Bridget's Chapel in the garden was a room about twelve feet long, and about ten in breadth, with plain whitewashed walls, and there he daily said mass, and there I have seen tears roll abundantly from his eyes after the consecration in the Holy Sacrifice. But, oh! our evening conversations with a chosen few—the wonderful versatility of thought and language—the sudden and yet connected transitions from divine subjects to the most amusing trifles! We would often have, in half-

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an-hour, quotations from Job, David, Augustine, Byron, Moore, Shakespeare, and Swift—in a word, hours would seem moments in his company' (i. p. 303).

Much is said by his biographer of his self-denying way of life; and in 1824, when there was a potato famine in Ireland, and great distress in consequence among the poor, the Bishop's efforts were taxed to the utmost to afford relief to the starving peasantry. Some remarkable details are given of this:—

'On this trying occasion Dr. Doyle gave to these poor not only what he had received from public munificence, and what he had procured from private personal entreaty—laboriously, unceasingly, imploringly exerted—but he also bestowed on them the very last shilling of his official income. "It so happened at this time that his clothes (contrary to his usual habit) were painfully shabby, and his hat miserably worn. All those acquainted with his character were well aware that, so far from purchasing new clothes, he would not even wear them in this time of universal famine and starvation. It was by his own singular personal efforts that 2,000 persons were fed every day at the College, at the Convent, and at the public soup-kitchen. During this time his brother, the Rev. Peter Doyle, came to see him, and observing the dress and the general appearance of the Bishop, was astonished to see his clothes so shabby, and he therefore begged to present him with 25*l.* to get a new outfit. When his brother had taken leave, the Bishop laughingly said, "Poor Peter is ashamed of me, and has given me 25*l.* (as he said) to keep the life in me by warm clothing; but he has done more than he fancied, as I shall, of course, give it to my poor on this day, and keep the life in hundreds of persons for many years yet to come. Whatever I am," he continued, "I am sure I am not the worse for having an old coat and an old hat."

. . . . . .

'Immediately after this visit of his brother, he came to the College one morning to breakfast, and having met the President and Professors, said "Gentlemen, you are each to give me five guineas for my poor. I myself shall sell, on this week, some silver tankards which I have received as presents. I shall dispose also of my gold watch, and I have already made arrangements to sell, to the Bishop of another diocese, some chalices which we do not want." "Oh! my Lord," said Dr. Fitzgerald, "surely you do not mean to *sell the chalices*." "Sir," he replied, "be assured I will sell them, and all I have in the world beside, in the present necessity. Surely, you would not have me to preserve the mere metal in which Our Lord temporarily resides in His Sacramental form, and let perish the living tabernacle, the faithful hearts of my own poor, suffering people, where He and the Holy Ghost permanently, cherishingly dwell, as their own dearly loved habitation"' (i. p. 319).

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The Bishop had probably in mind the similar words of S. Ambrose.

Another incident which marked this year was Dr. Doyle's letter on the reunion of the Churches (of England and of Rome), which he thought 'would be the best mode of pacifying Ireland, and of consolidating the interests of the Empire.' This letter was addressed to Mr. Robinson (afterwards Earl of Ripon), who was at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who had said, during a debate in the House of Commons, that 'he was anxious to see the Protestant and Catholic Churches re-united.' In this letter, the Bishop declares that 'the points of agreement between the Churches were numerous, those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently not the most important.' After suggesting that if 'Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and a conciliatory character' were summoned by the Crown to ascertain the points of agreement and difference between the Churches, and 'the result of their conferences were made the basis of a project to be treated on between the heads of the Church of Rome and of England, the result might be more favourable than at present would be anticipated.'

After drawing out a list of points to be discussed, he continued that the existing diversity of opinion arose in some cases from certain forms of words which admitted of satisfactory explanation, or from the ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudice and ill-will produce and strengthen.

The proposal, as coming from a Bishop of the Romano-Irish hierarchy, was a remarkable one. It attracted much attention from both sides, though some pronounced it 'a visionary plan:' and it is remarkable and significant that so keen a thinker and Catholic-minded a man as Alexander Knox declared it impracticable except by 'a complete subjugation' of the Church of England to that of Rome.

There could not be the least hesitation at the present day in assenting to this opinion. Circumstances have completely altered, and the relations between the Roman and Anglican Communions are far from being what they were even in Bishop Doyle's day. At that time, for anything we can see, a reunion may have been feasible; or at all events within the limits of possibility. Now the promulgation of new and un-Catholic dogmas as *de fide* has put an impassable barrier between them; impassable, that is to say, as long as England remains apostolical, and Rome ultramontane, in doctrine. Even if it were otherwise, the tone and temper of that 'insolent and aggressive faction' which now has the pre-

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dominance throughout the Roman communion, would render any accommodation equally impossible. The examination of Bishop Doyle's well-meant and large-hearted endeavour, therefore, can only be of antiquarian interest. But it is instructive nevertheless to note the absence of that supercilious affectation of superiority with which we are so familiar in Roman disputants in our day; and his frank allowance of the Apostolic lineage and spiritual life of the rival communion. Even while reprobating and opposing her establishment in Ireland, he could say, 'we respect the Church of England on account of "the rock from which she has been hewn, and the pit from which she has been digged;" we prize her Liturgy as only less perfect than that from which it has been principally extracted; we admire her translation of the Bible, with all its imperfections, as a noble work; we venerate her hierarchy as an image of the truth' (*Vindication*, p. 30). These are the words of a candid and just opponent: the reader will find nothing like them in the writings of controversialists of our own day. The truth is, that Bishop Doyle had so clear and unhesitating a Catholicity, that he could afford to be just to opponents; and so candid and serene an intellect, that he desired to be so. His orthodoxy was of that peculiarly uncommon and valuable kind, which enables a man to discover and to state the underlying principle of a theological truth, and, so discovered, to state it in such a manner that it shall almost be self-evident, and shall disarm the prejudices of shallower thinkers. He recalls the theologians of earlier ages; and there is but little in his writings of the narrow, ill-instructed, and hysterical school of writers who seem to represent the Roman Church of this decade. We will give a few examples of Bishop Doyle's views on matters of doctrine. Thus, respecting Holy Scripture, he says:

'The Scriptures alone have never saved any one; they are incapable of giving salvation; it is not their object, it is not the end for which they were written. They hold a dignified place amongst the means of the institution which Christ formed for the purpose of saving his elect; but though they never had been written, this end would have been attained, and all who were pre-ordained to eternal life would have been gathered to the Church, and fed with the bread of life. The Scriptures were given for the most useful ends, as we shall see presently; but it is obvious to all, that they were not written as a regular code of law, still less were they intended to supersede the priesthood. They consist of history, poetry, moral and mystical treatises, as well as of the ordinances prescribed to the Jewish people; they were written generally for some special purpose in different languages, in various countries, and at periods far removed

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from each other; and hence, though the entire collection be useful to instruct, reprove, and direct us in the pursuit of happiness, yet if it be looked to as the means whereby mankind may be brought to the knowledge of the truth, and formed to the Christian discipline, it will be found totally inadequate to such a purpose.

'In the hands of the Ministry which Christ, like Moses, so clearly established, the Scriptures have been, and are, most useful. Without them, it would require more than the ordinary providence of GOD to preserve the deposit of faith whole and entire' (*Letter* vii. p. 164).

Again, with regard to tradition:—

'The truth is, that tradition is part and parcel of Divine revelation, or rather revelation once consisted of tradition exclusively, a portion of which was afterwards recorded in writing' (*Letter* vii. p. 188).

There is a good deal of special pleading in the sections on the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints; and the fact is ignored that it is not the theoretical basis of the doctrine, but the *proved* dangers of it in practice, which his opponents object to; so that it verges upon the disingenuous to say that the belief of the Catholic on this subject, which the Protestant swears to be idolatrous, is substantially the same as his own (p. 272). There is the same (we fear we must call it) want of candour running through Bishop Doyle's replies to the House of Lords on the same subject, when he was summoned to give evidence before them in 1825.

In 1827 the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, died. During the fifteen years he had been at the head of the Government, his strongly adverse opinion had prevented any steps being taken for the emancipation of Roman Catholics. Now their hopes began to revive, and they were still further increased by the accession to office of Mr. Canning, who was believed to entertain opinions favourable to their claims. His administration, however, lasted but a few months; and, after the *ad interim* ministry of Viscount Goderich, the conduct of affairs was entrusted to a Tory Ministry, headed by the Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister. It was not perhaps from that side of the House that Dr. Doyle would have looked for the concession of his claims; but the Tories being in power at this time when the question drew to a head, it fell practically to them to deal with it. In fact, the requests of the Irish Roman Catholics had assumed well-nigh the form of demands. Under the leadership of O'Connell public mass meetings were held in all parts of the country to consider the

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question. That astute strategist saw that the time was come to bring the cause to a decision.

In the June of 1828 a vacancy occurred in the representation of the County of Clare, and O'Connell, although, as a Roman Catholic, ineligible to sit in Parliament, was returned by a large majority over Mr. Fitzgerald. The demonstration was a significant, and, as it proved, a successful one. The excitement of the Irish population rose to a dangerous pitch, and it became clear that this claim must be conceded, or civil war would be the alternative.

At this conjuncture Bishop Doyle again threw himself into the fray. Seldom, probably, has any plea been penned more calculated by the combined effect of cogent constitutional argument, moderation of tone flavoured with such assurance of success as comes of conscious force, to determine the mind of a statesman, than Dr. Doyle's letter to the Premier, the Duke of Wellington, in June, 1828. His cause must have been very obviously in the ascendant, however, before he could venture to remind the Premier that 'Fear is the beginning of wisdom, and though the Irish were not to be feared, the state of England and of her foreign relations may produce a salutary dread even in your mind; and out of that fear may spring those wise and healing measures which it is our most anxious desire you should adopt.' He addresses the Duke as a man 'who is supposed by many to have entered fully into the views of those who have doomed the Catholics to perpetual exclusion.' But, he continues, in a strain of courteous yet scarcely veiled sarcasm :—

'There are others who think that your Grace, like all the statesmen who have gone before you, would be regulated in your policy more by necessity than by preconceived opinions; and that, whilst in compliance perhaps with your own sense of duty, or if not, with the wishes of those on whose support you depend, you would willingly postpone the Catholic question to an indefinite period; yet that you are disposed to watch the course of events, and even to enter into an alliance with your Catholic countrymen, should your foreign allies cease to be your friends' (vol. ii. p. 69).

One great argument against putting the Roman Catholics on the same footing as other Irishmen was the apprehension that the Pope would come to exercise an undue influence in Ireland. Bishop Doyle lived before the days of Ultramontanism, and the considerable recrudescence of Papal influence to which that movement, so carefully fostered by Pius IX., has ministered. He did not *desire* any considerable extension of the Pope's activity in matters of local concern. 'Let us

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leave Rome undisturbed,' he wrote in 1823. 'Let us not send there the dissensions of our own family; let us have charity and wisdom enough to settle them ourselves.' But neither did he *believe* in such undue influence being possible; the wish perhaps being father to the thought in his mind.

Whether it were the result of Dr. Doyle's letter, or whether the result of the Clare election, which, as we have already noticed, was in June, 1828, it appears that the mind of the Duke of Wellington was reluctantly made up to concede the Emancipation as a means of avoiding still greater evil, as he unquestionably regarded it. And it was time. The Bishop himself, in a letter written at this period, speaks sadly as to 'the danger of a civil war, in which every being in the country should take a part, and which might not be quelled in two years, nor until the whole kingdom would be a desert.' In December, 1828, the Duke wrote to the (Roman) Archbishop Curtis of Armagh, assuring him that he was 'sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Catholic question;' and in 1829 the Emancipation Act was carried through the legislature by large majorities. This healing measure, though its beneficial effects became apparent as time went on, was not sufficient at once to calm the mind of the peasantry, and to remove immediately the evils which a long continuance of disquiet had caused. Secret associations and agrarian outrages remained to some extent still prevalent; and we find in Dr. Doyle's comments at that time remarkable instances of these apparently *chronic* evils in the state of society in Ireland. He observes in a pastoral address to the Deanery of Maryborough, in November, 1829:—

'A secret association existed, drawn together for purposes scarcely known to those who composed it, and having no specific object that he could ascertain, unless to prevent the reduction of wages and the ejection of tenants from their holdings. It consisted of considerable numbers, and included, besides the ignorant and undesigning, every person heretofore noted in his neighbourhood for corrupt, immoral, and general depravity of character. Catholics and Protestants were united in it. "They assemble at night in unfrequented places to deliberate and issue and receive orders." The plunder of arms was a favourite object; and in carrying it into effect they guarded against detection by deputing individuals unknown to those whose houses or property were destined for attack' (ii. p. 168).

And the excellent advice and appeal with which the letter concludes are worth perusal, particularly at this time:—

'The bishop begged of his hearers not to infer that the owners of land were not justified in the ejection of a tenant who had run into

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arrears, or who neglected to cultivate his land. If landlords were not entitled, in justice to themselves and their families, to eject such tenants and let the land to others more industrious and deserving, all rights of property would have ceased; goods would become common to all people, and theft and injustice would cease to be forbidden by the laws of God and man . . . So I say to you, brethren, bear the burdens of one another, be generous to your employers that your employers may be generous to you. Be patient whilst they are suffering, and when they are eased or affluent you will be sharers with them in whatever they possess. Protect their property as if it were your own. Be their safeguard and defence, and not the disturbers of their peace and the terrors of their nightly repose. Bear their present burdens with them, that hereafter they may lighten yours' (ii. p. 170).

Dr. Doyle was no doubt following the traditional policy of discouragement to secret societies on the part of the Roman bishops in Ireland, from which, as the letter of Archbishop Croke has lately shown, they seldom depart very far. But he is entitled to the high praise of having stood up for it at some danger of unpopularity with his flock, and enforced it with a singular and winning persuasiveness. He had himself sprung from the peasantry. He was at one with them in sentiment and feeling. 'You all know that I am one having the same interests and the same feelings as yourselves,' he says; and they trusted him consequently with an unbounded and touching confidence. There are probably few acts of any public man at that troubled time of which it can be said that while, on the one hand, he received the cordial and unanimous thanks of the English press, on the other, the rapid and salutary effect of it was such, that 'the disturbances ceased, and the illegal associations were dissolved.'[1]

The Repeal agitation was revived by O'Connell, much to Dr. Doyle's regret. While as yet a crisis was averted, the Government tried what a policy of conciliation would do towards peace, and made use of the Bishop's good offices for that purpose. A patent of precedency[2] at the Bar was presented to O'Connell by the hands of Dr. Doyle, who was his friend, in order to show their willingness to come to terms; and we learn from his own statement, which there seems no

[1] There were, however, limits, as it was natural there should be, to the bishop's capability of acting as a pacificator among the peasantry. 'I am tired, my lord,' he writes in one place to Lord Darnley, 'of appealing to the religious feelings of men who either have no employment, or labour during six days for five shillings.' Truly a Sisyphean task!

[2] Surely this must be what is meant by Dr. Fitzgerald. But he writes it '*Presidency*' (ii. p. 334).

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reason to doubt, that the Attorney-Generalship was offered to him. But the offer came too late. The arch-agitator became, after a short period of moderation, more violent than ever against foes and friends alike. The agitation against tithes, upon which the Bishop and the 'Liberator' were agreed, broke out also with renewed fury. These two sources of agitation combined raised the disorder to such a height that restraint, at any cost, became imperatively necessary. The tithe became almost valueless, because it could not be collected, owing to the determined resistance of the people. The clergy of the Church of Ireland were reduced to such distress that a grant of 1,000,000*l.* was voted by the Legislature for their relief. It was stated in the House of Lords by Lord Grey that between January 1 and December 31, 1832, not less than 9,000 crimes had been committed in Ireland. Of murders alone there were 196! Assassinations occurred daily; and although rewards, amounting to 12,000*l.*, were offered during several months by the Government for the discovery of the murderers, only two such rewards were claimed. Witnesses were intimidated from giving evidence, and jurors from bringing in verdicts of guilty.

Amidst this deplorable scene of confusion Dr. Doyle was not wanting to himself or to his country. On the one hand, he gave evidence strongly and bitterly against tithes before a Parliamentary committee in London; on the other, he proceeded to traverse the disturbed districts, 'for hours harangued the misguided people,' until, won by the pathos and sublimity of his appeals, we are told, 'you might behold the big tears chasing each other round the rugged and blackened cheeks of the colliers . . . many of whom came to mock, but remained to pray.' The effects of these appeals were, it is said, 'instantaneous and incredible. Cartloads of arms, guns, pistols and rusty swords, were surrendered at the times and places appointed, whilst many of these misguided men, whose consciences were charred and battered as their faces, returned to habits of order, sobriety and the observance of their religious duties. It is to be feared, however, that in many instances the reformation was but momentary, and that the elements of disorder were dispersed at one place, only speedily to recombine at another. We are told that even the Bishop sometimes thought the state of the people hopeless. After one of these scenes he would have fits of despondency, which would last for hours and even days. On one occasion he said to one of his clergy: 'Well, James, these people are unfit for liberty! Yes, I adopt the sentiment and language of Wellington. I



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am not surprised that he has disowned this country and people, they are savages unworthy of the blessings of liberty!' (vol. ii. p. 410).

In 1833 a Coercion Bill was passed; and so obvious was the necessity, that we find him writing:—

'If we are to be subjected to a despotism, let it be the despotism of gentlemen, though but twenty-one years of age, not of the brutal *canaille* composing the Trades Unions and Blackfeet Confederacies. The honest and industrious people of this country will suffer less and prosper more under the iron rule of the constituted authorities—let these be who they may—than under the yoke of the impious and seditious, who now torment them and drive them into all manner of folly and excess' (vol. ii. p. 459).

Very remarkable words were all these, considering that they were uttered by the foremost patriot among Irishmen; and it is a striking instance of the way in which history repeats itself, that if we read 'Land League' for 'Trades Unions' the whole passage is exactly applicable to the state of Ireland during the last eighteen months. Such an expression of opinion from such a man, uttered not in the heat of youth nor in a moment of passion or excitement, but at the close of a life spent in the service of the very people whom he thus characterized, and when his unwearied service was drawing to an end, is most significant, and should point our statesmen to some truths which they have, it may be, as yet insufficiently apprehended.

For it was now becoming plain that the strenuous worker, the keen controversialist, the eloquent preacher, the faithful chief pastor, had well nigh reached the term of his earthly labours. Entire abstinence from every kind of exertion, mental or bodily, was enjoined upon him by the doctors. This was difficult for him to adopt while in Ireland, even had he been willing to obey. But he seems to have been a strong-willed patient at all times, declining to be bound by a medical *fiat* any further than it commended itself to his own judgment.

As long as it was possible he continued his pastoral duties. 'Even when his body was worn out by a lingering disease,' he would sit in the sanctuary of the chapel at Carlow, hearing at the rails the confessions of the beggars in particular, where he was exposed to cold and inconvenience in many ways.

'He had a loud voice, which sometimes became specially sharp during the excruciating pain of his tedious illness. The study hall and chapel, during the progress of some alterations at the college, communicated and seemed the one apartment. He was talking loudly in the study hall when suddenly he asked: "Is the Holy of

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Holies here?" "Yes." He at once genuflected, and with eyes cast down seemed for some moments absorbed in earnest prayer.

'Though few ventured to give it, yet, when conscientiously offered, Dr. Doyle took reproof well. A traveller one day in passing Braganza called upon the bishop, and after paying fulsome compliments, concluded by requesting alms. Dr. Doyle, with *hauteur*, replied: "That the small funds placed at his disposal were given to the poor of his district, and that charity began at home." "It ends there, too, sir," replied the stranger; "and I tell you that your absence of humility and want of charity to the stranger unfits you for the office you hold." Dr. Doyle was a good deal annoyed by this attack, and that night he asked his curate, Mr. Maher, whether any appearance of pride ever marked his demeanour. "Well, my lord, perhaps a little may sometimes seem to assert itself," was the reply. "If so, it was your duty to have told me in order to its correction," said Dr. Doyle. "Was it left for the stranger, passing the road, to come to tell your bishop of his faults?"' (vol. ii. p. 478).

Shortly before his death he fainted from sheer exhaustion after celebrating mass, but persisted nevertheless in preaching, and we are told:—

'He was determined to accomplish what S. Augustine had mastered. "I'll lean upon God," he said; "He will not withdraw to let me fall."

'The Church was already filled by hundreds, anxiously waiting to hear the bishop's sermon and receive his benediction. I went to hear the evangelist contend with the empire of death for the hour which he thought duty demanded. With a countenance pale and careworn, and marked by the haggard hue of wasted energy, he tottered up the stairs of the pulpit. He was obliged to keep both hands firmly grasped to the front of the pulpit, or he would have fallen. He preached with wonderful power nevertheless, and almost with stentorian strength of lung. I well remember the piercing intonation of his first words: "We must preach, brethren, and woe to him who does not preach." The sermon was listened to with breathless attention by priests and people. It was a splendid cornucopia of truths and precepts, sublime and practical' (vol. ii. p. 495).

His increasing feebleness now required the assistance of a coadjutor; and this relief was no sooner afforded to him than his worn out frame finally gave way. His death scene strikes the English reader as purposely dramatic in character, though it was imitated from the approved examples of Roman piety, and was probably not consciously studied. He said: 'Take this body of flesh and fling it on the floor.' 'His attendants gathered up the four corners of the sheet and placed their burden on the ground. Dr. Doyle several times endeavoured to raise his long bony arms, in order to meet his fingers in an



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attitude of prayer, but they as often fell from sheer debility. At last Dr. Maher presented the Holy Viaticum.'

It must be called a premature death, for he was only in his forty-eighth year; but he had been fifteen years a bishop. His life, however, like that of our own Bishop Wilberforce, to whom we have already compared him, was one of those rare careers which, by their abnormal and marvellous activity, compress the incidents and the results of many ordinary lives within their own narrow bounds. He was a great force among his countrymen, but it was an intelligent and beneficent force; the force of intellect and of active goodness. It must be considered as the consequence of the circumstances in which he found himself, rather than any deliberate action of his own, that enlisted him in the ranks of party controversy, and made him the keen combatant that he was on behalf of his country, his party, and his Church. But he was large-hearted enough to be fervent without bigotry, and his fine intelligence easily discerned the enormous importance, to so comparatively poor and resourceless a country as Ireland, of the connexion with its far larger and richer neighbour. Without English capital and English commerce, without the richer and more affluent currents of national life, which are our British contribution to the body politic made up of the two, Ireland must speedily sink into miserable poverty and mere listless isolation, or, as the only alternative, be absorbed into the possessions of some other Power, less nearly related to her indeed, but more resolute and ruthless in crushing out resistance, than England. The Irish leaders of the present have not chosen to see this truth, and they have blinded the eyes of the people that follow them. Amid the chaos of miserable incompetence and deplorable self-seeking exhibited by the petty demagogues of the day, those who have really the good of Ireland at heart must often long, but long in vain, for a single hour of the lofty and clear-sighted patriotism, strident voice, and torrent-like eloquence, of the great bishop, James Doyle.

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## ART. II.—ON THE CLEMENTINE LITURGY.

1. *Constitutiones Apostolicæ.* Ed. GUIL. ÜLTZEN. (Suerini, 1853.)
2. *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies.* NEALE and LITTLEDALE. Second edition. (London, 1869.)
3. *Eucharist.* By the Rev. E. S. FFOULKES, in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography.* (London, 1880.)
4. *Antient Liturgies.* By C. E. HAMMOND, M.A. (Oxford, 1878.)

IT has long been our opinion that very uneven justice has been done to the so-called Clementine Liturgy. It has either been unwisely praised or unduly depreciated. All writers who notice it agree in the opinion that it was never, *as it stands*, the regular Liturgy of any Church. They differ chiefly as to the proportion of its text that is genuine and the proportion that is due to the compiler. We are not aware, however, that anyone has hitherto treated it as the learned author of the article at the head of our paper has done, who begins by calling it 'a pseudonymous composition that acquired prestige solely from the honoured name, S. Clement of Rome, that was made to vouch for it,' and goes on to attribute to it sufficient influence to effect the insertion of the account of the Institution and the Words of Institution into all other Liturgies (the same not having antecedently, as he believes, formed a part of the Eucharistic Office at all), and, in the West at least, to have very seriously modified the Church's teaching as to the Blessed Sacrament. Considering that in all extant Liturgies, Eastern and Western included, the Prayer of Consecration contains a reference to the Institution, and that of all these only three[1] out of some eighty Syro-Jacobite Liturgies are without the Words of Institution, while three more and one Copto-Jacobite Liturgy are without one member of them, this opinion of Mr. Ffoulkes demands investigation. We shall advert to some of his proofs presently.

We assume our readers to be acquainted with the commonplaces about this Liturgy, the facts of its general simplicity of structure, the absence of the Lord's Prayer, Creed,

[1] See Neale and Littledale's *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies*, Appendix I., and Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, Chap. VI. § ix., for full references.

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Prayer accompanying the Kiss of Peace, &c., all of which are found in most other Liturgies, also of the absence of any ritual directions connected with the Consecration.

The object of the following pages is to draw attention to certain points in this Liturgy which we believe have hitherto escaped observation, and from which we hope to establish the position that, though (as we must allow) the Liturgy, *taken as a whole*, was not used in any Church, yet it is compiled from several portions of Liturgies, and that these were really genuine liturgical forms. We hope also to throw some light on the date and locality to which some at least of them may be assigned.

The reader will be of course aware that this so-called Clementine Liturgy is found in the Eighth Book of the Apostolical Constitutions,[1] given there as part of the service for consecrating a Bishop. On a Sunday morning the Bishop-elect is to be formally nominated, and a public scrutiny is to be held into his life and character; and if, after a threefold proclamation, the people assent, he is consecrated by the presiding Bishop, who stands at the altar with two others and pronounces the Consecration Prayer, while the Deacons hold a Book of the Gospels open upon his head. After the prayer one of the Bishops places the consecrated Eucharist upon his hands,[2] he is enthroned in his proper seat among the rest of the Bishops, receiving from them the Kiss of Peace, and the regular celebration of the Holy Mysteries follows, at which he is directed to be the preacher and celebrant (*Ap. Const.* VIII. iv. 2—v. 5).

The fifth century is the latest date that can with reason be assigned to the Apostolical Constitutions; more probably they belong to the fourth: but that by no means settles the date or the authorship of the Liturgy, for the book is undoubtedly in great part a compilation out of earlier material; and the question at once arises whether the Liturgy may not belong to this category, and, if so, from what source was it derived.

Setting aside the *à priori* improbability that in those early ages of the Church any private individual would have set to work to compose an original Liturgy, and publish it as autho-

[1] It is not found in the *Cod. Baroccianus* (Bodleian). Some critics consider that the shorter form of the Eighth Book of the *Apost. Constitutions* found in this codex is an earlier and purer edition of it; others that it only consists of extracts from the full form. The question is of little consequence to the purposes we have now before us.

[2] For the significance of this rite, see Willis, *Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 128, 129.

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ritative—at all events, if it did not maintain the customary and well-known features of the Liturgy—we think that a very small amount of attention is required to detect features incompatible with the view of its being an original composition. Were the Liturgy composed by the writer of the book, we should at least expect to find a consistency in the mode of expression, in the description of Church officers, in the directions for similar actions, and so on. But the direct opposite is what we find. For instance, the celebrant is generally in the Rubrics called *ἐπίσκοπος*, but in the middle[1] (pp. 10, 11, 12, 16) he is called *ἀρχιερεύς*, and afterwards *ἐπίσκοπος* again (p. 19, &c.). The forms of the Apostolic Benediction, occurring in two places (pp. 3, 12), differ curiously. The Deacon's proclamation (p. 11) is a repetition of what has already been transacted in detail, and that with a transposition of two of the acts. The grade of Holy Orders below the Deacons is called *ἡ ὑπηρεσία* (pp. 9, 20), *ὑποδιάκονοι* once in the Intercessions (p. 18) and several times in the Rubrics, and is included in *πᾶς ὁ κλῆρος* (p. 18). The same persons who are called (p. 9) *εὐνοῦχοι ὁσίως πορευόμενοι* are called *ἀσκηταί* (p. 21). The directions to the different orders of Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents, at their dismissal are given with several variations of expression, though the action intended in each case is the same. This variation is not what we should expect in a literary composition, for the simple reason that people naturally use the same language to express the same thing or action.

And now a little closer attention will show, we venture to think, unmistakably that this Liturgy is not a homogeneous composition, but that it is put together from several different documents.

At the outset, no one reading the Liturgy as it occurs in the Apostolical Constitutions can fail to be struck with the abrupt and disjointed way in which it is introduced. The compiler begins by saying that the assembly for the purpose of the election and consecration is to take place on a Sunday, and describes the proceedings down to the placing of the consecrated Eucharist upon the hands of the new Bishop, as described above. Then abruptly the account goes on:—*καὶ τῇ ἑωθεν ἐνθρονιζέσθω κ.τ.λ.* (VIII. v. 5), as if the previous acts had not taken place on Sunday morning. A fresh note of time is introduced, which yet, from the nature of the case, must refer to the same day (Sunday) previously mentioned;

[1] The references are throughout made to the pages of Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western.*

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for the compiler of the Constitutions seems only to recognize Sunday as the day on which the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. This reads as if he were incorporating some other account of the service with his own.[1]

We are next struck with the occurrence of a dismissal of the *φωτιζόμενοι*. These were candidates for immediate baptism. Hence this section would be only used occasionally: Easter and Pentecost being the usual seasons for administering that Sacrament, and in some few Churches Epiphany also. There are some differences[2] in the wording of this section, as compared with the Dismissal formula for the Catechumens and Penitents, which suggest that the compiler is here inserting from another source again. Anyhow, it is clear that he is giving us a comprehensive example of the Liturgy, including its occasional parts, just as in the Coptic Liturgy (Hammond's *Lit. E. and W.* p. 200) we find special petitions for different periods of the year; and, indeed, we gather from his own words later on (*Ap. Const.* VIII. xv. 5) that this is his intention.

Then comes the great break of continuity (*Lit. E. and W.* p. 11, *Ap. Const.* VIII. xii.). The different orders of Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents, have been already dismissed, the Deacon's Litany and Collect for the People have been said, the Kiss of Peace has been given, and water has been brought to the priests by a sub-deacon, preparatory to the Anaphora, when the compiler starts off with—

'Then I James, the brother of John the son of Zebedee, direct the deacon to say straightway, Let no Catechumen, let no Hearer, let no unbeliever. let no heretic, be present. Ye who join in the First Prayer depart. Let no one have aught against any, let no one (give it) in hypocrisy.'

It is impossible that there should be a repetition of the proclamations for the various Dismissals, and for the Kiss of Peace, at this later point in the service. But the explanation seems easy, that here the compiler begins to incorporate

[1] Another explanation is just possible: namely, that the assembly for the scrutiny and election was held at night. Such, according to Martene, was an early Roman usage. There is nothing, however, in the text to suggest this. The phrase which appoints the time is simply *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ*.

[2] *E.g.* the clause *ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν* is omitted; and instead of the Deacon's proclamation *Ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε. Κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.* The direction is given in the form of a rubric. There is a special reason why this direction is omitted in the case of the Energumens (see S. Chrys., *Hom.* III., *De incomp. Dei Nat.* p. 470).

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another Liturgical document, in which the Dismissals were not given at length, but only indicated, and which he took just as it was. It quite falls in with this supposition that he should attribute this new document to a fresh Apostle, S. James. The directions for the Consecration of the Bishop have been assigned to S. Peter, and the earlier part of the Liturgy to S. Andrew.

Further indications that we have a new document seem to be given by the appearance of the term *ἀρχιερεύς* for the Bishop. He is thus designated in the rubric before the Celebrant's Collect for the Faithful, and in the rubrics of the Anaphora till the one which follows the Great Intercession, where the term *ἐπίσκοπος* reappears and is used to the end. And when, finally, we find in precisely the same portions of the Liturgy remarkable internal indications of an independent unity, as we shall presently show in full, the suggestion assumes a degree of probability approaching certainty. An objection may, perhaps, strike the reader when he remarks that the Collect for the Faithful and the Anaphora are separated by that Proclamation of the Deacon to which we adverted just now as marking the separation of one document from another, so that this Collect for the Faithful belonging to one document falls within the range we have assigned to another document. This, however, does not appear an insuperable difficulty when we remember that we have to do with a thoroughly eclectic compiler, who is evidently selecting from his materials those which he thinks will give the best example of the service, and who may have thought the particular collect in one document better suited to his purpose than the corresponding one in the other.

But, before we go further, let us examine this particular section of the Liturgy in respect of its theological phraseology. It is an interesting speculation, and one bearing closely upon the genuineness and the date of this, the most important portion of this Liturgy, how far the composer of the Preface had in view the doctrines of the Gnostic Valentinus, and intended definitely to express the opposite truths. For if, as we believe can be shown, the allusions to that heresy are pretty numerous, and the way in which they are introduced is simple and natural, we may fairly argue that the Preface was composed at a time when the heresy was a real living opponent of the Church, and that it was really intended for use in some part of the Church where the influence of the heresy was felt. Now, as we shall show, the number of these allusions is too great to be accidental, and the manner in which

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they occur, being many of them single passing expressions, is too unstudied to allow us to deem this a private composition of some antiquarian liturgist. Valentinus died about 160 A.D., and it is said that a remnant of his sect still survived at the beginning of the fifth century. While then, if the above inferences are correct, this portion of the Clementine Liturgy was almost certainly earlier than the date of the compilation of the Apostolical Constitutions, it might have been composed at any time after the middle of the second century. Also, since Valentinus was especially connected with Rome, some probability is added to the suggestion that the Clementine Liturgy represents an early Western Liturgy.

But we must give some examples of the kind of allusions we have been referring to. They will fall into three groups: having regard to Valentinus's theory on the nature and attributes of God Himself (including the relation of the Logos to Him); on the work of Creation; and of Redemption. A full account of the system may be found in Mansel's *Gnostic Heresies*, Lectures XI. and XII., in the Preface to Harvey's edition of the *Works of S. Irenæus*, tom. i. pp. cxi—cxlvi, or in Neander's *Church History*, section iv.; a shorter one in Robertson's *Church History*, vol. i., pp. 38—43. We shall only notice here such points as are required to explain the allusions in the Liturgy.

Valentinus then, without formally denying the personality of the Supreme God, conceived for himself a primary being, unknowable and unspeakable, potentially containing all existence, to which he gave the name of Βυθός, or *Depth*, and from which he further conceived that a number of emanations (Æons) of different orders were successively evolved: from Βυθὸς, Νοῦς, termed also Μονογενής; from Νοῦς, Λόγος, and from Λόγος, Ἄνθρωπος. Each of these was accompanied by a corresponding Female Element, or Æon: namely, Σιγή, Ἀλήθεια, Ζωή, and Ἐκκλησία, respectively; though there is a doubt whether Σιγή, the consort of Βυθός, formed part of the original scheme of Valentinus, or whether she was not assigned afterwards by way of symmetry, as representing the idea ἄῤῥητος, which was involved in the conception of the First Principle. At all events, all the rest of the scheme of evolution proceeded by pairs; those above enumerated forming the first Ogdoad, these in turn giving rise to a Decad, and the Decad to a Dodecad of subordinate Æons, all together forming the Pleroma (πλήρωμα). These Æons seem really to represent personifications of the Divine attributes or operations. Besides these, three other Beings

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emanated from Νοῦς: namely, Ὅρος, the principle of Order by limitation, to maintain the system of the Pleroma; and the higher Christ (for there were eventually three Christs), together with the Holy Spirit, to remedy the disturbance that had been wrought in the Pleroma by the uncontrolled aspirations of Σοφία, the youngest of the Æons.

The creation of matter and its relation to the Divine Essence depends upon these aspirations of Σοφία. She conceived an intense desire (ἐνθύμησις) to comprehend Βυθός in his ineffable glory: a degree of knowledge of which Νοῦς only was capable. Finally, however, restrained by Ὅρος, and convinced that the Deity is incomprehensible, she laid aside this ἐνθύμησις, which was banished as a defective birth, formless and helpless, outside the Pleroma, and herself returned to her proper sphere. But the ἐνθύμησις, on whom first the higher Christ took pity and bestowed certain power and form without knowledge, was further gifted by the lower Christ (a Being who had been formed along with the angels by the joint operation of all the Æons contributing each that which was most excellent in each) with some degree of knowledge and power of organization; and from her now, as the Achamoth, or lower Σοφία, came into existence three kinds of substance, the bare material (ὕλη), the animal (ψυχικόν), and the spiritual (πνευματικόν). The second of these took form as the Demiurge, who fashioned the material world out of the first, matter. The Demiurge also formed man; not of the dry dust of the earth, but of invisible transcendental matter. Into this transcendental body was breathed the soul of life, and it was afterwards 'clothed upon' with the body of tangible flesh; and into a portion of the human race, the elect, was further infused the spiritual principle. For these only (the πνευματικοί) was there complete redemption and admission to the Pleroma; there was an inferior degree of redemption for the ψυχικοί among men, who would be allowed to find rest with the Demiurge outside the Pleroma; the merely carnal men, together with all else that is merely material, will be consumed by fire and annihilated.

The Christ through whom the redemption, such as it is, is effected is the third Being of that name, being derived from the Demiurge, with a psychical body, who passed into the world through the Blessed Virgin (ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος), like water through a pipe, not receiving anything from her. Upon him the Æon Christ descended at the baptism in the form of a dove, and again disengaged himself before the Passion.

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With this sketch before us we shall the better see the force of the following expressions in the Prayer of the Faithful and the Preface.

The Prayer of the Faithful begins thus:—'Almighty Lord, most high, that dwellest in the highest; thou Holy One that restest in the holy place, without beginning, Lord of all: who *through Christ*[1] hast given *us* the preaching of knowledge, that *we might fully know Thy glory and Thy name*, which He manifested to us *for our comprehension* (εἰς κατάληψιν).' How different is this from the doctrine of Valentinus' First Principle, unspeakable (ἄῤῥητος) and incomprehensible (ἀκατάληπτος), who could only be known through his Μονογενής—a very different Only-Begotten from that of S. John! The rest of the Prayer is such as could not be used by a follower of Valentinus; but there are no single expressions that seem to glance directly at the heresy. We pass on then to the Preface.

The opening sentence presents nothing to our purpose, but we soon come to this expression, 'From whom (*i.e.* the Supreme God), *as from a starting-point*, all things passed into being' (ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καθάπερ ἔκ τινος ἀφετηρίας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆλθεν). Now clearly the meaning intended to be conveyed by this, whether we take ἀφετηρία to be the 'starting-point of a racecourse,' or, as it were, the 'radiant point' of a stream of meteors, is that of *direct effluence of all created things from the same source*, and that source the Supreme God: an idea completely opposed to the Valentinian notion of successive evolutions of Æons, with matter finally produced by the *distractions* of an abortive offspring of the youngest of them!

The next clause is 'Thou art the Knowledge that hath no beginning, the Sight that hath no ending, the Hearing unbegotten, the Wisdom untaught; in nature first, in Being alone, and *superior to all number*.' On which it may be remarked that, while it would be contrary to the fundamental principle of Valentinus to assign these attributes to the Supreme God, who was unknowable and unspeakable, and therefore the earlier part of the sentence may well be taken to have a reference to this theory, the last expression is well-nigh unintelligible, unless we interpret it with regard to some such conception as that of Valentinus with his Ogdoad, Decad, and Dodecad of Æons, arranged in mutual pairs and corresponding Tetrads.

[1] The expressions are italicized to which it is desired to draw attention.

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Then follows an assertion of the creation of all things *out of nothing* (ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος), through the only-begotten Son :—

'And Him thou didst beget before all ages (πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων, which, by the way, might here be translated "before all Æons") by Thy will, and power, and goodness, *immediately* (ἀμεσιτεύτως), an only-begotten Son, God the Word, living Wisdom, the Firstborn of all creation, Angel of Thy great counsel, Thy High Priest, King and Lord of all nations visible and invisible, Who is before all things, and by Whom are all things.'

And then is assigned in detail to the same agency the creation of the various orders of heavenly beings and the visible universe. Scarcely an expression here but contradicts some detail of the Valentinian theory given above. The world was not, according to him, framed out of nothing; the Monogenês was not the agent in the work of creation; the Logos was not the Monogenês, but a lower Æon evolved from him, therefore also not God; Sophia, again, was not the Monogenês, nor the Logos, but a still lower Æon. The word ἀμεσιτεύτως seems to glance at and contradict this theory of successive emanations. Again, the King of all things was not the Monogenês, but the Demiurge (συμπάντων βασιλέα, Iren. *Adv. Hær.* I. i. 9). The angels were created not as the rest of the creation, but by the co-operation of all the Æons; and whereas in the Gnostic conception Matter was produced by the lower Sophia, and organized by the Demiurge, we have in the Liturgy the statement, 'By whose hands thou didst grant (all things) their being, *by the same* didst thou confer on them their well-being.'

After a long description of the visible universe, the Preface proceeds to praise for the creation of man, still attributing all to the Supreme Father, working through the Son, in the midst of which the following occurs :—

'For Thou saidst to Thy[1] Wisdom, "Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowls of the air." Wherefore also Thou didst make him of an immortal soul and dissoluble body, the one *formed out of nothing*, and the other *out of the four elements*.'

Here, again, the identification of Σοφία with one of the persons of the Godhead, and with the Creator at once, is dis-

[1] Τῇ σῇ σοφίᾳ might be translated 'in Thy wisdom;' but with Just. M., *Dial. c. Tryph.* 61, 62, before us we are decidedly in favour of taking Σοφία as a personification. Justin, after recounting some of the titles of the Son of God, as Λόγος, Σοφία, Δύναμις, and Δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος, turns to this passage from Genesis, and interprets it of God the Father communing with His eternal Son, *as being 'the Wisdom of God.'*

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tinctly anti-Valentinian; and so is the description of the constitution of man's nature: the soul fresh-created out of nothing by God, instead of being inbreathed by the Demiurge; the body fashioned out of the terrestrial elements, instead of a mysterious invisible *hylic* substance afterwards clothed with a fleshy garment!

Much of this is repeated in the latter part of the Preface, which follows the Triumphal Hymn, commemorating the Work of Redemption, and introducing the account of the Institution and the Consecration. The point that will strike a careful reader most, we think, is the constant repetition, in varied language, of the truth, that He, who was the only-begotten Son of God, the Word, who had made and watched over and guided providentially the race of man, *really* took human nature of the substance of the Blessed Virgin, *really* suffered, was judged and died. All this emphasis must have some purpose. What purpose so likely as to contradict the Gnostic, and virtually Docetic, error of two Christs united temporarily, of whom the higher was impassible and left the lower Christ before the Passion?

So, too, the expression that 'He freed *all men* from the impending wrath' may well be taken as a contradiction of the Valentinian doctrine that some men (*οἱ πνευματικοί*) *must* be saved; for some, again (*οἱ ψυχικοί*), salvation is uncertain; while the fleshly (*οἱ σαρκικοί*) *cannot* be saved. We do not mean to imply that such a statement as this by itself need refer to the heresy of Valentinus; but it is difficult to believe that so many statements, which singly may refer to different parts of the theory, could be found together in the same document without being intended to glance at it.

There is just one more sentence deserving of comment. It occurs immediately before the last referred to: namely, 'He (*i.e.*, the only-begotten Son) propitiated Thee, His God and Father, and reconciled Thee to the world.' It occurs again a little later, at the end of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Neale remarks upon the unscripturalness of this phrase, and considers it an argument in favour of the belief that this Liturgy was never really employed by any Church. The 'marvellous theological accuracy of early liturgies,' he thinks, would not have allowed the phrase to remain in use. Unscriptural the phrase is to this extent, that it is not countenanced by the strict letter of Scripture, according to which (cf. Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 20, 21) God is said to '*reconcile us to Himself*.' It is, however, found in the Great Intercession of S. James' Liturgy (*Liturgies E. and W.* p. 44—*πᾶσιν ἡμῖν*

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διαλλάγηθι), and it finds early support in the *First Ep. of S. Clement* (xlviii. 1); also cf. Hermas, P. *Vis.* I. 2. 1 (πῶς ἐξιλάσομαι τὸν θεόν;), and S. Chrys., *Hom. in Ascens.* pp. 448, 449. In the passage before us, however, we should observe that God is said to be reconciled, not 'to man,' but to 'the world' (τῷ κόσμῳ), which, from its previous use in the Liturgy, would include the whole material universe. We suggest, therefore, that the phrase may have been intended to express the doctrine of the reconciliation effected between God and His creation by the atoning work of Christ in a way less liable to Gnostic misapprehension than the strictly Scriptural one. That is to say,—

Whereas the Valentinian looked forward to a restoration of harmony in the universe by the annihilation of everything material, and a reabsorption of that which is spiritual into the Pleroma, the phrase that 'God is reconciled to the world' seems to lay stress on the mode in which God manifested His love through the Incarnation: God the Son condescending to enter into His creation, which had become involved in the penalty of Adam's sin (Rom. viii. 19–22), bringing down the Godhead *first* into union with His alienated creatures, as the means of raising them to their predestined glory. We feel, however, that not much stress can be laid on this point.

Before leaving this part of the subject one more remark must be made, which has some bearing on the locality to which these sections, at all events, of this Liturgy belonged. The verbal coincidence of a portion of the Invocation with some words of S. Irenæus[1] (*Frag. Pfaff.* 36) is well known.

| [1] *Clementine Liturgy.* | *S. Irenæus.* |
|---|---|
| Καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως . . . . καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην . . . . ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ . . . . ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι . . . . ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσι. . . . . | ἐνταῦθα τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ χριστοῦ, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν. |

The use of ἀποφαίνω is noteworthy. It is also used by S. Cyril Jer. in the same connection (*Cat. M.* iv. 1), αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποφηναμένου καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, Τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα, κ.τ.λ. (and § 6, ἀπόφασις). Mr. Ffoulkes translates it 'declare;' but it is used in ordinary Greek for 'to make' (change) a person or thing into something else. See references in Liddell and Scott, s. v., and Arrian, *Alex. Anab.* vii. 9, where Alexander, addressing his Macedonian soldiers, says that his father Philip had found the Macedonians mere nomad barbarians, and '*made them dwellers in cities*' (πόλεων οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε). And though, of course, with God 'to speak' is the same as 'to effect'—'He spake and it

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It is moreover hardly possible to avoid the inference that S. Irenæus in that passage is referring to the words of the Liturgy which he used. But it is also noteworthy that the Valentinian heresy was the one which gave occasion to S. Irenæus' great work *Adversus Hæreses*, and with the confutation of which that work is largely occupied. It would seem then not altogether improbable that this part of the Liturgy, namely, the Prayer of the Faithful, and from the Preface onwards to the end of the Invocation, may represent a Liturgy of the West with which S. Irenæus was familiar.

To return then to our point, we are inclined to distinguish at least three documents from which the prayers of the so-called Clementine Liturgy are derived. No. 1 is from the beginning to the Kiss of Peace; and, perhaps, also to this belongs the latter part of the Liturgy, beginning after the Great Intercession, to the end of the service. At least, we can detect no reason why this portion should not have come from the same source. No. 2 is the Formula for the Dismissal of the *φωτιζόμενοι*, inserted, as we think, in the midst of No. 1. And No. 3 is the *ἀρχιερεύς*-Fragment, with its anti-Valentinian phraseology.

The long rubrics throughout the Liturgy we are inclined to assign to the compiler himself, on the ground that rubrics of any length or elaborateness are unknown in any other liturgies till a very much later period than has ever been assigned to this book. It is of little matter, however, to the questions which we are now discussing whether this suggestion be accepted or not. This view of the case disposes of the objection which Renaudot adduces against an early date for this Liturgy, based on the fact that it is not found in the Syriac version of the Constitutions. We can readily grant with him that the insertion of the Liturgy, and some parts of the Liturgy itself, are due to the Greek compiler, and *so far* may represent, therefore, the Liturgy of the fourth and fifth century. Yet the documents out of which he compiled it might be, and as we believe are, of much earlier date than his compilation.

A Liturgy, shorter than that in the Greek, is given both in the Coptic and Æthiopic forms of the Constitutions in the corresponding place.

The question may reasonably enough be asked here, What is the nature of these documents from which you suppose the Liturgy to be compiled? and the answer to this question is closely connected with the more general question, Where and

was done'—yet in order to avoid possible misconception it is best to translate *ἀποφαίνειν* by 'make,' in the Liturgy and S. Irenæus alike.

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how did liturgies begin to be committed to writing? All the evidence bearing upon this matter is extremely vague. There are just three or four passages which are always referred to; and the manner in which they are claimed in turn as favourable to both sides of the question is enough to show how little they can be relied upon. There are—(1) Justin M., *Apol.* i. 67, 'The president puts up prayers and thanksgivings alike, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ.' Bearing in mind this use of the phrase in two other places in the same work (*Ap.* i. 13 and 55), and the phrase ὡς δύναμίς μου (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 80), we are inclined to translate this 'to the best of his power,' and to think that it implies a certain freedom of composition and even of extempore prayer; yet those who take the opposite view, and think that it means 'with all his might,' or the like, have much to urge in their favour,[1] not least of all the somewhat similar expression in the consecration prayer of the Clementine Liturgy—'We give thanks to Thee, O God Almighty, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα'—occurring in the midst of a written Liturgy. (2) Tert. *Apol.* c. 30—'Christiani . . . . sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus.' Here some take *de pectore* to mean 'heartily,' others to mean 'extempore.' The references in Facciolati, Lex. *s. v.* 'pectus,' seem to settle this in favour of 'heartily.' For the meaning 'extempore' there is plenty of support *when some other word is combined with the phrase*, modifying it in this sense, but not when it is used absolutely; whereas for the meaning 'heartily' we find an exact parallel in Statius, *Sylv.* IV. vi. 55, 'Sic mitis vultus, veluti de pectore gaudens, Hortetur mensas.' (3) S. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. xxvii. 66—

'Which of the saints hath left us in writing the form of Invocation at the Consecration of the Bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of Blessing? For you know we are not content with just the words the Apostle or the Gospel gives us, but we use other words before and after them, which we have received from unwritten teaching, because we think the effect of them upon the mystery is powerful.'

Doubtless, if this passage be taken by itself, it would seem to bear evidence against written liturgies in S. Basil's time: at least it would imply that the most solemn part was not committed to writing. But when we look at the context we see at once that S. Basil is contrasting, not what had been committed to writing with what had not been committed to writing, but *what rested on Scripture* for its authority *with*

[1] See the remarks of Bishop Lightfoot, *App. to S. Clement of Rome*, pp. 270, 271, and note 1.



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*what rested upon tradition.* What rested upon tradition might very well have been committed to writing in a post-Apostolic period. And so these liturgical formulæ of which he speaks, and which were supplementary to the words of institution—the only formulæ for which Scripture is the authority—may have been in writing in S. Basil's time for all he says to the contrary. It is evident from his way of speaking of them that they were fixed and well known.

In the absence of any clearer evidence than this we are driven to form our own conclusions from the probabilities of the case. There seems no certain evidence of any Office Books for public use in the Church till about the fourth century. There is mention of *traditores* giving up the Scriptures, but not of giving up other books, as must almost certainly have happened if such had existed. The only possible allusion to Church office books is where Origen quotes a charge made by Celsus, 'that he has seen in the possession of certain Christian priests strange books with the names of demons in them and juggleries' (Orig. *con. Cels.* vi. 40). These might possibly have been Diptychs, containing the lists of names and form of prayer for them, or Forms of Exorcism (see *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, art. 'Liturgical Books'). On the other hand, occasional quotations from the public prayers,[1] or, at least, allusions to them as to forms familiar to the people, and the still more direct evidence from the actual existence of[2] portions of liturgies which probably date from these early times: all this goes to prove that the liturgies very early took fixed forms, and must have been committed to writing, though very probably only in parts, and for the private use of the priests and deacons at home, who recited their parts *memoriter* in the actual services. Those who know the capacities of cultivated memory—and memories were more habitually cultivated when books were scarce, and writing materials costly, and education limited—need not wonder at the idea of a liturgy being recited without book, even though it contained so lengthy a form in it as the Clementine Preface.

It is now time to observe those features which impress us with a sense of the genuineness of this Liturgy; in other

[1] Cf. 1 *Ep. Clem.* c. 59 *seq.*; Just. M., *Apol.* i. 13; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 41, 117; Iren., *Frag. Pfaff.* 36; Orig., *Hom.* xiv., *in Jer.* p. 217, 218; Tert., *Apol.* 30, 39; Cyp., *De Orat. Dom.* p. 425; S. Cyr. Jer., *Cat. M.* v.

[2] *E.g.* Mone's *Missa*, v., and *The St. Gall Fragments*, attributed to S. Hilary (Bunsen's *Anal. Ante-Nic.* iii. p. 263 *seq.*) We should be inclined to add these fragments preserved in the Clementine Liturgy.

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words, which incline us to believe that it represents a real stage in liturgical development, and to draw inferences from it as much as if it had actually been used.

1. A little attention soon shows that a striking uniformity of type runs through it all. It is composed of a number of acts of Prayer and Thanksgiving, each of which consists of three parts. Take the Prayer for the Catechumens as a good example. First comes the Mid-day Prayer of the Deacon, in which he pronounces clause by clause the subjects of the Prayer, while the people respond, 'Lord, have mercy.' In this case the people are standing, the Catechumens, the objects of the Prayer, are prostrate. Then, secondly, the Catechumens are bidden to rise and pray for themselves. 'Commit yourselves to the only unbegotten God, through His Christ.' This must take place in silence, since no indications of a *προσφώνησις* follow this direction. Thirdly, they are bidden to bow their heads, and the Bishop (or Celebrant) utters a benedictory prayer over them. This threefold division of each act of prayer—namely, Deacon's Bidding Prayer, Silent Prayer of Self-Oblation, and Celebrant's Benedictory Collect—appears throughout this Liturgy, with one exception, and that a very significant and undesigned testimony of genuineness. The Silent Prayer is wanting in the Form of Dismissal of Energumens; and here S. Chrysostom comes to our aid, for he tells us (*Hom.* III. *De incomp. Dei Nat.* p. 470, Migne, i. 727) that the Energumens were only bidden to bow the head, because *they might not pray themselves with the congregation.*[1]

The full triple division is seen again in the Prayers of the Faithful, where, however, according to another place in S. Chrysostom's works (*Hom.* xviii. in *Ep.* 2 *ad Cor.* p. 568, Migne, x. 527), *ἑτέραν δεῖ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα.* The Prayer is of a different kind, for the Bidding-Prayer embraces all conditions of men, and the whole congregation, being now only composed of the Faithful, are prostrate during it; they *all* rise to commend themselves to God, they *all* bow their heads for the Celebrant's Collect. The Great Eucharistia (the Preface), with the Consecration and Great Intercession, of course stand alone as the centre of the service; but before Communion the same feature appears again. What we may

[1] The Silent Prayer is indicated in the Dismissal of the Competentes by the words of the rubric *κατασφραγισάμενοι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*, and in the Dismissal of the Penitents by the words *Ἀνάσταντες τῷ Θεῷ διὰ σοῦ χριστοῦ*, where we must supply *ἑαυτοὺς παράθεσθε* from analogy, to make out the grammar.



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call the 'Prayer of Humble Access' shows precisely this threefold division. The Deacon repeats a short form of the General Intercession; he then says to the people, 'Let us rise and commend ourselves to God through His Christ'—the regular formula—and then follows the Bishop's Collect. So again at the close of the service, after reception, the Thanksgiving is cast in the same mould. The Deacon first 'bids' some subjects of thanksgiving, then says, 'Let us rise. In the grace of Christ let us commit ourselves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to His Christ;' and the Bishop concludes with a set form. Finally comes the Dismissal-Benediction by itself.

Evidence is not wanting that this threefold division of the prayers is a mark of antiquity. The Prayer for the Catechumens, which may be collected in full from S. Chrysostom[1] (*Hom.* ii. in *Ep. 2 Cor.* p. 435, Migne, x. 399–404), exhibits this feature clearly; and, indeed, it has a very close resemblance throughout to that of the Clementine Liturgy, though not verbally identical with it.

Moreover, we cannot but believe that there is a connection between this threefold act of Prayer and the 'Three Prayers of the Faithful' mentioned in the nineteenth Canon of the Council of Laodicea. That canon directs[2] that after the Catechumens and Penitents have received the Benediction and departed, 'the Three Prayers of the Faithful are to be said, the first in silence, the second and third aloud; and then the Pax is to be given.' The difference in the order indicated may at first seem a difficulty. But the change of order is just what we might expect to take place when the old threefold act of prayer became obsolete, as it certainly did, though traces of it may still be observed in some of the earlier liturgies, *e.g.* in S. James (Greek and Syriac), in the Armenian and the Coptic, just in that part of the service where the Prayers of the Faithful would come. For the self-oblationary character of the old silent subdivision of the prayer would very well fit it to commence the second great[3]

[1] The Liturgical references in S. Chrysostom's works are collected and arranged in their proper liturgical order in Hammond's *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch.* (Clarendon Press, 1879.)

[2] The canon in question is as follows:—*περὶ τοῦ δεῖν . . . . μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι . . . κ.τ.λ.*

[3] The whole Eucharistic Service, if framed on any one of the Catholic models, falls into three main divisions, the objects of which are respec-

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division of the whole service, the key-note of which is Oblation; and with it might in some places have been joined the actual oblation of the Elements.

It is not impossible that in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom's time we see a transition stage of the Liturgy in this respect. It appears probable that the Elements were placed on the altar, and the curtains which had concealed the altar from view during the *Missa Catechumenorum* were withdrawn, immediately upon the dismissal of the Catechumens and Penitents, before the Prayers of the Faithful. The Prayers of the Faithful seem still to retain the threefold form (*see* Hammond's *Liturgy of Antioch*, pp. 12, 13), but it is easy to see the appropriateness of a silent prayer during the interval which must have occurred at that point, and it may well have been formally substituted for the subsequent Silent Prayer (as we believe it was) by the Laodicene Canon. The transition from this to an Offertory Prayer, said *secreto* at this point by the celebrant, like the Roman 'Secretæ,' would be easier still.

2ndly. The agreement of this Liturgy with that described by Justin Martyr (middle of second century) is very striking; the order of the following points being precisely the same in both. (1.) *Lections* from Old and New Testaments, followed by a sermon. (2.) *Prayers said by all in common* for all estates of men. (3.) The *Kiss of Peace.* (4.) The *Oblation of the Elements.* (5.) A *Long Thanksgiving* (εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται), which (as we further learn from *Apol.* i. c. 13 and *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 41 and 117) mentioned the creation and all temporal benefits conferred on man, such as the means of well-being, the qualities of various kinds of created things, the changing seasons and so forth, as well as the spiritual blessings in the destruction of his spiritual enemies through the Passion of Jesus Christ. The Passion seems to have been commemorated, and the words of Institution recited[1] (*Apol.* i. 66), which part of the Thanksgiving

tively Instruction, Oblation, and Communion. The Offertory is the *presentation* of the Offering preparatory to the Great Oblation, and both belong to the second division.

[1] This statement is denied in the article which stands at the head of our paper: namely, Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, Vol. II., *s. v.* 'Eucharist,' p. 245, &c. The object of that article is mainly dogmatic, and the earlier part of it is occupied in showing that the early liturgies and the early Fathers alike make the consecration of the Elements in the Holy Eucharist depend upon the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. With the dogmatic statements of Mr. Ffoulkes we are not now concerned, but in the course of his investigation he asserts it to be 'almost certain' that the Words of Institution had no place in the primitive Liturgy before the Clementine appeared, else 'we should have found some reference to it in

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Justin Martyr considered to effect (6) the *Consecration.* (7.) Then came *Prayers;* in particular, one for the enjoyment

the earlier Fathers' (*ut supra*, p. 248). Of course it is one thing whether or not the Words of Institution were recited in the Liturgy, and quite another thing whether the consecration was held to depend upon them in any degree. As to the first, the purely historical, question, we are quite unable to accept Mr. Ffoulkes' representation of the evidence in several particulars.

First and foremost, with regard to Justin Martyr. That writer's most remarkable statement about the Holy Eucharist is as follows :—(*Ap.* I. 66.) '*Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι*'—which Mr. Ffoulkes translates thus : 'For it is not as ordinary bread, or ordinary drink, that we receive these things; but as Jesus Christ Our Saviour was incarnate by the Word (*i.e.* the Spirit : comp. c. 33, where S. Luke, i. 35 is quoted) of God, so we have been taught that the food from which our flesh and blood derive nourishment by assimilation, having been blessed by invocation of the Word that is from Him (viz. the Holy Ghost, once more), is both the flesh and the blood of that same Jesus who was made flesh.' Thus far we give Mr. Ffoulkes' translation and parenthetical comments ; what follows is our own. The passage proceeds : 'For the Apostles in the books of memoirs written by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that they received the following commands : namely, that Jesus having taken bread gave thanks, and said, "This do in remembrance of Me. This is My body;" and that He took the cup likewise and gave thanks, and said, "This is My blood," and distributed it to them alone.' In Mr. Ffoulkes' translation above we take serious exception to two things. The first is (1) his explanation : the Word (*i.e.* the Spirit). He adduces in support of this c. 33, which, however, appears to us to make a statement precisely the converse of that which he alleges. S. Justin is there explaining Luke i. 35—'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee'—and Matt. i. 20, 21 ; and he says, 'We must here understand "the Spirit and the power proceeding from God" to be nothing else than the Logos, who is also the Firstborn of God.' Justin Martyr's statement in both places is that the Logos, proceeding from the Father, by His own Divine power entered the Blessed Virgin's womb and became incarnate ; and it is impossible to argue that because he interprets 'the Spirit' to mean 'the Logos' in one place, therefore 'the Logos' means 'the Spirit' in another place. (2) Secondly, we demur to Mr. Ffoulkes' translation of *δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, '*by invocation of the Word* (*i.e.* the Holy Ghost, once more) *that is from Him.*' We doubt here, as before, the possibility of *λόγος* meaning 'the Holy Ghost;' but, supposing it were possible, we cannot accept either 'prayer *to* the Logos' or 'prayer *for* the Logos,'—one of which must be meant by '*invocation of the Word*'—as a translation of *εὐχὴ λόγου*. 'Prayer *of* (*i.e.* uttered by) the Logos,' it might just possibly mean ; but that would not suit Mr. Ffoulkes' theory. Fortunately we have another passage of Justin Martyr, in c. 13 of the same treatise, which helps us. It runs thus :—'Who that is in his senses will not acquit us (Christians) of the charge of being Atheists, seeing that we worship the Maker of the Universe . . . and praise him to the best of our power with words

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of eternal life (*Apol.* i. 13); this part of the service being closed by the united 'Amen' of the congregation. And (8) lastly, the *Communion.* This order also agrees almost entirely with that of the Liturgy of Jerusalem (middle of fourth century) as inferred from S. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. M. V.*) We say 'almost,' because he does not indicate clearly the place of the Oblation of the Elements. It is, however, reasonable to infer that it followed the Kiss of Peace from his pointedly quoting the text, 'First be reconciled unto thy brother and then come and offer thy gift' (*ut supra*, § 3). The order of service in the Second Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Greek S. James, together with the Liturgy used by S. Chrysostom, have the Offertory before the Kiss of Peace. This would indicate a difference of use; and, if we are correct in the inference drawn above (p. 53), a use that was later in point of time than that of Justin Martyr and the Clementine Liturgy.

Putting together these different indications, we are strongly inclined to believe that the Clementine Liturgy is a genuine

of prayer and thanksgiving (λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας) for all things that we enjoy . . . ?' The phrase λόγῳ εὐχῆς here gives us the clue to δι' εὐχῆς λόγου above, and seems to mean 'the form of words in which the prayer is expressed.' We then have to ask, what is the Form of Prayer (ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ) 'proceeding from Christ?' If it were not for the succeeding clauses, which we have translated above, directly quoting the Words of Institution, and by means of the γὰρ bringing them into direct connection with this statement, we might accept one suggestion that has been made, namely, that S. Justin means here the Lord's Prayer. As it is, we see that the λόγος εὐχῆς must be some formula uttered by Our Lord, recorded in the Gospels in the accounts of the Institution, and repeated at every Eucharist. No words answer to these conditions but the so-called Words of Institution, which, accordingly, we believe to be the formula to which S. Justin refers.

Nor can we regard it so clear as Mr. Ffoulkes does that these Words of Institution did not form a part of the Liturgy known to S. Cyril of Jerusalem. It is true that S. Cyril attributes the Consecration to the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and that he does not in the Fifth Lecture on the Mysteries quote the words of Institution as part of the Liturgy. We might, perhaps, have expected that he would do so had they occurred in the Liturgy; yet, after all, he quotes but a very few words from the Liturgy in all. But in the Fourth Lecture, at the beginning of it, the Words of Institution are quoted and brought to bear upon the candidate's reception of the Eucharist in such a way as to suggest very naturally that the words formed a part of the service. We therefore hold that S. Justin M. certainly, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem very probably, witness to the recitation of the Words of Institution in the Liturgy as known to them; S. Chrysostom does so very distinctly, at least twice. Nor can we see any great '*indefiniteness*' in S. Cyprian's witness to the same effect, as Mr. Ffoulkes does (*ut supra*, p. 247, b), 'Et quia passionis Ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus . . . . nihil aliud quam quod Ille fecit facere debemus' (Ep. lxiii. 17).

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representation of a Liturgy used somewhere in the West, probably in Rome, about the middle of the third century; not the exact Liturgy *totidem verbis*, because it appears to be constructed out of at least two, and perhaps more, independent documents, and because of the presence of the long rubrics, which, we believe, would be an utter anachronism in any liturgy even approaching the latest date ever assigned to this one; yet genuine in a very true sense, because the documents out of which it is constructed are genuine, being probably the *libelli* which bishops, and probably priests too, had for their own use to study the service in. In that case the rubrics might possibly belong to the *libelli* themselves, being early traces of what afterwards became common in the West, the *libri officiales* or *libri de officiis;* or they might, as before suggested, be due to the compiler.

The connection with the Valentinian heresy, and the agreement with Justin Martyr's account of the Christian Liturgy, make for its Western home, though they are but slender indications. Yet quite consistent with this are the complete system of discipline, and the advanced stage of development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which is assumed in the Liturgy. This has been sometimes made a ground for assigning a later date to the Liturgy, and perhaps necessarily so, if it be assumed that the Clementine is a Palestinian or other Eastern Liturgy. But the whole ecclesiastical system developed earlier in the West than in the East; and there by the middle of the third century we might fully expect to see the Catechumens and Penitents dealt with as we find them dealt with in the Clementine Liturgy; while as for the various ecclesiastical Orders, we find Cornelius, Bishop of Rome (*cir.* A.D. 250), in a letter to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 43), enumerating presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers as the regular ministers of the Roman Church. That same letter, it may be remarked, uses προσφορά in the sense in which it is used in the Clementine Liturgy (*Lit. E. and W.* p. 21) for the portion of the Consecrated Bread given to each communicant. Here there is another slight indication pointing in the same direction.

Possibly some of our readers will think that, because the order of its main parts is that which is commonly considered typical of the chief family of Oriental Liturgies, it ought to be classed as an Oriental rather than a Western Liturgy. We are here on ground where we can only tread tentatively and by inference. There is so little positive evidence about the

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historical spread and development of liturgies! If we were obliged to assign the Clementine Liturgy to a late date, say the fifth century, the above objection would be a weighty one. But if we are justified in placing it in the third century, we escape many difficulties. For there are some grounds for believing that the order of the West Syrian, or Constantinopolitan, Family of Liturgies is nearest to that of the primitive Liturgy—the *order* (we do not mean the form of *words*)—which was probably Apostolic, and therefore at first carried by the first bands of missionaries into every country where they preached the Gospel. This order, then, and that too in the Greek language, was probably carried to Rome, and remained in use for some time. The early history of the Latin-Roman Liturgy has not yet been unravelled. If it derives its origin from a time within the first three centuries, we may state with confidence that it cannot have had exclusive possession of the field. We had occasion above to quote from the Greek letter of a Bishop of Rome, written in the middle of the third century; and there is plenty of evidence to show that there was at least a large Greek element in the Roman Church within that period. The names preserved, the titles used, the documents remaining, such as they are, all point to the fact that Greek was at least largely (if not commonly) in use among them. So that it need cause no surprise if a Greek Liturgy, agreeing even in small particulars with that of Jerusalem, be attributed to the Roman Church during the third century. Neither the language nor the form in the case of the Clementine Liturgy is inconsistent with this hypothesis.

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## ART. III.—CHARLES LOWDER.

*Charles Lowder, a Biography.* By the Author of the *Life of S. Teresa.* Second edition. (London, 1882.)

THIS is a book of absorbing interest, which must needs command a wide circulation, not among Mr. Lowder's many personal friends and those who substantially agreed with him in doctrine, but among all Churchmen who, whatever be their views on the question of Ritual, know a true man when they see him, and venerate self-devotion in the work of winning souls to God. The late Vicar of S. Peter's, London Docks,

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was not a man of brilliant abilities or great social attractiveness; he was, the biography repeatedly informs us, by no means eloquent as a preacher, nor did he at first know how to make religious teaching attractive; his insight into character was not always to be relied upon; his asceticism impaired his health, and withal his working force. To some persons he gave the impression of being naturally stiff and cold; of 'even practising a reserve of speech and manner,' of having to acquire gentleness by efforts which might be called 'business-like and mechanical' (pp. 115, 118). But if ever a man was real, Charles Lowder was that man. What need to speak of his calm unexcited courage, his splendid patience, his unsparing laboriousness, his habitual far-reaching charity, his burning love of souls, his intense loyalty to Christ as a personal Saviour? We speak of the founder of S. George's Mission, the man whom the rough population of that wild East London district received with suspicion soon deepening into violent hostility, and ended by adopting as their own 'Father Lowder;' who, in September of 1859, was nearly thrown into the docks by a mob elaborately lashed up into fury, and whose coffin, in the September of 1880, was beset by 'crowds of weeping men' pressing forwards only to get a touch of the pall that covered it. As the *Spectator* of January 21 justly said, this memoir is 'the record of a very noble life:' a life full of unconscious greatness, to which the term 'heroic' would not be misapplied.

Some, perhaps, have forgotten that Mr. Lowder served his apprenticeship to London Church work under Mr. Skinner (so recently taken from us) at S. Barnabas, Pimlico, from the autumn of 1851 to the late summer of 1856. It was at a time of vehement anti-Catholic agitation that he began his ministry as assistant curate at that celebrated church. Puritanism, or popular Protestantism, had already exhibited its readiness to use very base weapons against whatever it deemed 'Popish.' *Furor arma ministrabat.* If ever a religious party has demoralized itself by employing the most unspiritual and unevangelical agencies, on which it could not pretend to hope that a Divine blessing would rest, by joining hands with the world in its worst form to secure its assistance against unpopular opponents, it is the party which profited by the riots at S. Barnabas in 1850 and 1851, and the riots at S. George-in-the-East in 1859 and 1860, and which, having thrown its activities into the lines of the Church Association, is now deliberately bent on rooting out of the Church of England whatever will not conform itself to the Privy Council

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version of Prayer-Book law. Let us turn back to two grave and far-sighted articles of the *Christian Remembrancer* for 1851, and extract a few significant passages, which cannot be read in 1882 without a sense of thankfulness on one hand, but also of renewed anxiety on the other:—

'It is quite true that appearances are formidable; the odds are against us; we are playing at this moment, we are well aware of it, a losing game; it has been so for some time, and things are not likely soon to mend. It is trying, very trying, not the least so to Englishmen, to be on the losing side. . . . We must be content with it, however, we must make up our mind to it, . . . if we will help to keep the English Church what she has been, the witness to England of the truth and continuity of the Catholic Faith. Those who cannot bear to be on the losing side had best not embark in her cause,—at least not on her own principles. . . . Our day, it seems, is to be one of conflict. . . . We may not relish such additional trials of courage, constancy, steadiness of aim, and clearness of thought. But . . . they prove nothing against the goodness of a cause; we had no right to expect exemption from them; and they will compensate for much sadness and many losses, if they make us more thoughtful and more true' (vol. xxi. p. 210 *seq.*).

Again—and this will introduce one of the most painful sides of the subject—the writer is speaking of such a policy as Bishop Blomfield pursued in the S. Barnabas case:

'If these (acts) indicate what the High Church party are to expect from the authority of the English Bishops, they are signs of coming mischief and confusion more portentous than any other, because they are signs of increasing blindness to realities, of increasing readiness to sacrifice deliberately truth and fairness to the menaces of the many or of the great, increasing inability to face prejudice and clamour, increasing insensibility to the real strength, real dangers, real weapons of the Church. The Bishops cannot alter things . . . cannot alter her documents, . . . cannot prevent men from reflecting on them, comparing them, acting on them. The Bishops may place themselves in contradiction with the spirit of their own office, by siding against Church principles in favour of their ancient and plain-spoken opponents. Whether our Bishops are likely to gain by such a course may be questioned, but one thing is certain, that they will not be the arbiters of the result,' &c. (*ib.* p. 502).

What was the 'Ritualism' of S. Barnabas at the time in question? What was it, in Mr. Skinner's words (p. 36)—'which roused such a storm and provoked such outrage,' so that towards the end of 1850 'the religious people of the district were so horrified by the blasphemous cries of the mob that they were fain to keep within their houses?' It consisted

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in three things—1. 'Procession of clergy and choristers from and to the vestry. 2. Obeisance towards the altar on entering and retiring from the sanctuary. 3. The eastward position. 4. Coloured coverings proper for the season on the altar.'

Bishop Blomfield, it appears, approved of bowing to the altar, but not of bowing during the 'Gloria;' he allowed processions for the daily office; he gave way to Mr. Skinner's remonstrances in favour of retention of the chanting of the prayers. But observe what he tried to enforce; it is well that such orders should be remembered in 1882: 'If you don't say a collect' (before the sermon, instead of the invocation of the Holy Trinity), 'and don't say it to the west, I will withdraw your licence.' Referring to a metal cross on the retable, he said, 'If it costs me my see, I will have that cross removed.' Again, in 1852 he forbad flowers to be placed on any occasion on the altar. It is only fair to add that his next order, 'Let the celebrant stand, at the *commencement* of the Communion Service, at the north side of the table,' is but the literal transcript of the rubric, whatever sense he put upon 'north side.' Two years later Mr. Skinner appeals to the late Baron Alderson for advice, on the grounds that the Bishop's commands infringe 'the principle of freedom within the Church's law.' Baron Alderson, in his reply, is startlingly outspoken: it was best for a clergyman to take his stand on the ecclesiastical law, instead of yielding to extra-legal mandates; best for him, and for the Bishop also. 'A coward, as the Bishop is and always was, will give up much protection by quitting the shelter of the law' (p. 45).

And so the troubles dragged on until the Lushington judgment, for a time, disheartened the High Church party, and the first decision of the Privy Council, in December 1855, was welcomed as a deliverance by hearts which could not foresee the very different treatment which the Ornaments Rubric was to receive from that same body in the Ridsdale judgment. It is curious, and in a sense melancholy, to find Mr. Lowder in 1857 triumphantly appealing to the exposition of law by the Privy Council in the Westerton case. He could not then foresee what was to come.

We have spent, perhaps, too much time over these early years of Mr. Lowder's London life. He took charge of the proposed mission in Mr. Bryan King's huge parish after some periodical attempts at gathering a congregation 'in a court leading out of Ratcliff Highway.' The first of these visits was made on Ash Wednesday in 1856. Mr. Lowder, after much correspondence with the rector, in which it seems he was

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for a time disposed to claim an amount of independence inconsistent with the rector's indefeasible responsibility, and to urge his own views somewhat too stringently on the man who had invited him to the work, 'took up his abode at the mission-house in Calvert Street on August 22 in that year' (p. 97). The other field of work, in Wellclose Square, was occupied in Lent, 1857.

For an account of the condition of the district, we must refer our readers to the graphic account of the Rev. Robert Linklater, to whom this volume owes so much (p. 107). Nor shall we dwell on the conditions of 'work in the Mission districts' as carried on by Mr. Lowder and his assistants: that work of which Bishop Wilberforce wrote, 'I quite long to go and cast myself into that Mission' (p. 135). The physical discomforts of their abode are described by Mr. Rowley (p. 143), and with characteristic humour by Mr. Linklater (p. 289). But something must be said about 'the riots.'

As we have said, a second mission-house had been established in Wellclose Square, where, in 1857, two clergymen lived, while Mr. Lowder and another remained in Calvert Street. The two former, after a while, departed, and at a later time (not, like some of their successors, without warning to Mr. Lowder) submitted to the Roman Church. Their places were filled by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Temple; and when these left in 1858, Mr. Lowder welcomed a companion and coadjutor who was to be during four years his main support, and afterwards to be one of the most conspicuous men in the English Church—Alexander Heriot Mackonochie. So, in 1859, 'six clergy at least were labouring in the parish, with a large staff of lay assistants; fifty-four services were held weekly, . . . and six hundred children were under instruction in the six schools which had been set on foot' (p. 170). This outburst of missionary energy alarmed those whose interest it was to keep religion from becoming a power. There were such in the parish. For particulars on this topic we refer to the biography (p. 172). Thus began the agitation, which at first succeeded in introducing a strongly Puritanical clergyman as lecturer into the parish church, and then made his services the occasion of disturbing those which were held ordinarily by the parochial clergy. The churchwardens (one of them a publican) never took cognizance of the outrages of the mob. The police authorities and the Home Secretary were 'in vain appealed to for protection by the clergy.' The church was closed for a while; the mission-houses were threatened; 'Mr. Lowder's life

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was in danger:' but the storm passed away from the mission chapels and again gathered around S. George's Church.

And now, much against our will, we have to observe the part taken by ecclesiastical authority in the business. The present Archbishop of Canterbury (then Bishop of London, in the third year of his consecration) is a deeply religious man, with a most true devotion to the cause of Christ. During his prelacy he has developed great practical abilities: he has shown himself skilful in utilizing opportunities, and in influencing minds; he has also been visited with exceptional sorrows; and throughout his career his kindness of heart has won him a wide-spread attachment, which of late has been intensified by sympathy. But history will not veil, and Churchmen cannot forget, the serious mistakes which have marked his administration. We ascribe them to three causes. Trained up in early life as a Presbyterian, he has never assimilated the historic theology of the Church; he has been unable to enter into the heart and spirit of the Church revival; his instincts have steadily pointed to those views of the relations of Church and State which are popularly called Erastian. Next, he has had no experience of a parish priest's duties and difficulties; and lastly, his remarkably resolute will has been accompanied, as is so often the case, by a self-confidence which has blurred his insight into the complexities of a critical situation, and made him take an estimate far too simple to be true.

Bishop Tait had impressed Mr. Lowder's former superior with his 'good temper' and his fairness of mind, having 'given way' on two points on which he had at first insisted (p. 54). 'Nothing,' says the biographer, 'could be kinder than the words' addressed by him as bishop-elect to Mr. Lowder in 1856; the letter, which is both frank and cordial, is given at p. 136. Three years later, the vestry of S. George's appealed to him against choral service and the use of eucharistic vestments, which had been pronounced lawful in the Westerton case with the bishop's concurrence (p. 177). Unfortunately he could not resist expressing his contemptuous dislike of 'this childish mummery of antiquated garments.' Mr. King agreed to abide by his decision on this and another point if he were undisturbed in other matters. The bishop decided against him; the church was reopened, 'the concessions were as fuel to the flame,' and the bishop showed his want of perception of the real motives of the rioters by urging that turning eastward after the sermon, at the doxology, should be given up, as 'the chief cause of remaining irritation.' However, he promoted the next application to the Home

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Secretary for additional police assistance; it was granted, but only during a few weeks. The opening of 1860 saw a yet worse outbreak of sacrilegious fury, in which

'the whole service was interrupted by hissing, whistling, and shouting; songs were roared out during the service and lessons; cushions . . . and books were hurled at the altar . . . the clergy were spat upon, hustled, and kicked within the church, and only protected from greater outrages by the efforts of sixty or eighty gentlemen from different parts of London, who, unasked, came to the rescue' (p. 180).

Lord Brougham spoke indignantly in the House of Lords of the imperative necessity of putting down the outrages; the police were again sent to the church, but did not prevent disgraceful scenes, in which the mob, while indulging in their usual 'blasphemous' outcries, vented their spleen on the choir stalls, the altar hangings, and the altar cross. The bishop gratified them by ordering the removal of all these. The clergy took refuge within the altar rails; the mob seized on the seats there placed for them. The bishop ordered the seats to be removed, and the clergy to be seated 'wherever the churchwardens might choose!' 'Every act of the bishop of London,' wrote a layman in a letter previous to this last order, 'has resulted in a triumph for the rioters.' In June Mr. Thomas Hughes, who had already, with characteristic manliness and generosity, joined the 'defenders' of the outraged clergy in October, wrote to Mr. Lowder, saying of the bishop's conduct, 'I do not think he has acted well in this matter, and would have nothing to do with a plea coming from him,' but suggested, with 'his approval,' that Mr. King should take a year's rest, and that Mr. Septimus Hansard, who, though not a High Churchman, 'honestly appreciated and respected that section of the Church, and the work they were doing,' should be put in charge of the parish. This was effected. 'Still the riots rather increased than abated.' On November 14 the bishop wrote to Mr. King, recommending fresh concessions. Mr. King refused them. Before he sent this answer from abroad, the bishop had issued a fresh 'monition' to Mr. Hansard ('monitions,' we see, were heard of in those days as well as in these), 'requiring him to yield up . . . all that had been demanded.' Mr. Hansard, to his honour, refused to break the engagement into which he had entered with Mr. King to maintain, *e.g.* the choral service; he resigned his charge; the bishop's chaplain took the duty; and 'mob law' triumphed—by what assistance we have seen.

It is necessary, though it is painful, to keep these things

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on record. They ought not to be forgotten. But what followed was a memorable instance of the overruling of evil for good. 'Out of the eater came forth meat.' When there were no longer any altar hangings to be defaced with peltings of orange peel, no longer any chanted Glorias to be interrupted, no longer any surpliced choir-boys to be bullied and maltreated, no longer any mission clergy to be fair game for brutal insult—when there was no more 'fun' of this sort to be had at S. George's, and no more to be got out of the interested parties who, for their own business-reasons, had set the fun agoing—then a sort of reaction began to set in. The very completeness of the external victory, in that exceptionally desecrated church, drew off those of the rioters who had come thither from a distance, and left those who were residents without their excitement and their reward. If Bishop Tait had possessed in 1859 that sense of humour which he has often displayed in later life, he would have seen the grotesqueness of the supposition that the persons who vented their 'irritation' were honest zealots for Protestant simplicity, and saw a profound theological difference between turning to the east and to the west. He did not know the people whom he was so anxious to satisfy.

'One of the most conspicuous of the parishioners who made themselves conspicuous in fostering and carrying out the disgraceful scenes in the church was fined at the Middlesex Sessions for keeping houses of ill-fame; and the rest were not famous for their purity or their piety. The character of some of these men was thus set forth by a young man who attended the night-school in the Calvert Street district: "It's all a question of beer, sir, and what else they can get . . . Religion ain't anything more to them than it is to us. They gets paid for what they do, and they do it like they'd do any other job"' (p. 149, from a letter by Mr. Rowley).

What wonder that they did it? However, when there was no more to be done, some of these poor roughs began to bethink themselves. Some glimmering of the truth, as to the men whom they had hunted and the worship which they had profaned, began to dawn upon them. 'Some,' wrote Mr. Lowder himself (p. 188), 'who came to scoff, remained to worship.' There were several instances, says his biographer, of such persons, '*whose very profanity had been the means of their being brought to a better mind*, and who became choristers in other churches, or assisted priests in mission work' (p. 191). Surely a beautiful and cheering sample of the unexpected triumphs of grace, of its marvellous quickness to take the powers of evil in the rear! 'The very dregs of the people,'

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we read, 'were taught to think about religion.' Mr. Rowley thinks that 'Mr. Lowder was more popular at the close of the riots than he had ever been before.' New agencies for good sprang up, one of which was the Working Men's Institute, established by a stranger who had helped in resisting disorder at S. George's (p. 191). The cloud, so to speak, had lifted; the district which had been worked from the Calvert Street mission-house and its chapel became independent of S. George's; the Church of S. Peter's, London Docks—a household word, we are told, in New Jersey (Preface, p. vii)—was consecrated on June 30, 1866, Mr. Lowder being its first vicar. And then came, with hardly a warning, that 'fearful visitation' of cholera, which did more than anything else to 'conquer the people,' as the biographer expresses it; to break down what remained of their mistrust; to bind their hearts, once for all, to the pastor who gave himself up, with such absolute devotedness, to the work of helping them in their supreme need. Why say more than that, from this date, they never spoke of him but as 'Father Lowder?'

No Churchman can read the story of the troubles of those days of S. George's mission without feeling his faith invigorated. It is more effective than many chapters on evidences; it is like seeing the Kingdom of God at work. We must not omit to say that during the stress of the pestilence Bishop Tait wrote to Mr. Lowder, inquiring about his health and desiring him to 'command his services if he could be of use;' and soon afterwards, at Mr. Lowder's request, he came to S. Peter's, with Mrs. Tait, on Sunday, August 19, 1866, visited the patients in the cholera wards and hospital, and preached to nine hundred people in the church. This was to act like a bishop indeed (p. 224).

For an account by a fellow-worker of the principles on which Mr. Lowder carried on his persistent fight with ignorance and wickedness in their stronghold, we must refer our readers to p. 163.

'The spiritual victory of S. Peter's is a witness to this power of the old faith and ancient ritual of the church of Christ to reach the hardest and most abandoned hearts, and win them back to purity and the love of God.'

He preached Christ in the Church, Christ acting through His ordinances upon the soul. It was the doctrine of the Incarnation made practical. Whatever might be said of sacerdotalism as represented, or misrepresented, by narrow-hearted formalists, it could never be said of *this* true priest that he set up a system in place of a Person, or his own office as 'the



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substitute for an absent, instead of the witness for a present Lord.' The biographer says that he 'spoke openly to those who were awakened and troubled of confession and absolution, not as a dangerous remedy to be used in extreme cases, but as freely offered to all requiring more comfort and counsel than they could find without it.' The root-idea of confession, as he put it forward, was the heinousness of sin and the promise of its pardon through the blood of Christ; and, this presupposed, 'I wonder,' one of his fellow-workers says, 'how people who object to confession would deal with the sort of cases which form the principal part of mission work in East London and places of the same class. Without confession they would be working entirely in the dark' (p. 161).

For ceremonial beauty in itself Mr. Lowder seems to have had no special liking; Mr. Linklater says that he was not a Ritualist of the 'gushing,' or 'sentimental,' or Romanizing type; that 'he had glorious rituals because he thought it his duty to put before the eyes of his people the pattern' (in the Authorized Version sense of the word; we should now say the copy or image) 'of the worship in heaven.' The outward appointments of the church 'give an air of comfort and dignity, which is not the least important lesson for the poor people to take back to their squalid homes' (p. 288). That he made the Eucharistic service the centre of the worship, 'goes without saying.'

But what has come of it all, in regard to moral amelioration and spiritual growth? We are told at p. 165, it is 'not only that open professional sin has been swept away from the streets of S. Peter's; that there is not one house of ill-fame in the whole parish, where within a quarter of a mile streets are peopled with those poor outcasts; but also that the communicants of S. Peter's have been lifted above their suffering life into joy and peace.' Through Church teaching of this intensely Christian kind there has been 'raised up, from most unhopeful materials, this staunch and noble army of communicants, five hundred strong, rescued from slavery, and restored to their lost heritage. It is a fact which demands the attention of all who care for missionary work' (p. 166). Yes; and of all who, professing to care for souls and to seek the glory of Christ, think 'sacramentalism' unspiritual and deadening, and lend an ear to those who say of its visible expressions, 'Let us make havoc of them altogether,' and of its most hard-working maintainers, 'Come, let us root them out.'

We must pass over the internal trials which the mission

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endured in 1868 by the sudden secession of three curates, under circumstances painfully illustrative of the loss of candour and the disregard of social honour which seem in too many cases to accompany that process of moral Romanizing which is quite distinct from the intellectual acceptance of Roman dogma. One may marvel that Mr. Lowder had not observed the change taking place in these young clergymen. For one thing, he lived at the other end of the parish; for another, Mr. Linklater says broadly enough, 'he had absolutely no discrimination of character. . . . He was so transparently simple and true himself, that he expected to find others as sincere and real.' Nor can we dwell on the Church Association's attempts to find 'an aggrieved parishioner.' (For some racy sayings of his own people about any who might come 'to worry the *Father*,' and to two spies of this estimable society who were seen in S. Peter's taking notes, we must refer to pp. 241, 244). Bishop Jackson was in no haste to promote their object; and when the inchoate persecution came to be dealt with by Archbishop Tait, we are told that he 'had the courage to quash it' (p. 245). Nor again, can we do more than refer to Mr. Linklater's charming account of S. Agatha's Mission (especially of the lads' club), or his vivid, and in parts humorous, description of the daily life and work of the S. Peter's clergy (pp. 250*ff*, 283*ff*). We will only say that he insists pointedly on the importance of house-to-house visiting; and that the boys and young men who came within the genial sunshine of his presence had a privilege which, it is pleasant to think, they soon learned how to value.

Let us come on to the end. Mr. Lowder's health, it seems, had been undermined for a long time; it began to give way as early as 1868; it broke down in 1874–5. Foreign travel, in which he had always delighted, refreshed him for a while; but he was obliged to stay away from S. Peter's for months, making Chislehurst his abode. He went abroad again in the August of 1880, and never returned alive. The cause of this tragical loss to his parishioners and to the Church was mountaineering persisted in at sixty in spite of the warnings of exhaustion and other ailments. It must be said, piteous as the fact is, that 'Father Lowder' died in a foreign land, without the last rites, and dependent on the attention of casual English travellers and of a most kindly Tyrolese nurse; because he could not give up his long-cherished scheme of ascending the 'Gross Venediger.' The readers of the biography will be able to picture the closing scene mainly



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by help of the nurse's very touching letter. They will see the sufferer, sick more nearly to death than he then knew of, 'look imploringly at her,' as if feeling the bitterness of dying among strangers. As is so often the case, the accounts vary a little; the nurse says that he felt sure, before midnight on September 8, that he was dying; Mr. Taylor, an English gentleman, returning to the sick-room an hour later, thought he was 'amazed' by the doctor's sentence. He lived until the early morning of September 9. The parish priest had paid him a visit, and Mr. Lowder had asked whether he might receive Communion. He must have known that this was impossible except on terms of submission to the Roman Church; and he was exceedingly careful to exclude all notion of his being prepared to make that submission. 'Bear witness that I die in the faith of the Anglican Church, for they may say I died a *Roman* Catholic.' To ask, then, whether he might communicate was needlessly to pain the kind priest, who went as far as he could by pronouncing a blessing; we can only suppose that Mr. Lowder thought it right to cast, so to speak, on the Continental Church the responsibility of refusing him Communion. It was as much as to say, 'I would fain communicate under your ministry, if you would not exact wrong terms of Communion.' Viewed in this light, the question must have been put *pro formâ*.

Lamentable as it is that such a life should have been lost through what must be called a strange imprudence, we may perhaps think that it was well for Mr. Lowder not to have lived until increasing weakness had forced him to resign his London work. Had he done so,—had he, in this sense, survived himself,—London and England would have missed the grandly pathetic lesson which was taught by such a funeral as his parishioners gave to their dead 'Father.' We shall not describe it; let our readers turn to the last chapter of the biography. 'Everything,' says the proverb, 'comes to him who can wait.' Mr. Lowder did, and could wait, 'making his soul his own.' And the unwonted sight of white draperies for altar, and chancel, and stall at the funeral service must have been an expressive symbol alike of the pure single-heartedness of that devoted ministry, and of assurance that the principles which had been its strength—whatever sacrifices they might demand, whatever checks they might encounter, whatever mistakes might be occasionally made in their application—had in them that which could not die,

> 'But when the wrath of man was past,
> Should conquer and should reign at last.'

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We conclude with the words of the *Spectator*:—

'What we wish to ask is, whether it has really come to this, that there is no room in the Church of England for men like Mr. Lowder? It is obvious that if the bishops and magistrates of twenty years ago had had their way, with a Public Worship Regulation Act to give effect to their 'monitions,' Mr. Lowder, instead of civilizing a barbarous population, would have wasted his life in a prison cell. Would that have been well done?'

Our authorities in Church and State might do worse than to consider this question, with their eyes on the prospects of religion in England, and on the responsibility of crushing agencies that have proved themselves powerful in its defence.

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## ART. IV.—CONVOCATION IN 1701.

1. *The Epistolary Correspondence of Francis Atterbury, D.D., Bishop of Rochester.* (London, 1783.)
2. *Letters on Various Subjects to and from Wm. Nicolson, D.D., Archbishop of Cashel.* (London, 1809.)
3. *Life and Death of King William III.* BISHOP KENNETT. (London, 1706.)
4. *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, &c.* (London, 1701.)

THE relations between Bishops and Presbyters in the present day are no doubt somewhat strained. On the one side lawlessness and insubordination are freely charged; on the other, onesidedness and the lack of true Church spirit. The atmosphere is not altogether serene, but the bark of the Church has sailed through stormier waters than any that are now to be dreaded, and far more bitter contentions between officers and crew have not availed to wreck the goodly vessel. It is not without a reassuring effect to cast one's eyes back over these past complications, and to observe the very small amount of harm they in effect produced. In fact the real season of danger to the Church is the season of profound tranquillity; when rulers do not vex with interference, and the ruled do not trouble with protests and opposition; when all are happily content to acquiesce in doing nothing. Into this

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calm sea the turbid and angry waters of the Revolution period flowed and were quieted during the eighteenth century. Bishops and Presbyters were at peace: but what a peace! Better far than this the most angry disputes of the Revolution era. To one episode in these disputes we propose now to direct the reader's attention.

It is not to be supposed that the 400 or 500 bishops and clergy who refused to take the oaths at the Revolution settlement represented the whole of the discontent felt by the clergy of the Church of England at the change of rulers. The nonjurors were the section which had the courage of its opinions, but among the jurors there was a large number who held every opinion which the others held, but yet did not feel themselves called upon to sacrifice all to their scruples about allegiance. The effect of this was that many men remained in office in the Church with somewhat uneasy consciences. They cherished bitter feelings towards the Government in which they had perforce acquiesced, and towards the bishops who were selected for patronage by this Government, and who gave it their vigorous support. Circumstances had brought about a union between politics and churchmanship, and the strongest antagonisms arising from each came together in concentrated power. The Bishop was a Whig and a Latitudinarian; the Presbyter, a Tory and a strictly exclusive Churchman: and this antagonism, first developed at the Revolution, went on increasing as the reign proceeded. So long as Queen Mary lived there was always some sort of salve for the transferred allegiance, and some slight consideration shown by the ruling powers for the large phalanx of uneasy Churchmen. At her death things took an unfavourable turn. The King cared nothing for conciliation, and was openly indifferent to all forms of religion. The Queen had taken an interest in Church patronage. William did not trouble himself about it, but handed over the royal right of nomination to a junta of Whig bishops, who were careful that none but safe men should enjoy the good things of the Church. This state of things offered a great opportunity to any man who was able and willing to be a party leader, and such a man was found in Francis Atterbury. Handsome, clever, eloquent, fairly learned, and of unshrinking audacity—hating the new dynasty, which had come in when he was too young to be called on for personal adhesion to it—nurtured on the choicest pabulum of Oxford traditions—Atterbury was exactly the man for the crisis and the occasion. In the ignorance of that age he was thought by many to have held his own against the great

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Bentley in the Phalaris dispute. Some even opined that he had come off victorious. All must have been impressed by the wit, vigour, and audacity with which he had urged his views. He was an admirable preacher: a writer in the *Tatler* speaks of him as 'adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes.'[1] Even Bishop Burnet, who hated him cordially, declares that he 'was an excellent preacher.'[2] What his powers as an orator were, his speeches remain to testify. There was probably no man in England at that time who was in this respect his equal. All that was needed for Atterbury was an occasion for coming to the front.

One of the most galling, and at the same time most legitimate, causes of discontent among the clergy was the continued suppression of Convocation. Ever since, at the Revolution, Tillotson had tried his comprehension scheme, and been signally foiled by the Church spirit of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, this body had been kept in abeyance. Tillotson had recommended this course to King William, and Tenison, his successor, was altogether of the same mind. The injustice was palpable, and the injury to the Church at so critical a time, extreme. It is amusing to read Burnet's comment:

'These men, who began now to be called the *High Church* party, had all along expressed a coldness, if not an opposition, to the present settlement. They set up a complaint of the want of Convocations, that they were not allowed to sit nor act with a free liberty, or consider the grievances of the clergy, nor the danger the Church was in. This was a new pretension never thought of since the Reformation.'[3]

The *new* pretension, however, proved to have something in it. In the year 1697 appeared the famous *Letter to a Convocation Man*, published anonymously,[4] demanding as a *right* the meeting, debating, and acting of Convocations of the clergy, simultaneously with the meeting of every Parliament, and arguing in the strongest manner that the circumstances of the times imperatively demanded that this ancient and inalienable right of the Church of England should be no longer kept in abeyance. The sensation caused by this outspoken utterance was immense. An answer to it was

[1] *Tatler*, No. 66. [2] *Own Times*, p. 676. [3] *Ibid.* p. 670.
[4] It is attributed sometimes to Sir B. Shower, sometimes to Dr. Binkes. The former was probably the author.

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attempted by Mr. Wright in a *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, and a more learned and weighty one by Dr. Wake in *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods*. Now was the moment for Atterbury. He saw that Wake had grievously overstated his case: that he had attributed to English Sovereigns all the powers belonging to the absolute Princes of the Roman Empire, and that the very best construction that could be put upon his attempt was to describe it as 'an endeavour to advance the prerogative of the Prince in Church matters as high, and to depress the interest of the subject spiritual as low, as ever he could with any colour of truth.' 'But,' said Atterbury—

'Those divines who read lessons to princes how to strain their ecclesiastical power to the utmost without exceeding it, and oppress their clergy legally, are not surely the best men of their order. They are Church Empsons and Dudleys; and usually find the fate of such wretched instruments, to be detested by the one side, and at last abandoned by the other. Could we excuse his ill principles, yet what shall we say to those injurious reflections that accompany them? —those slights and reproaches he so liberally casts on his order when it has the ill luck to come in his way. The clergy of his own time are dealt with yet worse by him. That part of them which desire a Convocation (that is, by his leave, the far greater part of them) are so represented by him as if they were irregular in their lives, violent in their tempers, and factious in their principles, and the Government is excited to take vengeance upon them as men embarked in a separate interest, and averse to all methods of supporting it.'[1]

With this congenial theme to work upon, Atterbury applied himself to the task, and just at the beginning of the year 1700 published his famous treatise on the *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*. The book was received with an absolute chorus of approbation. It showed considerable reading. It was composed in an excellent style, and was full of lively touches of satire and invective, which were especially pleasing to the Tory clergy as against their Whig superiors. The University of Oxford at once voted to Atterbury an honorary degree of D.D. Even Dr. Wake writes (March 28) that 'the world is as full of Mr. Atterbury's book as I left it in Oxford. I find men's judgment follow their affections. Some look upon it to be a complete conquest, others to have no such formidable appearance in it; but in this all agree, that it was writ with a hearty good will, and may be a pattern for charity and good breeding.'[2] Not all, how-

[1] Atterbury's Preface to *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocation.*

[2] Wake to Charlett. *Nicolson's Correspondence.*

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ever, who were castigated in this clever book could receive their stripes with the meekness of Dr. Wake. Archdeacon Nicolson, who was much ridiculed in it for his historical publications, is very angry. He speaks of it as 'surly,' 'ill-natured,' and 'bantering;' tries to prove that the materials of it were only second-hand; calls Atterbury the 'pert gentleman of Christ Church, who has a much greater share of wit than logic.'[1] And yet all this time this book, which was creating so much commotion, was composed on an entirely false basis, and was a complete perversion of ecclesiastical history. For the whole argument is based upon the assumption that the part of the writ summoning the Bishops to Parliament, and at the same time directing them (*præmunientes*) to cause two of their clergy to be elected to attend the Parliament, applies to the election of the clergy for Convocation. A very slight acquaintance with the Church history of the reign of Edward I. might have taught the admirers of Atterbury's bold argument that the Parliamentary writ and summons of the clergy, and the Convocation writ and summons of the clergy, were two entirely distinct things. The former was an invention of Edward I., who, finding the clergy very hard to manage in the matter of supplies, wanted to get representatives of them in Parliament, and thus make laymen and churchmen join in one vote of supply. The latter was the ancient ecclesiastical summons to a Church Synod issuing from the Archbishop, sometimes with, sometimes without, the royal permission. But men in those days had not paid much attention to mediæval Church history, and Atterbury was skilful enough to make the most of the undoubted fact of the old Parliamentary summons. This seemed to give to the Church Synods so important a constitutional status that the clergy welcomed it with the greatest enthusiasm. Burnet, Hody, and Kennett immediately answered Atterbury's book. The Judges had a serious consultation as to whether it ought not to be indicted for assailing the prerogative.[2] But all this only enabled Atterbury to bring out, with a great flourish of trumpets, a second edition in December 1700, containing some answers to his opponents, and bearing his name on the title-page, with a dedication to the two Archbishops. The battle in fact was won so far as influence went. The new Tory Ministry made it an absolute condition with the King that a Convocation should be summoned, and allowed to sit and debate; and Tenison—the 'old Rock'—the

[1] Nicolson to Wake and Dean. *Nicolson's Correspondence*, v. 1.
[2] Nichols's *Memoir of Atterbury*, xvi.

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most uncompromising of Whigs and Latitudinarians—was called on to preside over the turbulent spirit which had been evoked.

The Low Church party, conscious that a victory had been won over them, tried to minimize it by industriously spreading reports, that though the Convocation might be allowed to sit, yet it would be immediately prorogued and kept silent for another ten years. This was stated so confidently that even Atterbury was imposed upon by it.[1] Meantime he was anxious to bring it about that whatever the fate of the Convocation might be, at any rate the principles which he had sought to establish in his book might have practical application in the way in which the Convocation was summoned. The second edition of the *Rights and Powers* came out just at the moment that the Convocation elections were to begin. The Bishops of London, Rochester, and Exeter (Compton, Sprat, Trelawny) were convinced by Atterbury's ingenious but fallacious argument that the *Præmunientes* writ in the Bishops' summons applied to the Convocation, and summoned their clergy both under the Parliament writ and the Convocation writ.[2] Atterbury declared that the same was about to be done in the dioceses of Oxford, Lichfield, Winchester, and Peterborough.[3] The forms of this writ, which had not been used since the Restoration, were zealously supplied by Atterbury,[4] and Bishop Compton was even induced to demand of the Archbishop that he should direct his suffragans to execute this writ as well as his own. When the Convocation met on February 5 (1701) Atterbury was able to declare: 'We have as remarkable a majority in the Lower House as there is in the Upper the other way.'[5] He took his seat as Archdeacon of Totnes with a strong anticipation of doing something important towards advancing the liberties, powers and privileges of the inferior clergy. The first great matter was the choice of a prolocutor. Dr. Jane,[6] who had served the High Church party so well in a previous Convocation, was now incapacitated by ill health, and by the general consent of the party Dr. George Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, was selected as their candidate. There was no opposition, the moderates not feeling themselves strong enough to carry a prolocutor. On February 19 Dr. Hooper was presented to the Archbishop as president by Dr. Jane, in 'an admirable

[1] Atterbury to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iii. 9.
[2] Sprat to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iii. 16.
[3] Atterbury to Newey, *Corresp.* iii. 17. [4] *Ib.* 5.
[5] *Corresp.* iii. 22. [6] Now Dean of Gloucester.

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speech,' and his own speech was highly commended, and 'had several artful wipes in it.'[1] The Convocation was then adjourned to February 25. Atterbury was not altogether satisfied with the temper shown by his colleagues. 'The whole Lower House together,' he writes, 'seem to be afraid to do what your lordship was not afraid to do singly—to own me; and I have some reason to apprehend that it is already determined to drop me; by whose direction and management a little time will show.'[2] It was hardly to be expected that a number of grave and learned men would have at once accepted to the full Atterbury's historical views, which had now been fully exposed by Kennett and Hody. But while they might not agree altogether with these, they were, nevertheless, quite prepared to fall in with the spirit of the writer, and to wage war together with him against the domination of the Whig bishops. The point on which it was determined that the contest between the Lower and Upper Houses should turn was, in whom resided the right of proroguing the Lower House. Was the Lower House to consider itself prorogued at once when the schedule of prorogation came from the Archbishop, or was this to be held merely an intimation to the prolocutor of the Lower House that he was to prorogue that House, when its business was finished, to such and such a day and place? If the paper of the Archbishop did upon its receipt immediately take away from the Lower House its power of further acting, and oblige it to adjourn even if in the midst of a debate, it was clearly left in a very servile condition as regards the Upper House. If, on the contrary, the fixing of its adjournments and the time and place of its future sessions was left in the hands of its own chairman, it was made almost independent of the Upper House. Upon this point, therefore, Atterbury and his friends determined to try their strength. On February 25, after the Lower House had debated quietly for some hours, the Archbishop's writ of prorogation was brought to the prolocutor. He received it, and at the same time informed the House that they were 'not to look upon themselves as prorogued until they had intimation from him.' Upon this some of the members became very 'noisy,' insisting—

'That they were actually prorogued, and that it was dangerous for them to stay and act on. Upon which the prolocutor briskly told them, that if there were any gentlemen there that thought themselves endangered by staying, the best way for them would be, with the

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 27. [2] *Ib.* iii. 29.

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leave of the House, to withdraw. But for his part he would take the chair again, and ask the House what they had further to say. And so he did. Upon this those two persons went out of the House, hoping for company; but they were followed by nothing but a general smile and the condemnation of their own people. So after some short debates the prolocutor published the adjournment, which is to Friday next. Everything has gone hitherto as we desire, and there is a prospect of our going on as we begun. We seem two or three to one, are sensible of our advantage, and keep our temper.'[1]

Matters, however, were not destined to proceed quite so smoothly as Atterbury anticipated. At the next meeting of Convocation the prolocutor and two other members of the Lower House were sent for by the Archbishop, and reproved for what had been done in the matter of the adjournment, as well as for beginning business before the Bishops came. They asserted stoutly that they were within their rights in these matters, and it was agreed that the matter should be referred to a committee to search for precedents. This committee issued its report in a few days' time, to the effect that—

'The common usage of the House had been to continue sitting till the prolocutor adjourned it, and that it was not always adjourned to the same day with the Upper House. It also reported that the Lower House was accustomed to meet in a separate place from the Upper,[2] and not first to attend their lordships, and then be dismissed to the place arranged for them to sit in.'

It will be observed that the first part of this report really evades the point in dispute. It was not disputed that the prorogation was to be pronounced by the prolocutor; the point was, whether he had any independent power in the matter, or was simply bound to pronounce that which the Archbishop had sent him down to pronounce. The Bishops did not by any means acquiesce in the statements of this report. 'The Bishops drew a very copious answer, in which all their precedents were examined and answered, and the matter was so clearly stated and so fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the dispute.'[3] Vain hope! The Bishops' opponents were of a more enduring fibre. The dispute was only beginning. The matter in question was a trifle. The real question was between Whig and Tory; between Williamites and Jacobites; between domineering

[1] Atterbury to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iii. 31.

[2] 'That when in the Upper House the Convocation was prorogued or adjourned by the words *in hunc locum*, this House did meet apart from the same *at the same particular place where it sat last.*'

[3] Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 690.

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Latitudinarian Bishops and stubborn recalcitrant Presbyters; between the Court and the country.

'The Lower House,' continues Burnet, 'sat for some time about the reply to the Bishops' paper, but instead of going on with that they desired a full conference, and began to affect in all their proceedings to follow the methods of the House of Commons. The Bishops resolved not to comply with this, which was wholly new. They had upon some occasions called up the Lower House to a conference, in order to explaining some things to them; but the clergy had never taken upon them to desire a conference with the Bishops before; so they resolved not to admit of it, and told them they expected an answer to the paper they sent them. The Lower House resolved not to comply with this; but, on the contrary, to take no more notice of the Archbishop's adjournments. They did, indeed, observe the rule of adjourning themselves to the day which the Archbishop had appointed in his schedule; but they did it as their own act, and they adjourned themselves to intermediate days.'[1]

In this last statement the Bishop is not quite correct. The Lower House did not venture to sit as a House on the days intermediate between the Bishops' sittings, but by the device of appointing committees of the whole House they were able to compass practically the same thing. The business with which they occupied themselves was the censure of Toland's Book, *Christianity not Mysterious*. On April 8 the Archbishop, after delivering a speech in which the Lower House was censured, adjourned the Synod to May 8. The Lower House, taking no notice of this, adjourned itself by its prolocutor to a different day. 'An affectation of independence,' says Bishop Kennett, 'that was unknown to former Convocations, and never before attempted by any Presbyters in any Episcopal Church.'[2] Accordingly, when on May 8 the prolocutor again appeared before the Archbishop, he was told that whatever had been done in the meantime was 'not only null and void, but of very dangerous consequence.' To this the prolocutor simply replied, handing the Archbishop a paper: 'I am commanded by the Lower House to bring up this paper, and I do present it as the act of the House this day.' The Archbishop unwarily received the paper, which, on being examined, was found to be nothing more nor less than a reply to the Archbishop's speech of April 8. We have no direct account of Atterbury's share in the composition of this paper, but it is highly probable that he was the principal author of it. A paper of his, printed by Nichols, may indeed have served as the basis of it. In this he argues that—

[1] Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 690.
[2] Kennett, *Complete Hist.* iii. 839.

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'The being of the Lower House depends upon their power of adjourning themselves. Without this they are not a body of men capable of debating and resolving separately; for they only can be the judges of the time in which they are to manage such debates and frame such resolutions. As part of the Synod they are only obliged to attend the Archbishop and Bishops when sitting; and, consequently, to meet always at the time to which their lordships adjourn; but, as a separate House, they have all the intermediate time to prepare business for the synodical day, when both Houses, *i.e.* the whole Synod, assembles. No instance can be produced in the world of any synod which was otherwise adjourned than by the common consent of the majority of all such as had a decisive voice in the affairs of it. The clergy have a decisive or definitive voice in all other synodical acts. How come they to want it in that of adjournment?'[1]

The Bishops' reply to the paper of the Lower House declares that the members of this body have—

'been carried up to higher degrees of disrespect and invasion of the metropolitan and episcopal rights (even such rights as are supported by the law of the land and the King's writ) than ever was attempted by any Lower House of Convocation before this time, or perhaps by any body of Presbyters where episcopacy was settled and acknowledged of divine and apostolical institution; unless it were by such Presbyters as designed to destroy that institution, which the Archbishop and Bishops are persuaded the body of the Lower House do not, though the action of a part of them manifestly tend that way. And their lordships give the particular instances of their exorbitant claims and practices in separate adjournments; in appointing committees of the whole House; in giving leave as a House to their members to be absent; in not answering the Archbishop and Bishops in writing when so required; in demanding a free conference; in pretending a power of making a distinct recess and some other practices, which, together with the reports raised upon them, hath given the greatest blow to this Church that hath been given it since the Presbyterian assembly that sat at Westminster in the late times of confusion.'[2]

While matters were in this embittered state between the two Houses, the first movement towards compromise and conciliation came from the Bishops. A committee of five Bishops was appointed to meet a committee of the Lower House, not to exceed ten, 'to inspect all the acts of the House in the present session, and to report their judgments thereon.' This seemed a fair proposal—and as the members of the Lower House were to outnumber the Bishops as two to one—a proposal from which there was no good reason for holding back. But the members of the Lower House had too much of the

[1] Atterbury's *Corresp.* iv. 343.
[2] Kennett, *Complete Hist.* iii. 840.

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proud spirit of Atterbury to agree to it. They were satisfied with their own acts and proceedings. They were not inclined to consent that they should be overhauled and criticized by a committee. 'In a new and unprecedented way of contempt they answered that they did not think fit to appoint such a committee.'[1] And as though determined to keep no bounds with the Upper House, the prolocutor, receiving the Archbishop's schedule of adjournment, took no notice of it, and adjourned the House to a different day. This was open war. But Atterbury and his allies were not inclined to stop even here. Among the Bishops the animating spirit was without doubt that politic and very able man who had been so deeply mixed up in the intrigues which had preceded the Revolution, and had been rewarded for his good service by the See of Salisbury. Gilbert Burnet, equally ready to dash off a history of the Reformation, or a theological treatise on the Articles, as to conduct a back-stairs intrigue, or play the bishop with even more than Whig haughtiness, had, in his hasty theology, laid himself open to some severe animadversions and criticisms. If Burnet could be reached and intimidated, a mighty blow would be struck for High Church against Latitudinarian ascendency. The attempt should, therefore, be made. The Bishops were eager to scold the Presbyters for their unfitting conduct; but let them look to themselves, and see if those who had been preferred to high places were not to be found wanting even in the very elements of true theology. The censure on Burnet's *Articles* was not difficult to draw up, but it would be nothing unless presented to the Bishops, and how was this to be accomplished? The bishops would probably receive nothing from their undutiful Presbyters until submission were made. They would certainly not receive this if they knew beforehand its contents. The Lower House, therefore, resorted to stratagem, and certainly their stratagem appears to have been somewhat disingenuous. The prolocutor appeared at the door of the Upper House with a paper, which he desired to present. He was told that nothing could be received, except an apology, for the late irregularity. He was asked whether this paper was of that nature. He said that it was 'something concerning it.' Upon this he was allowed to read the paper, and the astonished Bishops heard this exordium:—

'The paper that the Lower House have desired the prolocutor to present to your Grace and your lordships is their humble representa-

[1] Kennett, *u. s.*

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tions concerning a book entitled, "*An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*," *and hath no relation to the supposed irregularity* your Grace and your lordships think fit to complain of; of that we are ready to give your lordships satisfaction when thereunto called. And in the meantime we most humbly repeat our request that your Grace and your lordships will be pleased to receive this paper.' [1]

This was a thunderbolt to the Bishops, and something like a studied and public affront. The paper would, no doubt, have been at once contemptuously refused, but the Bishop of Salisbury was not of the mind that it should be. He would hear what these arrogant Presbyters ventured to allege against him; and, conscious of his own powers and great facility, he anticipated giving them a crushing reply:—

'They were highly incensed against me,' writes Burnet, 'and censured my exposition of the Articles, which, in imitation of the general impeachments in the House of Commons, they put in three general propositions: First, that it allowed a diversity of opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid; secondly, that it contained many passages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received doctrines of our Church; thirdly, that some things in it were of dangerous consequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour of the Reformation. What the particulars were to which these general heads referred could never be learned; this was a secret lodged in confiding hands. I begged that the Archbishop would dispense with the order made against further communication with the Lower House as to the matter; but they would enter into no particulars, unless they might at the same time offer some other matters which the Bishops would not admit of.' [2]

Content with having thus struck and made uncomfortable the most vigorous of their opponents, the Lower House now condescended to give some explanation of their irregular proceedings. The following represents their view of their rights and privileges:—

'We of the Lower House, being a distinct House, with a power of dissenting from the proposals of the Upper, conceive ourselves entirely at liberty to admit of or decline the appointment of committees from time to time as we shall see fit. And particularly in this case we conceive that the only way of your lordships knowing the transactions of this House is by our voluntarily laying them before you; and if your lordships demand the view of the journals as of right we are thereby the more obliged to insist on this our liberty. That notwithstanding this, the respect and duty we owe to your lordships had prevailed with us to have complied with your lordships'

[1] Kennett, *Complete Hist.* iv. 840.
[2] Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 691.

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proposal, had it not been introduced by what was very surprising, namely, your lordships declaring it to be your opinion that whatsoever we had done as an House in any intermediate session between April 8 and the said May 8 was of dangerous consequence, not only to ourselves, but to the clergy of the province whom we represent. These are some of the reasons which, under these circumstances and at that time, moved us to decline the appointment of any such committee. And these reasons, we presume, had your lordships given us occasion to present them, had been sufficient to have cleared us in your opinion from any irregularity, and to have prevented you from proceeding immediately to any sentence against us, though your lordships had conceived that you had such a power. But we cannot forbear to represent to your lordships that had we been duly found guilty of any irregularity in this matter, yet your lordships' sentence cutting off all intercourse and correspondence between the two Houses is not only over-severe, being passed on so small an occasion, but destroys for the present the whole design and the very being of a Convocation.' [1]

This paper drew forth a long reply from the President and Bishops, which censures in severe terms the irregularities of the Presbyters, and declares that 'until they return to their duty they cannot proceed on business with them, nor receive anything from them.' The paper also very clearly sets forth the true nature of Convocation, which had been so confused by Atterbury's mistaken argument as to the Parliamentary summons and the *Præmunientes* clause:—

'The whole Convocation is but *one body*. They meet together first in one place before the Archbishop as president, sitting *pro tribunali*, as it is always expressed; and though afterwards the Lower clergy have, by the appointment of the President, a particular place assigned to them to treat and debate in apart, yet whenever the President pleases they are obliged to return to the Upper House where they first assembled, and both Houses are always continued and prorogued by one instrument and act.' [2]

This, no doubt, is the true doctrine as to the status of Convocation; but it was altogether repudiated by those who had been led by Atterbury to look upon themselves as an ecclesiastical House of Commons. The strife continued. The Bishops voted that the censuring of Bishop Burnet's book without alleging particulars was 'defamatory and scandalous.' They several times demanded the particulars of the charge. At length the prolocutor appeared with two papers, and offered to deliver the one containing the particulars, if also he might at the same time deliver the other, which contained a

[1] Kennett, ii. 842. [2] *Ibid.* p. 843,



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reply to the Bishops' late censure. The Archbishop would only accept the first, and so the prolocutor withdrew without presenting either. Soon after this the Convocation was dissolved, together with the Parliament.

Meantime those who had taken a prominent part in these disputes were preparing and pouring forth a perfect flood of pamphlets in defence of one or the other of the two parties. There was certainly as much (if not more) of ability on the side of the moderate men who held with the Bishops as on the other side. Gibson, Kennett, and Hody were quite a match for Hooper, Atterbury and Binkes. Dr. Hooper, the prolocutor, put out a pamphlet called *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation relating to Prorogations and Adjournments.* To this Kennett replied in a *Counter Narrative*,[1] which was eagerly patronized by the Bishops. Dr. Gibson on the moderate side published *A Letter to a Friend in the Country concerning the Proceedings of the present Convocation*, and was answered by Atterbury in a tract entitled *The Power of the Lower House to adjourn itself vindicated from the misrepresentations of a late Paper.* Atterbury writes of this to his friend Bishop Trelawny: 'Mr. Bennet printed 1,500 of the *Answers*, and they are pretty well gone off. Dr. Jane sent for forty of them, but none of our other great men here have been pleased to give any manner of encouragement to it.'[2] In another letter he also speaks complainingly of want of support. 'What can be done by one poor hand and head by the blessing of God I will do towards stemming matters. But in the meantime it is a little uncomfortable to be left to work alone without any assistance, or anybody to bear a part in the same cause.'[3] Preparations were now being made for a new Parliament and Convocation. In Atterbury's view it was of the utmost importance that the execution of the *Præmunientes* writ should be continued, and that the clergy should be chosen for Convocation on this Parliamentary basis. This view he advocated in a *Letter to a Clergyman in the Country concerning the choice of members and the execution of a Parliament writ for the ensuing Convocation* (dated November 17, 1701), and this was followed by a *Second Letter* on the same subject

[1] Atterbury's *Correspondence*, iv. 350. It was also answered in *A Letter to the Author of the Narrative*, of which Atterbury says, 'It is written very craftily and skilfully and will carry a reputation in the world, and by its friends be called unanswerable.'—*Corresp.* iii. 52.

[2] *Correspondence*, iii. 51.

[3] *Ib.* iii. 55.

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(December 10, 1701). An answer to these two letters quickly appeared under the title, *The Case of the 'Præmunientes' considered*, and about the same time, another reply entitled *The late Pretence of a constant Practice to enter the Parliament, as well as the Provincial Writ in front of the Acts of every Synod.* Again another, *The late Pretence further considered.* Atterbury responded with *A Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, and his antagonist by an *Answer to a Third Letter, &c.* And so the strife waxed hot and furious through the autumn and winter of 1701. Atterbury was most anxious that those Bishops who had acted under the *Præmunientes* clause should continue to do so, as he thought that this was the real foundation for the liberties of the clergy. He writes to Bishop Trelawny—

'I humbly beseech your lordship not to let the execution of the Præmunientes drop in your diocese. I have considered that matter with all the care and application in the world, and whatever thoughts other people have of it, am satisfied that it is the only unmoveable foundation of the clergy's right to a Parliamentary attendance. Upon what your lordship does in this matter will in great measure depend what the Bishops of London and Rochester shall do.'[1]

In spite of the exertions of Atterbury and his friends the Convocation which met at the close of 1701 was not so favourable to the claims of the House of Presbyters to act independently of the bishops as the former synod had been. On January 8, 1702, Atterbury writes: 'Our majority in Convocation is much sunk to what it was, and there are other discouragements both within ourselves and without us.'[2] Among these 'discouragements' one of the chief was the decided refusal of Dr. Hooper the prolocutor of the late Convocation to accept the office again.

'We had a melancholy prospect last night,' writes Atterbury; 'the old prolocutor absolutely refused to stand; Dr. Jane was not come up, and we were forced to agree upon the Dean of Sarum (Dr. Woodward), for whom, nevertheless, we carried it by eight votes. There were thirty-seven for him, and twenty-nine for Dr. Beveridge. We are to present the Dean of Sarum this day fortnight; which long adjournment is not well relished.'[3]

The Bishops thought to put off the evil day as long as possible. On January 13, the meeting of the Synod took place in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

[1] Atterbury to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iii. 58.
[2] *Corresp.* iii. 62. [3] *Corresp.* iii. 59.



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'The old prolocutor and the new one spoke both like men that were willing to heal the breach that had been unhappily made; and the Archbishop answered them as mildly in a long speech full of professions of his being willing to forget and forgive, and of assurances that the suspicions we had entertained about the Bishops were altogether groundless. At the end of his speech he directed us to go to the Consistory and call over our House. We did so, and by the time we had done it, Tyllot was there ready with his schedule wherein their lordships had adjourned the Convocation from Henry VII. Chapel to Jerusalem Chamber. It was insisted that the prolocutor should read this schedule as a message from the Archbishop. We at last agreed that the actuary should read it as a paper, not as a schedule. After it was read many were for going out, as having sufficient notice of the Archbishop's adjournment. But at last they were prevailed with to stay. Then the debate rose whether we should adjourn in the style of the schedule to Jerusalem Chamber, or *in hunc locum*. The dispute held an hour or more, and at last it was agreed to adjourn in the style of the schedule to Jerusalem Chamber, with a *salvo jure*.'[1]

If this arrangement led any of the moderate party to think that now peace was likely to ensue, they were quickly undeceived. On January 18, Atterbury moved that the phrase in which the prorogation of the Lower House was entered in the minutes should be changed. Hitherto the phrase had been *Prolocutor intimavit hanc Convocationem esse continuatam*. In place of this was now substituted *Dominus Prolocutor continuavit et prorogavit quoad hanc domum*; thus distinctly attributing the power of prorogation to the prolocutor, and implying the independence of the Lower House at the next session; the Archbishop's writ of prorogation was merely laid on the table as though a matter with which the Lower House had no special concern. The prolocutor notified the adjournment as from himself, and the new phrase was entered in the minutes. Then the Bishops' party indignantly protested, and moved to have their protest entered on the minutes. A fierce debate followed; Dr. Beveridge endeavoured to heal the strife, and it ended as these debates so often do, in the appointment of a committee. The committee, which was fairly constituted, recommended a middle course, namely, that the ancient form of prorogation should be used, but that the House need not be adjourned till the business of the day

[1] Atterbury to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iv. 342. The comparatively peaceful termination of the dispute was greatly due to the solemn words uttered by Beveridge, 'Mr. Prolocutor, I call upon you, in the name of Jesus Christ, not to open our first meeting in such contempt and disobedience to the Archbishop and Bishops, and in giving such offence and scandal to our enemies.'—*Gibson MSS. Lathbury*, p. 365.

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was over. The happy device of the *via media* proved, as is too often the case, abortive. Both sides claimed the victory, and acrimonious disputes, protests, and declarations were rife. Meantime the prolocutor, falling ill, appointed a deputy to act for him.

At Atterbury's suggestion Dean Aldrich was selected for this office. The moderate party hearing of this at once declared that reference must be made to the Archbishop. Some members were hastening off to do this. Others were trying to hinder them. A tumultuary scene arose in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Aldrich proceeded to read prayers, which for a moment stilled the excitement. Immediately after prayers were ended, Kennett moved that a message should be sent to the President. Aldrich himself appears to have moved 'that the sub-prolocutor should take the chair.' This was carried by acclamation, and he took the chair. Then arose a shout of the out-voted party that he 'had no right to the chair till confirmed,' and a body of the Bishops' men rushed off to the Jerusalem Chamber, where the Bishops were met. The Archbishop hearing of the occurrence at once formally summoned the Lower House to Jerusalem Chamber. 'An incident of great moment has happened,' he said; 'we must take time to consider it; the Convocation is prorogued till Saturday, February 14.' This was a sudden and heavy blow, but Atterbury was not inclined to yield. He shouted to his brethren as they left the Jerusalem Chamber to come back to their own House. Some he even pushed bodily before him.[1] He succeeded in getting together forty-two, who were ready to defy the Archbishop's prorogation, and to act in absolute independence. But now these turmoils received a terrible and startling rebuke. The very next day the prolocutor died. He appears to have been a litigious man, and was involved in strife with his Bishop (Burnet). Probably he had been selected for his office on this very account. His death was a heavy blow to the High Church party. Without a head they could make no stand. On their own principles their House was incomplete and incompetent to act. And they had good reason to think that the Archbishop would not be above taking advantage of the opportunity. The way indeed in which he received the intelligence of Dr. Woodward's death was somewhat shocking. 'Brethren of the Clergy, I hear the prolocutor is dead, and we are very much surprised at the news of it. We must consider what is

[1] *Lathbury's Convocation*, p. 370, *note*.

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proper to be done on this occasion.'[1] It certainly did not seem to require much consideration to decide that the House having unhappily lost its prolocutor should be directed to choose another. But this was not the view of Tenison, Burnet, and the Bishops. Their enemies were delivered into their hands and they would hold them captive. No prolocutor should be chosen, but the Convocation should be prorogued from time to time, so that in case of emergency it might be summoned. 'There was a consult of Bishops held upon this point this morning,' writes Atterbury, 'and their opinion was that we should not be allowed to choose any.'[2] This was flat tyranny. Atterbury at once published a pamphlet reflecting on such an unjust method of treatment.[3] The Archbishop seems to have sent the members of the Lower House away with the cynical recommendation that they should go to their cures and catechize their people in preparation for Easter.[4] Some forty-five members, led by Atterbury, refused to submit to this. They met in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and debated, choosing a chairman or moderator. Some were for choosing a prolocutor on their own responsibility; some for making a remonstrance to the Archbishop by a member deputed for that purpose; others, as Atterbury, for making a formal protest subscribed by all their names, and offering this to the Upper House for entering in their journals. If it should be refused it might be entered on the books of the Lower House and *published.* From this bold step the majority of the members, however, shrank,[5] and the oral remonstrance was determined on. Archdeacon Drewe was appointed to make this, and on March 3, when the Archbishop's commissary (Gardiner, Bishop of Lincoln) came to the Jerusalem Chamber to further prorogue the Convocation, he attempted to do this. Difficulties immediately arose. The commissary said the protest must be made in writing, and then a dispute began between the members of the Lower House who were thronging the ante-chamber of the Jerusalem Chamber, on the point in whose name it was to be drawn—in the name of the House or in the name of certain members? Before this was settled the commissary had finished his business and disrobed. He consented, however, afterwards, to receive the message in his private capacity, and to convey it

[1] Kennett's *Complete Hist.* iii. 847.
[2] Atterbury to Trelawny, *Corresp.* iii. 75.
[3] *A faithful Account of some Transactions in the three last Sessions of Convocation.*
[4] *Ib.* p. 77. [5] *Ib.* p. 80.

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to his Grace.[1] Nothing, however, came of this, and the King's death occurring within three days afterwards, the lawyers held that Convocation was thereby dissolved.[2] The High Church clergy were no doubt well consoled for the harsh measures of Tenison by the reflection that in the Princess who now succeeded to the throne they were certain of a good friend. Thus Atterbury, discussing the situation to his clergy at Totnes, could say with calmness, that though the death of the prolocutor had been 'laid hold of in order to perplex affairs, and hinder the Convocation from proceeding to business, yet, God be thanked, we have a gracious Queen on the throne, who we are sure will be so far from doing any harm to the Church that she will not in her time suffer any to be done to it.'[3] The strife, however, had many more years to run, and Atterbury many more battles to fight. High Church and Low Church continued to contend all through the reign of Queen Anne, though the former usually preserved the ascendency. The accumulated bitterness of the long contention was at length discharged in the fierce personalities of the Bangorian controversy. From that period the struggle absolutely ceases and continues in abeyance until quite modern times.

To the disputes of 1701 we owe the text book of the procedure in our Convocations, *Gibson's Synodus Anglicana*, and the practical settling by it of the questions then raised. Atterbury's view as to the Parliamentary character of the Lower House was finally demolished by Wake in his learned folio, published in 1703, and has never since reappeared. But though Atterbury may have been mistaken in his historical views, he did good service for the Church in his day. He showed to the State authorities who ignored it, and to the Whig Bishops who oppressed it, that the Church of England had its rights and privileges and was not content to forego them. He evoked a strong and vigorous Church spirit, which, though deeply tinged with secular influences, and not built altogether on true Church principles, nevertheless by its vigour, and the considerable amount of truth which it held, served to repress and shame the fawning of an Erastian subserviency. He put

[1] Atterbury, *Corresp.* iii. 86. Kennett, iii. 840.

[2] This opinion was a good deal questioned. Atterbury and his party held that, the clergy being summoned to attend Parliament under the *Præmunientes* clause, their assembly continued as long as the Parliament, which by a special Act was continued after the King's death. But the lawyers were agreed that this act did not include Convocation, which was called by a different writ and had a different constitution.

[3] Charge to Archdeaconry of Totnes, *Corresp.* ii. 217.

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in motion a power which, continually gathering strength and momentum, presently, in the time of Sacheverell, scattered a Whig Ministry like a pack of cards, and proved to statesmen for ever that the Church of England, once thoroughly roused and united, is an overwhelming influence in the State, and that it cannot be safely oppressed beyond a certain limit. So powerful indeed was the championship of this talented man, who was first called to the front in this Convocation controversy, that it was found in the era of the first George that the King's government could not be carried on unless he were either bought or ruined. The first expedient was tried and failed. The second was then resorted to, and succeeded but too well.

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## ART. V.—THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.

1. *The History of Antiquity.* From the German of Professor MAX DUNCKER. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. IV. (London, 1880.)
2. *Buddhism: being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama the Buddha.* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and late of the Ceylon Civil Service. With Map. (London, 1880.)
3. *The Hibbert Lectures,* 1881.—Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by some points in the History of Indian Buddhism. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. (London, 1881.)
4. *Buddhist Birth Stories; or, Jâtaka Tales. Being the Jatakatthavannanâ.* For the first time edited in the original Pâli, by V. FAUSBÖLL, and translated by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Translation, Vol. I. (London, 1880.)
5. *The Sacred Books of the East.* Translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. X. Part I. *The Dhammapada. A Collection of Verses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists.* Translated from the Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. *The Sutta Nipâta.* Translated by V. FAUSBÖLL. Vol. XI. *Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli.* Translated by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1881.)

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6. *The Vinaya Pitakam, one of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pâli Language.* Edited by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Vol. I. *The Mahâvagga.* (London, 1879.)

AMONGST the various forms of religion to which attention has been called in recent years, there is not one that can show a stronger claim to be made a subject of inquiry and reflection than Buddhism, nor is there one more fruitful in revelations, whether to the student of the history of philosophy, or to the student of humanity, or to the believer in the Christian religion, or to that very modern phenomenon the *soi-disant* impartial student of religion in general. The inquirer whose aim it is to trace the development of human thought will be rewarded by finding beneath the rubbish-heaps of later accretions a marvellous insight into moral truth. He will be startled to find in one of the aspects of Buddhism a theory of the universe, formulated five centuries before the Christian era, which presents a singular parallel to one of the latest products of German philosophy. Side by side with that theory he will be no less surprised to find ideas which are not merely reflected in the Agnosticism and the Positivism of to-day, but are amongst their very watchwords or the mottoes inscribed upon the banners and the shields of their champions.

To the thoughtful Christian who anticipates with prayerful hope the subjugation of the world to the obedience of Christ, Buddhism should be a subject of uncommon interest. When he learns its past conquests and appreciates the extent of its present sway, nearly *five hundred millions* of human beings, or about one-third of the human race being, with whatever inconsistencies, its adherents, he will seek to know the secret of its power. A twofold inquiry will seem forced upon him. He will ask, in the first place, what causes can be assigned for its rise and early progress. It will be our aim in this paper to make it clear that modern scholarship supplies a fairly satisfactory answer to this question. In the second place, he will ask why it is that this product of Indian civilization has been able to hold its ground against Christianity, whereas Brahmanism, the parent and the rival of Buddhism, though after an internecine struggle it remained master of the Indian territory, is now, as Professor Max Müller tells us, only the lingering shell of a religion, a mere body of superstitions clung to by the uneducated, and whereas the religions associated with the higher civilizations of Greece and Rome, and reflected in the masterpieces of the world's literature, have utterly perished before the banner of the Cross.

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Our present purpose being to speak chiefly of early Buddhism, we must forego any lengthened discussion of the second of these questions, notwithstanding its vast practical importance. We are bound, however, to suggest that in so far as the question is not answered by the intrinsic excellence and the missionary spirit of Buddhism, it raises the doubt whether, with some splendid exceptions, modern missionary enterprise has been, at any rate until recent times, in any particular excepting zeal, worthy of its task; whether the full strength of the Church has been put forth to grapple with that task; whether the representatives of Christianity have set about the task in the right way; whether instead of presenting the grand Christian creed in its entirety, they have not carried into those distant lands their narrow and exclusive habit of magnifying, out of all proportion, separate and sometimes minor points of doctrine, or even of opinion—a habit which explains that mutual contradiction between Christian teachers that forms a notorious stumbling-block to the alien; whether, finally, they have not too often failed to exhibit a due measure of that large intellectual as well as emotional sympathy which constitutes an essential element of missionary success. Our own generation has seen, we are aware, vast improvements in this department of religious effort, and from various quarters testimony is received of the devotion, self-denial, tact, and other noble qualities of the missionary band, whose labours in sowing the seed, we doubt not, will in due time be rewarded by an abundant harvest.

If the want of sympathy in past days might find some excuse in the ignorance that concealed from the Christian teacher the moral excellences, the noble truths, which are enshrined in other systems and which might furnish ground common to himself and those whom he sought to win as subjects of his Divine Master, that excuse will avail no longer. Modern erudition and enterprise have brought or are bringing to our hands in English dress the religious books of the world, and he who is preparing to labour in the mission field may start with advantages undreamt of before. And what should be his attitude with regard to the religious and moral truth that exists outside the borders of the Christian Church? Of course we only smile at the idea of the ancient Christian writer who concluded that the Devil had originated a counterfeit presentment of the truth for the purpose of hindering the progress of the truth itself, or even at the less grotesque but certainly erroneous idea of other writers, both ancient and comparatively modern, that the truths found elsewhere must

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have been derived from Holy Scripture. Educated thought has abandoned such views as these: what ought to be maintained in their stead? It seems to us that while the Christian ought to recognize with the fullest sympathy whatever excellence he may find in any quarter whatsoever, he should at the same time stoutly assert that true Christianity alone sums up all the truths spiritual or moral that exist dispersedly elsewhere, that it alone presents them in fitting mutual proportion, and knows the secret of reconciling the most exalted spiritual aspirations and conceptions with the most energetic practical life. Bishop Pearson, it will be remembered, summarizes his explanation of the Catholic character of the Church in the following words:—

'Wherefore I conclude that this Catholicism, or second affection of the Church, consisteth generally in universality, as embracing all sorts of persons, as to be disseminated through all nations, as comprehending all ages, as containing all necessary and saving truths, as obliging all conditions of men to all kind of obedience, as curing all diseases, and planting all graces, in the souls of men.'[1]

This, and not the denial of independent excellence elsewhere, should be the leading principle of the Christian's treatment of other religions. But, far as we are from believing that God left himself without witness elsewhere, both external and internal, both in nature and in conscience, we maintain that the course of religious development that culminated in Christianity has worked out in so unique a manner, through so unique a history, and with such exceptional benefits to mankind, so exalted a scheme of theology and morals, so perfect a combination of faith, hope, and charity, as can only be accounted for by special Divine guidance, in one word—by revelation.

The compelling force of this argument is, unfortunately, not universally admitted. This leads us to remark upon an additional motive for making closer acquaintance with the principles of early Buddhism. Those who regard all religions alike as the natural product of the human mind, as merely the various forms into which, under varying circumstances, primitive illusions have developed, invite us to see a specially instructive parallel between Buddhism and Christianity. The challenge is one which the Christian teacher ought not altogether to decline. If our contention is true, the parallel will indeed prove instructive, but in the opposite sense to that which is intended. From the perusal of a warmly sympa-

[1] See *Exposition of the Creed*, art. ix.

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thetic account of early Buddhism, such, for example, as that furnished in the *Hibbert Lectures* for last year by the well-known Pâli scholar Mr. (now Dr.) Rhys Davids, the inquirer will rise, we believe, confirmed in his conviction that the subtlest human reason, the concentrated thought of a nation absorbed beyond all other nations in the religious problem, could never 'by searching find out God,' or, in more philosophical phrase, could not even formulate a tolerable account of man's relation to the universe.

The rise of Buddhism cannot be understood unless we can represent to ourselves, even imperfectly, the earlier condition and fortunes and some mental conceptions of the people amongst whom it rose. In the following remarks we shall take chiefly as our guide Professor Max Duncker, who, in his *History of Antiquity*, has in the most masterly manner gathered for us the fruits of other men's labours, and focussed the scattered lights which they have thrown upon special departments of inquiry. His work is a monument of patient ingenuity. In the part before us he had to tell the story, extending over two thousand years, of that branch of our own great Aryan race which is specially distinguished from all other branches by its marvellous development of philosophic and religious thought alongside of a total neglect of history. 'The Indians,' he says, 'have not written their history, because at a very early period they began to dedicate their lives to the future world.'[1] 'Neither prince nor people show the least interest in preserving the memory of their actions or fortunes. No other nation has been so late in recording their traditions.'[2]

The history had then to be pieced together out of the 'remains of poetry and the wreck of literature,' with the aid of such side lights, scanty and obscure, as might be derived from other sources. Professor Max Duncker relies, it is true, upon Burnouf and other writers, who preceded the recent development of Pâli scholarship, and the fuller knowledge which in consequence of it we are now obtaining of the actual contents of the Buddhist sacred literature;[3] but this fact does

[1] *The History of Antiquity*, vol iv. p. 555. [2] *Ibid.* p. 27.

[3] The relation of Pâli to Buddha and of the Pâli sacred texts to primitive Buddhism would scarcely interest all readers; but it ought not to be entirely passed over. We therefore introduce here a few remarks upon it, in part extracted and summarized from Dr. Hermann Oldenberg's Introduction to his edition of *The Vinaya Pitaka*, p. xlviii *seq.* With regard to the contents and the style of representation, the Pâli version has hitherto shown itself to be the most original, if not *the* original, version of the Buddhist canonical scriptures. In regard to dialect, however, it

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not detract from the general accuracy of the picture which he draws of the state of society in which Buddhism took its rise, nor as a matter of fact do we find him very far wrong in his account of early Buddhism, when we check his statements by comparison with those of later authorities. The chief point in which a difference may be seen—and it is one that we shall do well to note—is that he does not appreciate at its full value the extraordinary excellence of the practical ethics which are interwoven with Buddhism.

It will be convenient to follow Professor Max Duncker in designating the Aryan population of India by the term Aryas.

The Aryas entered India from the north-west, and occupied at first the valley of the Indus and its tributary streams. The earliest historical notice from which their presence there can be inferred is the brief but significant mention in the Bible (1 Kings ix. 26–28, and x. 11, 12, and 22) of the nautical enterprise undertaken by King Solomon in conjunction with the Phœnician king of Tyre. The expedition sailed from Elath at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, and returned after an absence of three years, bringing gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, apes, peacocks, and 'almug'

certainly differs from the original text. The fundamental constituent parts of the original text were undoubtedly fixed in the kingdom of Mâgadha, on the central Ganges, and in the Mâgadhi language; but Pâli is, as undoubtedly, not identical with Mâgadhi. There is not the smallest room, Dr. Oldenberg says, for doubt on the latter point, in regard to which, therefore, Professor Max Duncker must be in error in asserting their identity. (*History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 285.)

Now the Cûlla-Vagga, which is a part of the Vinaya Pitaka, informs us that Buddha decreed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language. Hence, as Dr. Oldenberg infers, at the first spread of Buddhism, the texts were communicated in the different vernacular dialects of different districts, and, consequently, if at that time they had reached Ceylon, from whence we get them, they would have been in the Old Sinhalese. But the Tripitaka was transplanted to Ceylon at a time when the tradition of the holy texts had lost that elasticity which allowed every one to take Buddha's words and adapt them to his own language. Ceylon, therefore, must have received the sacred traditions in the language of that part of India from which the Tripitaka was brought over to the island, and in this same language—which, consequently, became the sacred language of the Buddhist community in Ceylon—the Sinhalese continued to propagate the tradition. This language is the Pâli.

To what part, then, of India, did the Pâli originally belong, and from whence did it spread to Ceylon?

Following two lines of investigation, historical tradition and the witness of inscriptions, Dr. Oldenberg arrives at the conclusions that the Pâli home was south of the Vindhya mountains, and that the naturalization of the whole great Buddhist literature in Ceylon was a gradual result of intercourse with the neighbouring continent.

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trees, that is sandal-wood. Now the Hebrew words for 'apes,' 'peacocks,' and 'sandal-wood' are by origin Sanskrit, while the things denoted, as well as ivory, are products of India, peacocks and sandal-wood being products of no other country. Hence it follows that the Aryas were settled in the land of the Indus *before* 1,000 B.C. From the mention of gold, which might have been brought from the upper Indus, it is inferred that there was a regular traffic from the inland country to the coast; and from the fact that sandal-wood only flourishes in the tropical land of Malabar, there is a similar inference with regard to traffic with south-western India. These inferences with regard to traffic, combined with the fact mentioned above, that certain products of India are exported under names which the Aryas have given them, imply a long-standing settlement of these tribes. Other facts enable us to draw the very probable conclusion that they entered India about 2,000 B.C.

It was while the Aryas were as yet confined to the region of the Panjab, the land of 'the five rivers,' and the western district of India on the Indus, that the greater number of the songs of the Rig-Veda were composed; and it is from these poems that the character, the political and social arrangements, and the religious conceptions, of the nation in this its first Indian home are to be gathered. There is a very marked contrast between the spirit of healthy vigorous life that breathes in these early poems and that melancholy, that life-weariness, of a later time, when the country about the Ganges had been conquered, and the exciting struggle of the great war for supremacy between different Aryan tribes, or rather for the possession of a district on the central Ganges, had been replaced by a time of comparative peace. In the earlier songs, beneath all the differences of detail that separate the early Indic thought from its nearest relative, that of eastern Iran, and still more from that in more distant Aryan nations, we still recognize that full pulse of martial courage, of exultation in battle and in life, with which we are familiar in other early Aryan literature. It is difficult to see in the Bengali of to-day a scion of the same great race to which his conquerors belong; but we recognize the brethren of Hellenes and of Northmen in the men whose minstrels sang of 'war-chariots and infantry, standard-bearers, bows, spears, swords, axes, and trumpets.' We can almost fancy it is a fellow-tribesman of some of our own fierce ancestors who sings:—

'There appears like the lustre of a cloud when the mailed warrior stalks into the heart of the combat. . . . With the bow may we

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conquer cattle; with the bow may we conquer in the struggle for the mastery, and in the sharp conflicts. . . . The bowstring approaches close to the bowman's ear, as if to speak to or embrace a dear friend. . . . Standing on the chariot, the skilful charioteer directs the horses whithersoever he wills. . . . The strong-hoofed steeds, rushing on with the chariots, utter shrill neighings; trampling the foe with their hoofs, they crush them, never receding.'[1]

There cannot be a greater contrast than that between the tumultuous joy in life and action disclosed in the Rig-Veda and that dreary pessimism, that dwelling on the dark side of things, which lies at the root of primitive Buddhism. Even the undeniable excellences of Buddhism can only be understood when viewed in the light which this fact throws upon them. To sum up, very briefly and broadly, the character of Buddhism, we may perhaps regard it as an attempt, it may be the noblest attempt possible under the circumstances, to provide a support under the sorrows of humanity, and at the same time to elevate and to satisfy the moral sense; to render life more tolerable by the repression of selfishness and the development of sympathy and mutual helpfulness; in short, partly by denial, partly by modification of the dominant spiritual conceptions, partly by the adoption of the most refined ethic, to make the best out of despair, at a time when, to quote Professor Max Duncker's words, 'under the most smiling sky, in the midst of a luxuriant vegetation, was enthroned a melancholy, gloomy, monastic view of the absolute corruption of the flesh, the misery of life on earth.'[2]

Whatever other causes may have co-operated to produce the contrast between the Aryas of the Panjab and their descendants in the states of the Ganges, causes whose influence we cannot estimate with precision, such as a change of diet, two causes undoubtedly operated with much effect, viz. the more enervating climate and the religious system elaborated by the Brahmans, including in that system the oppressive and injurious restrictions of caste with its subordinate tyrannies, that of the Brahman and that of the king.

The reader who desires to follow a connected account, the best that can be had where history there is none, of the steps by which the Aryas reached the conditions in the midst of which the founder of Buddhism was born, must be referred to Professor Max Duncker's own pages. It is there described how, after the conquest of the land of the upper Ganges,

[1] Quoted from Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, 'Rigveda.' See *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 35.

[2] See *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 546.

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which may have been completed about 1400 B.C., the immigrant tribes grew into nations and monarchies were set up; how the martial spirit which had carried forward their conquering arms expressed itself subsequently in the narrative of the great war, 'the Epos of the Indians,' the *Mahabharata*, which, along with the later *Ramayana*, is still a source of endless pleasure to the people;[1] how the three primitive classes, the sacrificing minstrels, the fighters, the agriculturists, with the addition of a fourth class, the remnant of the conquered non-Aryan tribes, became separated by insuperable barriers into the four castes, the Brahmans, the Kshatryias, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras, to one or other of which all the later divisions trace their origin.

The precise year in which the founder of Buddhism was born cannot be ascertained. Dr. Rhys Davids, relying chiefly upon Pâli accounts, an authority not absolutely conclusive, nor indeed quite self-consistent, places it between the middle and end of the sixth century B.C., an estimate which most probably does not err in regard to being too early. We may therefore assume it as definitely established that he was born in the midst of those conditions which Professor Max Duncker describes as characteristic of the Aryas on the upper Ganges in the sixth century. At this time the people suffered under grievous oppression. Royalty, provided that it respected the superior caste of the Brahmans, was upheld by them, and submission to it was inculcated in their teaching. The kings lived in luxury and splendour, though they were only monarchs of petty states, and often inflicted cruel and barbarous punishments for trivial offences. Besides this, they taxed their subjects without mercy. The caste system in its main outlines was rigidly established, and the accident of birth determined each man's career in life as in an iron groove. The enervating influence of climate had repressed any tendencies to effective resistance on the part of those who suffered from the oppression of their rulers, while the common bond that united the first three castes against the aliens of the fourth had contributed to the riveting of the chains which separated those castes from one another.

Were there any consolations of religion? Was there in the Indian conception of the universe and its government

[1] 'At all festivals and fairs . . . episodes from one of the two poems are recited to the eager crowd of assembled hearers; the audience accompany the acts and sufferings of the heroes with cries of joy, or signs of sorrow, with laughter or tears.'—*The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 109.

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anything corresponding to the patient trust of the Hebrew—the confidence in God, the belief in the All-powerful, All-holy Friend of every one who sought to live holily—which, out of the bitterest and darkest of human suffering, could distil sweetness and light; the belief that could lead a man to exclaim, 'Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness.' There was nothing of the kind. The fundamental article of the Brahmanic creed had an influence clearly contrary to that which supported the pious Israelite, and which created national heroes and raised up teachers of the world amongst his people. In spite of our fuller knowledge of the highest points reached in Indian religious thought, and of its many excellences, in spite of our wonder at its marvellous subtlety, our admiration of the depth of its philosophic penetration, it still is true that when we pass from Indian ideas of God and man's relation to Him to the perusal of a page of the Psalms, the sensation is like that of exchanging the unwholesome atmosphere of the jungle for the pure air of the mountain height, of exchanging the gloomy canopy of the one for the unclouded heaven of the other.

If to those dwellers by the Ganges life in its secular departments was a burden, the religion of the Brahmans, so far from bringing present consolation and the cheering hope of future redress, added pitilessly to the painfulness of the burden and seemed to crush the soul with the prospect of its endlessness. For the speculative reason had arrived by steps which we cannot now discuss at the conception that the basis and origin of all things is an impersonal Being, the one permanent existence, from whom all other beings are emanations which must undergo a ceaseless succession of transient existences, until they attain, if they ever do attain, final repose and unconsciousness by absorption into Deity. In each of his existences the man was supposed to be reaping the due reward of his past deeds. There was but one way to escape from the endless chain of misery, a way which few could or would practise. Severe self-mortification, carried to such an extent as practically to annihilate the body, might result in the annihilation of the soul, or rather in its absorption through meditation into Brahma. There is of course some truth as to the value of self-discipline and abstinence underlying these views. We cannot, however, now pause to separate the grain from the chaff. For all who did not choose the path laid down, for all who failed in it through the faltering of resolution, through error, through neglect of minute ritual observance, each successive existence was only a further descent into



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misery, a further removal from the final goal. Time itself was in the scale against a man. A single lifetime might require several succeeding lives for its expiation, each bringing its own liability of becoming the parent of another series. There was no pity, no mercy in the government of the world, only at the best an awful kind of justice, if indeed that could be called justice, which visited offences often trivial, often even unavoidable, such as breaches of the laws of purification, with such terrible penalties.

There are points in which Dr. Rhys Davids is not quite in accord with Professor Max Duncker. He thinks, for example, that the caste system was neither so rigidly established nor really so oppressive as is represented by the Professor and others; and we are aware that there is some foundation for this view.[1] We have, therefore, the more satisfaction in supporting our statement of the terrible aspect of the Indian religion by a quotation from Dr. Rhys Davids's latest exposition of early Buddhism. Speaking of the regeneration of living beings he tells us that the founder of Buddhism found something like this the accepted belief:—

'The outward condition of the soul is in each new birth determined by its actions in a previous birth; but by each action in succession, and not by the balance struck after the evil has been reckoned off against the good. . . . A robber who has once done an act of mercy, may come to life in a king's body as the result of his virtue, and then suffer torments for ages in hell, or as a ghost without a body, or be re-born many times as a slave or an outcast, in consequence of his evil life.'[2]

But here it is to be remarked that Brahmanism has never been an organized religion.[3] Here is the explanation of the fact that thought was absolutely free, as Dr. Rhys Davids tells us, in ancient India. Brahmanism is capable of taking

[1] See the *Hibbert Lectures* for 1881, pp. 22–25. See also the remarks on caste in his Address to the University of Calcutta by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in the volume entitled *Village Communities*, p. 219. Sir Henry's contention is that the Brahmanic literature is not a trustworthy authority as to the prevalence of caste or of other institutions. Professor Max Müller, it may be remembered, regards as an essential feature of Buddhism that it was a reaction against caste, and this view can be supported by many passages from the earliest Buddhist books. On the whole, it seems clear that the region which was the theatre of Gotama's teaching was the head-quarters of Brahmanism, and that the caste system had acquired at that period a rigidity in this region which was lacking elsewhere.

[2] See *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 84–86.

[3] See *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 463, and Sir H. S. Maine's *Village Communities*, pp. 216, 217.

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up and adapting new and inconsistent elements when they become sufficiently prevalent. There is no doubt that this was the case to some extent with Brahmanism after the rise of Buddhism, in spite of the fact that the two religions were eventually seen to be so incompatible, that in self-preservation Brahmanism actually expelled its rival from its original home. With this, however, we are not now concerned. The point we have to note is that it was no unheard-of phenomenon when Gotama, son of the petty chief Suddhodana, came forward as the expounder of a better system than that of the Brahmans. How much of early Buddhism was actually due to him, how much he owed to philosophic thinkers who preceded him, in decrying, for example, the importance of ritual and exalting that of moral conduct,[1] are questions more easily asked than answered. One point, however, is as certain as any in this case can be. The founder of Buddhism owed his success in some measure to his having struck out a new path in regard to the method of his teaching and the audiences whom he addressed. Like a greater than he, he addressed the multitudes, and like Him too he employed popular methods, such as the parable, as the vehicle of his instruction. Among the *Jâtaka Tales*, an instalment of which, with an interesting and scholarly Introduction, has already been published by Dr. Rhys Davids, it is very possible that we have some examples of that 'good-natured humour which led to his (Buddha's) inventing as occasion arose some fable or some tale of a previous birth, to explain away existing failures in conduct among the monks, or to draw a moral from contemporaneous events.'[2] And the many elaborate similes which enforce the arguments in the *Pâli Suttas* leave no reasonable doubt that he 'was really accustomed to teach much by the aid of parables.'

The fact that he did choose to popularize his doctrine, that he did thus address himself to the multitudes, throws a welcome light upon Buddha's personal character. Through the darkness of our ignorance as to anything beyond the most meagre details of his life, through the mist of legend with which the enthusiasm of his followers surrounded his personality, through the confusion of modern theorizers, who

[1] Some even of the Buddhistic teaching that bears the closest resemblance to the precepts of Christianity was perhaps inculcated, though only occasionally and not consistently, by some of the Brahmans of Buddha's time; the duty, for example, of overcoming evil by good. See *Jâtaka Tales, or Buddhist Birth Stories*, Introduction, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

[2] *Jâtaka Tales*, vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxxiv. See also *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 359.



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have seen in the founder of Buddhism the originator of what they are pleased to call the higher Judaism and the higher Christianity,[1] we catch a glimpse of one who, born a prince, sympathized with the sorrows and the moral struggles of the meanest; who, though a philosopher, sought not amongst the *élite* the renown that waits upon the learned teacher; who, instead of saying 'odi profanum vulgus et arceo,' opened his arms to receive as a brother every one, who pursued goodness, truth, unselfishness, as his ideal; a glimpse of one who renounced luxury, splendour, and distinction in order to mitigate the distress which he was powerless to remove. While the Christian recognizes the vast gulf that separates such an one as even S. Paul in respect of the teaching of things divine from the founder of Buddhism, he will not deny to the latter the possession of a large measure of that true charity, that sympathy deep and wide, that missionary zeal and self-devotion for the good of men that characterized the Apostle. Would it be an idle fancy to suppose that the Divine Founder of Christianity included Gotama the Buddha, the Enlightened, among the 'prophets and righteous men' who pined for the fuller light which He Himself projected upon the mystery of the government of the world, who, in short, wanted the revelation of the truth that God is love?

That human life is all vanity and vexation of spirit has been felt in other lands besides India. What wonder that it should have been felt with tenfold force amongst those dwellers by the Ganges, when we recall to mind the conditions of their life, and the enervating nature of the climate, and when we learn that the old belief in divine protectors and helpers had been sublimated away in the crucible of philosophic thought, leaving only as a residuum the belief in a neuter, unconscious First Cause, when, for this too must be added, instead of inculcating justice, mercy, brotherly helpfulness between man and man, the religious teachers, as a rule, inculcated, on the one hand, the formal observance of a burdensome ritual, and, on the other hand, a self-annihilating asceticism, the aim of which was to win absorption into that cold unsympathetic shadow? And if to a man born in the midst of these conditions, a man of subtle and intensely meditative intellect but of large heart, not ignorant of the doubts which heterodox teachers cast upon the truth of Brahmanic teaching and upon the validity of Brahmanic ritual, but

[1] This theory is set forth so recently as 1881 in *Buddha and Early Buddhism*, by a Mr. Arthur Lillie. We shall make some remarks upon this work by-and-by.

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unable altogether to emancipate himself from the ideas of his age,—if to such a man there came, as a master-passion, the desire to lift the weight of human suffering, can we conceive a more natural result than such a body of doctrine as that, the outlines of which can now be referred to Buddha, if not as the originator, certainly as the systematic, persevering, and popular exponent?

Just as S. Paul was not uplifted into the purer atmosphere of Christianity before he had reached the highest summits of the older faith, so Gotama did not attain to Enlightenment until he had made the utmost trial of the system in which he was born. He had been taught that by severe self-mortification a man could obtain inward peace, and for six years he gave himself up to such pitiless asceticism that 'he was wasted away to a shadow.'[1] But he had not attained his object. He then modified his ascetic practices, and at length his long meditations bore fruit. He seemed to be able to penetrate into the secret of existence, and to have discovered how the endless chain of misery could be broken off. He had learnt now 'the four highest truths: pain, the origin of pain, the annihilation of pain, and the way that leads to the annihilation of pain.'

In the system which Buddha now proclaimed, the doctrine of re-births held still a very prominent place, though, as the recent expositors of it inform us, in a modified form. It is not the soul that is renewed, but it is the *character* of the man that lives on, and the cause of its renewal in each successive existence is the *desire* of existence. This potency of desire seems to us the foundation stone, in its naked simplicity, of early Buddhism: and how natural is the connection of this doctrine with a pessimistic conception of the universe is strikingly shown in the fact that we have an analogous combination exemplified in the philosophy of Hartmann. That our view is in accord with that of the Buddhists of a very early period themselves, is conclusively shown by the famous verses of the *Dhammapada*, which are believed by Buddhists to contain the very words uttered by the founder of their religion at the moment of his attaining to Buddhahood. We are told that he expressed himself as follows:—

'Looking for the maker of this tabernacle,' that is, not for any personal Creator, but, as Professor Max Müller explains, for the

[1] See *Buddhism*, by T. W. Rhys Davids (Society for Promoting Christian Knowldge), p. 39. See also *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 338 *seq.*

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*cause* of new births, 'I shall have to run through a course of many births so long as I do not find him: and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of this tabernacle, thou hast been seen! Thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again! All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind approaching the Eternal (Nirvâna) has attained to the extinction of all desires!'[1]

We have now seen what was the salvation which Buddha offered, a state of peace and rest which might be obtained by any individual for himself without the aid of the Brahman, without having recourse to sacrificial rites. It was open to all of whatever caste. The Brahman might win it, so might the Sudra, and any that were lower and more despised than he, such as Chandalas, who were really of non-Aryan origin, though believed to have arisen from the intermarriage of Sudras with Brahman women, and consequently regarded as 'the most contemptible mortals.'[2] When the Brahmans reproached him with preaching to the impure, 'My law,' said Buddha, 'is a law of grace for all.' If here we are reminded of our Blessed Lord's attitude towards publicans and sinners, and of the Pharisees making it a subject of reproach, an incident related of one of Buddha's most devoted disciples, his cousin Ananda, recalls the Gospel incident at the well of Samaria. 'On one occasion Ananda met a Chandala maiden drawing water at a fountain, and asked to drink. She replied that she was a Chandala and might not touch him. Ananda

[1] The *Dhammapada*, vs. 153, 154. The translation of 'Nirvâna' by 'the Eternal' appears to us to convey a false idea: perhaps 'perfect peace' would reconcile the idea of total cessation of being, which the Arahat or Saint certainly attains to at death, with the idea of a reposeful state of mind to be attained on earth that neither passion nor sorrow can disturb. See *The Hibbert Lectures* for 1881, pp. 31, 100, 161, and 253. One of Buddha's early disciples, a Brahman, is stated in the Buddhist Scriptures to have thus accounted to the new teacher for his contempt of sacrificial rites:—

> 'That state of Peace I saw, wherein the roots
> Of new existences are all destroyed; and greed,
> And hatred, and delusion, all have ceased,—
> The state from lust of future life set free;
> That changeth not, can ne'er be led to change.
> My mind saw that! What care I for those rites?
> —*Ibid.* p. 159.

[2] *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 248. Distinct stages can be traced in the severity of the caste rules. At an early period the offspring of parents belonging to different castes belonged to the same caste as the father. Subsequently, when the caste system had come to be regarded as a part of the divine order of the world, the offspring of a mixture of castes was considered lower than any of the four original castes, and, on the principle it would appear of *corruptio optimi pessima*, lowest of all was the offspring of a Brahman woman by a Sudra father.

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answered: "My sister, I do not ask you about your caste, nor about your family; I ask you for water, if you can give it me."'[1] We miss here, as elsewhere, the revelation of truth as to things divine recorded by the Evangelist.

Buddha did not so much oppose the belief in Brahma and in inferior gods—though it must be added that his philosophy denied the absolute permanence of any being whatever—as he ignored and taught his disciples to ignore them. The Buddhist doctrine, the modern echo of which is familiar to us, is 'try to get as near to wisdom and goodness as you can in this life. Trouble not yourselves about the gods. Disturb yourself not by curiosities or desires about any future existence. Seek only after the fruit of the noble path of self-culture and self-control.'[2]

The Buddhist goal, that which was to be the aim of his life, was, as we have said, *Nirvâna*, which, with whatever qualifications, resulted practically in annihilation after this life. This was the analogue of S. Paul's 'the prize of our high calling in Jesus Christ.' We are acquainted with the stimulating effect of the latter conception, in the light of which, few, we imagine, will question the truth of Dr. Rhys Davids's estimate of the belief in the immortality of the soul, as the 'all-powerful belief which has played so mighty a part in the influences which have shaped the Europe of to-day.'[3] With regard to the Buddhist Nirvâna, 'we cannot have any doubt,' to quote once more from Professor Max Duncker,

[1] *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 362.

[2] See *The Hibbert Lectures* for 1881, p. 88.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 17. We do not think, with all deference to Dr. Rhys Davids, that the fact 'that the oldest Hebrew books show little trace of that belief in an immortal future life, which became so common among the Jews after the captivity in Mesopotamia,' is to be explained by their having been without the belief until they came in contact with Aryans. The words of Jacob when he supposed that Joseph was dead, 'I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning' (Gen. xxxvii. 35), are not consistent with this view. The narratives of the translation of Enoch and Elijah, and of the appearance of Samuel to the witch of Endor, to say nothing of the famous passage in Job, or of the basis of our Blessed Lord's refutation of the Sadducees, point clearly in the other direction. It is not indeed to be denied that the doctrine in question lacks that prominence in the Pentateuch which we might have expected, and Warburton, writing in the last century, hazarded the paradox that the omission by Moses of a tenet which other religious teachers and philosophers propounded, was so singular a fact that he *must* have acted under Divine guidance in omitting it. The paradox has been sneered at, but with our fuller knowledge of the absurdities with which the tenet was associated in Egypt, it seems likely, as Mr. Stuart Poole has suggested, that its omission, or subordination rather, was a wise safeguard from the Egyptian puerilities.

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'that this attempt at annihilation, if made in earnest, must practically lead to the same results as the absorption of the Brahmans into Brahma—that it caused men to become dull, stupid, and brutalized.'[1]

Notwithstanding this unfavourable verdict, we gladly admit that when we take into account the conditions on which, according to Buddha, the absolute repose of Nirvâna was to be obtained, the qualities of mind, the behaviour of man to his fellow, we see the possibility of a noble ethical system. The modern Agnostic is in a worse logical position than Buddha. He desires, as Buddha did not primarily desire, to find a principle which may stimulate men to the energetic discharge of all family, social, and patriotic duties. Buddha's highest ideal of saintly life consisted in the renunciation of family life, of life in the world, and the adoption of the dress and life of his mendicant order, though he does make room in a very subordinate position for the virtues of secular life.[2] If it be said that Christianity also has unduly exalted the virtue of the cloister, of celibate life, of the renunciation of the world, it must be admitted that there have been times in the history of the Christian Church when a very true principle has been carried to excess. Yet it is still true that the renunciation of the world for the Gospel's sake, that is, practically, as the Christian believes, for the benefit of the world, has produced characters of the most heroic type. It is still true that such renunciation contributed largely to the evangelization of the world. But so far from Christianity proclaiming this principle as the ideal of perfection for all men, it exhorts all, by the mouth of its greatest human teacher, to the scrupulous discharge of duty in all the relationships of life 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,' and whatsoever they do to do it 'heartily as to the Lord.'

To recapitulate the substance of the foregoing remarks. Taking Buddhism in its earliest and purest stage, we find it founded upon a mistaken philosophy of the universe; we find it professing an aim of life that, making out life itself to be an evil, must, if universally desired and attained, bring human existence to an end, and we find it instructive in contrast to Christianity in regard to the promotion of the manifold activities of social life, which, working in harmony and due proportion, move the car of progress in its onward career and tend to bring about the consummation of that

[1] *The History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. p. 349.
[2] See *Buddhism*, by T. W. Rhys Davids, pp. 63, 64 and 125.

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'Far off Divine event
To which the whole creation moves.'

Having said so much, we are bound to pay our tribute to the loftiness of much of Buddha's teaching. We can admit, without fear of misunderstanding, that in regard even to points of duty which in the common opinion have been satisfactorily treated by Christianity alone, the Buddhist ideas do not fall one whit short of the Christian. The Buddhist precepts with regard to patience under injuries, the cultivation of unselfishness and of sympathy, the duty of endeavouring to relieve the distresses of others, of temperance, soberness, and chastity, of resignation, of bridling the tongue and the temper, of almsgiving and the practice of works of mercy, of the avoidance of any ostentation of goodness, even of repentance and acknowledgment of sin, are, when regarded on the human side alone, unsurpassed by those of Christianity; for in truth, with minor differences of detail, both teach the same thing.

Want of space forbids us to quote at length from the Buddhist scriptures in illustration of the excellence of its teaching. Examples may, however, be found in Dr. Rhys Davids' manual of Buddhism, forming one of the excellent series of hand-books on Non-Christian Religious Systems published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We content ourselves with citing a few verses from Professor Max Müller's translation of the *Dhammapada*, selected rather in illustration of some by-ways of Buddhist thought, than of the general system of morality:—

V. 19. 'The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion of the law but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.'

V. 20. 'The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion of the law, but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he caring for nothing in this world, or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.'

In these verses we are reminded of the Epistle of S. James, while the special mention of recitation of the law recalls the wonderful powers of memory common amongst the learned Indians, both ancient and modern. The following verses sound like the echo of teaching to be found both in the Old and the New Testament on the government of the heart:—

V. 36. 'Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list. Thoughts well guarded bring happiness.'

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V. 42. 'Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly directed mind will do us greater mischief.'

Many of the verses present not only literary resemblances to those of the Proverbs of Solomon, but conceptions at least analogous of folly and wisdom. For example :—

V. 60. 'There is no companionship with a fool.'

V. 62. '"These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me"—with such thoughts is a fool tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; much less sons and wealth.'

V. 63. 'The fool who knows his foolishness is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.'

V. 64. 'If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.'

V. 69. 'As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens then the fool suffers grief.'

In conclusion.—From the many striking resemblances that undoubtedly exist between Buddhism on the one hand and the teaching of sects, such as the Essenes, which preceded Christianity, and Christianity on the other, some writers have jumped hastily to the conclusion that the former was the source of the latter. A recent attempt to establish this inference is made in a book referred to above and entitled *Buddha and Early Buddhism.* The writer having, as he says, devoted nine years to the study of the subject, thinks himself qualified to put forward original views opposed to those of Burnouf, St. Hilaire, Professors Max Müller and Monier Williams, Dr. Rhys Davids, and, as he believes, almost every writer of note. Loud as is the trumpet-blast of the challenger, we do not imagine that writers of note will think it worth while to engage in serious combat with him. He has read widely on the subject, but, as it seems to us, with an entire absence of that discriminating judgment which would alone entitle him to be listened to when propounding original views. For example, he twice quotes S. Paul's words, 'preached to every creature under heaven,' in reference to the Gospel, in proof that 'the higher Buddhism and the higher Christianity are the same religion,' and that S. Paul thought so.[1] Mr. Lillie's naïve confession as

[1] See *Buddha and Early Buddhism*, by Arthur Lillie (late Regiment of Lucknow). London, 1881. Introduction, p. x, and pp. 217, 218. S. Paul's words are in Col. i. 23, not, as Mr. Lillie gives the reference both times, v. 3. Whether the πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει of the Apostle be only an hyperbole, arising in this particular verse from the repeated use in the previous verses of the same or related expressions, or whether it have some mysterious fulness of meaning corresponding to the meaning of these expressions, it is quite certain that Mr. Lillie is egregiously mistaken.

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to the prime source of his superior enlightenment with regard to the principles of early Buddhism, is of itself sufficient to destroy all credit for his work. To rely, as he does, upon the testimony of a nineteenth-century Nepalese Buddhist who, however learned, could know but little of the Western science of criticism, and could certainly not be impartial, for information as to original Buddhism, is an infallible method of arriving at wrong conclusions.

The best scholars, even those without bias in favour of any religion as revealed, have come to the conclusion that similarities such as those referred to above are not to be explained by the easy method of supposing a passage *en bloc* in ancient times of a set of religious ideas from India into Palestine. It is only by ignoring the totally different bases, and indeed the general architecture, so to say, of the two edifices of religious thought, that the resemblances of separate features are made to appear significant. A person ignorant of horticulture might suppose that apples and pears were descended from the same not very remote ancestral tree, but they belong to distinct species. Until post-Christian times, when missionaries may have furnished the channel by which some resemblances of ritual passed over into the ritualistic system of Northern Buddhism, the development of religion in the farther East and that of which Christianity was the outcome pursued their course independently of one another. We have only to recall to mind the grand conception of the Supreme Being and of His relation to His creatures—a conception which, though expanded and developed, continued essentially identical throughout the course of Biblical history—to assure ourselves that this was the case.

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## ART. VI.—THE SALVATION ARMY.

1. *Heathen England: being a Description of the utterly Godless Condition of the Vast Majority of the English Nation, and of the Establishment, Growth, System, and Success of an Army for its Salvation, consisting of Working People, under the Generalship of William Booth.* Third Edition. (London, 1879.)
2. *Aggressive Christianity.* By MRS. BOOTH. (London, 1880.)

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3. *Our Story in* 1881. (London, 1882.)
4. *The War Cry, and Official Gazette of the Salvation Army.* (Published Weekly.)
5. *The Little Soldier: the Children's War Cry.* (Published Weekly.)

ABOUT nine-and-thirty years ago, at Nottingham, an eager-hearted boy of fourteen, named William Booth, obtained permission of his father, who was a nominal Churchman, to leave the uninteresting Church service of those days, and seek a form of worship which might better please his fancy in a Wesleyan meeting-house. Here, according to the story, a year later he was 'converted;' and without delay, accompanied by two or three other boys who had lately passed through a similar experience, he threw himself ardently into religious work in the lower parts of the town, where he preached in all weathers indoors or out-of-doors. At the age of seventeen the boy was an accredited preacher among the Wesleyans, and would have passed on into their ministry, had not the doctors told him that in that case he would die in a twelvemonth. He still, however, persevered in preaching; and at the age of twenty-four, finding himself stronger, he was admitted to be a minister, though not among the Wesleyans, but in a sect called the Methodist New Connexion. Immediately after this occurrence, though formally appointed to a fixed station, he chose an irregular life of revival work, first in Guernsey, then in the Black Country, then in the North. The 'conversions' effected by him during this time, recorded and counted up in the strange fashion of those sectarians, rose to an imposing figure. But Mr. Booth's sect did not, for some reason or another, approve of this roving career, in spite of its success. He was for a few years tied down again to the charge of a congregation; and on his applying in 1861 for leave to resume once more the position of an 'evangelist,' the application was refused. Mr. Booth felt that he was in no way bound to yield to such an authority. He left the New Connexion, as he had before left the Wesleyans and still earlier the Church, and betook himself to that paradise of revivalists, the county of Cornwall, as an unattached preacher.

After various fortunes, Mr. Booth's energies at last became concentrated upon East London. In the year 1865, which is considered the birth year of the Salvation Army, he happened to call at the office of *The Christian* newspaper, when he received an invitation to hold a week of preaching in a tent at Whitechapel.

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'Here he saw the enormous population of utterly godless people which swarmed on every side; and feeling his heart strangely drawn out for their salvation, he resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to turn aside from those who in all directions throughout the country would have invited him to continue the work of an evangelist in their midst, and to spend the remainder of his life in endeavouring to christianize the millions of his countrymen who instead of inviting might be inclined to repel his labours.'[1]

Hitherto, though he had seen a good deal in the way of orthodox revivals among the sects, he 'had little knowledge of the way to get at those who lay outside the sphere of existing religious organizations.' He resolved boldly to take experience for his schoolmaster.

'He began by preaching in the open air upon a piece of land by the side of the Mile-End Road, where shows, shooting-ranges, petty dealers, and quack doctors rival each other in attracting the attention of the poor. In those days it was rather a novelty for any one to stand there statedly and regularly in all weathers to preach to the people. And this tall, dark stranger who came to talk to them all familiarly about their souls, using every passing event and every common proverb to pass along the line of their ordinary thoughts, bringing in great truths long forgotten if ever known, was a new wonder —an attraction equal at any rate to Punch-and-Judy or the giant baby. . . . Men and women long burdened with sins followed him to the tent, and one after another fell down at the feet of Jesus, and sought and found mercy. These, rallying round their spiritual father in the open air, soon began by their singing and their simple relation of God's pardoning love to them to increase the general interest in the affair, and many who would have taken little notice of a mere preacher stood speechless and astounded to hear men, who had been notorious for their iniquity but a little while before, tell of the peace, and joy, and love, they now possessed.'[2]

In the autumn Mr. Booth's tent was demolished by wind and wet. Then, after a short sojourn in the open air, the work found a home in an old dancing-saloon, afterwards in a low public-house, which was converted into a mission-hall. To this succeeded a large theatre, hired for Sunday use. Persons from all quarters of East London who had been converted in this theatre began to ask that similar operations might be set on foot in their own neighbourhoods. In Bethnal Green, Limehouse, Poplar, Canning Town, club-rooms, cellars, sheds, old abandoned chapels, an old factory, a back room behind a pigeon-shop, became centres of their missionary activity. Four years after the commencement in Whitechapel the plant

[1] *Heathen England*, p. 23. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 23, 24.

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threw out runners into the country. But a new danger now arose: made more serious by a long illness of Mr. Booth. Many of the workers who threw in their lot with Mr. Booth had been recruited from various religious denominations, and had brought 'with all their piety and devotion an amount of inclination towards the settled, methodical, and unenterprising church life which they had left.' Mr. Booth's missionary band was in peril of becoming an ordinary sect before its time. Many, also, of the leaders were, it seems, disposed to form little sects of their own in which they might be their own masters, and suck their advantage out of the converts. But such attempts were firmly repressed; and in the year 1878, the society—if society it can be called—had so consolidated itself, and had so formulated its principles, that it set before itself the whole world as its field; and, dropping its former name of 'The Christian Mission'—a sufficiently far-reaching title, one would have said—it assumed the style by which it has become famous, or notorious, of 'The Salvation Army.'

Since that time the growth of the organization has been so rapid and conspicuous that it is impossible even for those who most dislike its principles to ignore it. It forces itself alike upon the attention of the secular press and the magistracy, and upon the careful consideration of all Christians. The statistics of its present position demand that we should try to find the secret of its force, and question ourselves upon our attitude with respect to it. Those statistics are briefly summed up thus, in the pamphlet called *Our Story in* 1881. There are now in England 251 'corps,' or stations occupied—according to another statement 351—as against 45 in 1878. The number of 'officers' whose time is entirely given to the work of the Army was, in the former year, 88; it is now 533. They claim to have 13,393 efficient public speakers—volunteers—who are ready to speak for them at any time. The income of the Army, in subscriptions from its members and donations from friends, amounted last year to no less than 57,000*l.* A sum of 'only 20,000*l.*' is now on the way to be expended in purchasing the London Orphan Asylum at Clapton as a 'Training Home for 400 Cadets,' who will pass on to be officers in the Army. The *War Cry*, their official journal, bids fair to spoil the proud boast of the *Daily Telegraph*, for it has already a circulation of 200,000: weekly, of course, not daily; while the *Little Soldier*, not a year old, has started with a circulation of 53,000. The publication of an American *War Cry* shows how the movement has taken hold in that country. The new Bishop of Adelaide will find his episcopal

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city the head-quarters of a flourishing Australian corps, which has won for its captain the honour of an hour's imprisonment, succeeded by encomiums from the Government of the colony. Miss Booth, a year ago, had the hardihood to invade France itself, where a large number of Protestant ministers had combined to pray that the Army might not be allowed an entrance. Her congregation contained, according to the account of the police officer, 'half the cut-throats in Paris.' Disturbances took place. The hall was, for the time, closed by authority of the police. Salvationists were to share the fate of Redemptorists, Passionists, and Marists. Thereupon a remonstrance was forwarded by no less personages than the late Lord Chancellor of England, the late Lord Mayor of London, and the Chief of our Metropolitan Police; and after a few days the hall was reopened. Since then a second French corps has been formed, and the Army has invaded Switzerland, under command of a Swiss vagabond who had taken refuge in Paris, and was there converted. Near the close of 1881, 'we heard,' the Salvationists say, 'from a missionary in South Africa, who had hoisted a banner bearing the words "Blood and Fire" in the Kaffir language.' Though we smile at the mode in which the Salvationists apprise us of these facts, the facts themselves give food for serious reflexion.

The greatest diversity of opinion exists in the minds of persons outside the Army with respect to the work done by it. The Bishop of Manchester has publicly denounced the Salvationists: the Bishop of Rochester has given them outspoken praise. Warm tributes to their zeal and success were paid in the Newcastle Church Congress, and various clerical meetings of importance (such, for instance, as that at S. James's, Piccadilly) have shown general favour to the essential characteristics of the movement. The Bishop of Truro has made their work the subject of careful conference with the clergy and laity of every rural deanery in his diocese, where we learn that the laity have, on the whole, shown less sympathy for them than the clergy. Among the dissenters, the Romanist *Tablet* has recognized with some kindliness the beneficial moral results of their crusade. The President of the Wesleyan Conference has attended their meetings, and declared that they 'all agree [with him] about salvation;' but in many places, perhaps most, the Army has no opponents so keen and bitter as the various bodies of Methodists, especially the Wesleyans. Sometimes, when a Methodist chapel has been losing its adherents, and has got into a bad way financially, they have been glad to compound with the Salvationists, in the hope

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that those who are attracted by the new revival may pass into attending the chapel regularly; but many old-fashioned Wesleyans complain of the cold worldliness with which their leaders stand aloof from a movement which looks like a return to the days of John Wesley. In some towns the Salvationists feel that the Church is the only power not in antagonism to them, except the police. The police, as a rule, bear steady testimony to the good which the Army is doing. This testimony is the more valuable, as the general proceedings of the Army cannot be in accordance with a policeman's ideal of good order; and, in fact, they give the police a great deal of trouble. Mr. Railton describes it as becoming sometimes 'a case of open war' between his friends and them, and gives humorous recipes for making it 'impossible for a policeman to *enjoy* his duty.'[1] Yet, in spite of this, we have never seen anything but respectful protection shown to the Army by the police. 'The quay is quite a changed place, sir,' said a superintendent in a bad seaport town; 'since the Salvation Army came we have had no work to do there, and the public-houses are empty.' Such evidence is well worth considering. There are, unhappily, a large number of instances in which confirmed drunkards and bad characters, after being for a time changed by the efforts of Mr. Booth's people, have gone back to their evil habits. But it does not condemn the system to point to a score or two of such cases, when examples of perseverance may be quoted with equal ease. What system has ever been tried which has not failed in like manner here and there? S. Peter's net, in the Gospel, did not break, nor suffer any of the one hundred and fifty and three great fishes to escape; yet the Epistles show how frequent and deep must have been the disappointment of the Apostles over many converts, whom even their inspired sagacity and infallible teaching, and ardent love of souls and individualizing zeal, could not save from going back to the error from which they had 'clean escaped.'

At the same time, we cannot always argue that because a movement effects good, it must therefore be a good movement. It must be a movement which *contains* good: for a totally corrupt tree cannot bring forth any good fruit. And we run a tremendous risk if, seeing souls saved and devils cast out, we allow any jealousy on the Church's behalf, or personal repulsion from bad taste, or prejudice against novel modes of action, to make us impugn the goodness of the power which produces these beneficial results. But, on the other hand, our

[1] *Heathen England*, pp. 51, 52.

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sympathy with what is good in any movement is no excuse for ignoring the evil with which it is mixed. Few would deny, for instance, that the work of Wesley produced at first, and still in a less degree produces, an incalculable amount of good; and yet, after mature experience—when we see how it has annihilated the love of Christian unity, its deadly contempt for authority, its impatience, its natural antinomianism, its encouragement of spiritual pride—we are by no means sure that Wesley did more good than harm. Though the words were ironically intended by the speaker, yet they contain a great deal of truth, that

> 'The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interrèd with their bones.'

All religious work done apart from the Church, or even done within the pale, but not in the spirit, of the Church, seems to be doomed to exemplify the words of Antony. The good soon passes away: the evil lives on. Let us hope that it may not be thus with the Salvation Army: it contains a very large admixture of good; but there is much also to cause fear for its future. The remark is not our own, but one which we fully accept, that it is unsafe to judge of the Salvation Army by its best representatives. Were all the workers in it characterized by the same qualities as the lady whose soul-stirring and sensible addresses we have named at the head of this article, we should have little apprehension about the ultimate results of the movement. But the coarse, profane, and irreverent element threatens to gain the upper hand. The most revolting blasphemies may constantly be heard at the meetings; and we have never known of their being checked. In judging of the Holy Church, we feel that we may judge her by her best men and women, for it is evident that her best fall far short of the standard which she sets before them; but the Salvation army has no standard, except such ideal of the Christian life as each individual may propose to himself; and we fear the tendency must naturally be, as it has been with the Wesleyans, to sink lower. The only hope of averting such consequences seems to lie in the chance (which we shall endeavour presently to estimate) of drawing the Salvation Army into the Church itself.

Most of the operations of the Salvation Army are too well known to need any description. Any one who has visited any of our larger towns during the last four years must have been pretty sure to see the Army marching in procession through the streets, singing one of its popular melodies. The



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procession is usually headed by some 'Captain Happy Ann,' who walks backwards waving an umbrella. The mob which accompanies it is usually prodigal of good-humoured 'chaff.' If, as is often the case, the Salvationists are singing sacred words to the tune of a comic song, then the mob swells the music by singing the comic song itself. But it is not always that the mob is so good-tempered. At Sheffield, the other day, a poor 'Converted Wrestler" was hit with a block of wood and thrown from a horse which he was riding, with such force as to break his thigh, while others of the party got into their 'barracks' bleeding and faint. Barnstaple, Basingstoke, and Boston, to go no further into the alphabet, have distinguished themselves by their opposition to the good people who wanted to turn them from sin. Exeter, notorious for riots, whether against surplices or against bishops who preach temperance, has gone the length of organizing a counter agitation, which, under the title of the 'Skeleton Army,' parades the city, defying magistrates and police officers, for the express purpose of wrecking Salvationist meetings and meeting-places, and of confirming people in the habits of which the Salvationists wish to break them. In the case of Stamford, the apprehensions of the magistrates were so grave, that they appealed to the Home Secretary to know what they were to do. A rescript came back from Sir W. Vernon-Harcourt which drew down upon itself the severe and merited rebuke of every leading newspaper in England, Conservative or Liberal. It stated that the Salvationist processions, 'not being illegal in themselves, cannot, in the absence of other circumstances, be legally prevented; but where they provoke antagonism and lead to riotous collisions, and where the peace of the town would be endangered if they are allowed to continue, the magistrates should by every means in their power endeavour to prevent them.' It recommended that wherever the magistrates had reason to believe that a breach of the peace would result from the processions, the chief constable should lay before them a sworn information to that effect, and then the magistrates should issue notices prohibiting the processions, and should use force, if necessary, to stop them. In other words, the Salvation Army was to be dealt with on the principle of 'local option.' The question whether Her Majesty's peaceable subjects were to be allowed to exercise their legal right and walk in procession was to be referred to the good pleasure of the roughs.

It must be confessed that, on the whole, the Salvationists have borne these attacks with great courage and great

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patience. There are cases where an unwise 'captain' has retaliated, or even taken the initiative in a fray; but such cases are infrequent.

'We conquer,' they say, 'by patient perseverance in well-doing. Preacher-hunting is a grand diversion for any number of weeks or months, if the preachers make good running; but if they stand their ground doggedly and invincibly, it becomes uninteresting. To holloa and push for ten minutes is delightful. If no impression be made, however, it becomes rather trying in twenty minutes. In half an hour it becomes quite monotonous; and the moment anything else turns up (and something is always "turning up" in a large town), the whole pack are off upon a new scent (except those who are nailed to the spot in spite of themselves).'[1]

But even where there is no violent opposition to endure, it must require great earnestness and power of lasting to go through the tremendous work devolving upon the poor missionaries—of whom quite as many are women as men—and often married women with families. The pay which they receive cannot be much inducement; for the whole sum on which are maintained the seventy-seven staff officers at the central and nine divisional headquarters amounts to no more than 3,300*l.* per annum; an average of not 43*l.* apiece. Even this salary is not guaranteed to them. Each officer, on entering upon his duties, 'acknowledges in writing that he has no legal claim upon headquarters or upon any other authority in the Army for salary or remuneration.'[2] Mr. Booth himself is not in any way maintained out of the funds of the Army, but 'from the commencement of the movement has been supported from an entirely independent source.' If rumour speaks true, he has maintained himself, at any rate from time to time, by entering into business—becoming at Nottingham a pawnbroker, at Penzance a potato-merchant. And for such salaries they must every day do a hard day's work. Some little time may be allowed for study and private prayer; but the officers are almost all day engaged in visiting houses, selling the *War Cry*—a humiliation which some of them feel keenly at first—keeping careful accounts of money received and spent, looking after their converts, and other matters of the kind. Poor 'Captain' Trenhail, of Exeter, after passing three or four hours in the lock-up on Sunday, March 12, said that he had not done so much singing, reading, and praying by himself for a long time. Every evening brings the inevitable procession or prayer-meeting — or

[1] *Heathen England*, p. 48.
[2] *All about the Salvation Army* (Partridge and Co.), p. 8.



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'march-past' and 'knee-drill'—with addresses. They laugh to scorn the thought that there is any special 'season' for giving open-air addresses; if the weather is too bad for people to stand out in the streets, they will at least come to their windows to listen. 'Extremely cold, snowy, or wet weather, when it is impossible to get any large numbers to stand at a corner, and when so many are in their warm dwellings, is a peculiarly suitable time for this sort of work.'[1] And as for intermitting a day here and there, they would not think of it. This is what they think of daily service:—

'Daily service is not a mere Army question. Who ever invented a religion without daily attendance on public divine service? Why, the Devil, of course, whose policy always has been, is, and will be, as long as he has to deal with sinful mortals, to persuade them to put off till to-morrow what they should do to-day! Did not our fathers eat manna in the wilderness, and stand before the tabernacle of God every day? Did not God institute daily service in His temple? Did not the Psalmist find it his only desire to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of his life? Did not the holy people before Christ was manifested meet daily in the temple? Did not He, our Master and our Example, daily teach the people, and daily in the temple, when near enough to Jerusalem? Did not His Apostles daily in the synagogues, and from house to house, preach and teach and heal? Ay, did not every converted reader of these pages so understand and practise every-day religion in the time of their first love? If people do not serve the Lord daily in public, it is simply because their every-day life has very little of the heavenly about it.'[2]

Of course, when the Salvationists speak thus of daily service, they mean something as far removed as any one can well conceive from the chastened temper of our matins and evensong; and probably it would be regarded by most of them as a lamentable falling from grace if any of their converts should be captivated by that 'soothing' influence of the Prayer Book which inspired the *Christian Year*. But it must be recollected that their usual 'service' is not intended for the edifying of those who are already true servants of God; it is designed for the conversion of sinners; so that naturally any large introduction of the element of worship would be out of place. The service consists of a series of the shortest possible addresses fired at the people (they consist usually of a testimony of 'experience' and a fervent appeal), and between each two addresses comes one of their rollicking hymns, so called. It is certainly striking to see the way in which the choruses are caught up by the rough people. So

[1] *Heathen England*, p. 55. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 84, 85.

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readily are they learned, that in many places they have become a great offence to the reverent mind; for at all hours of the day boys and girls may be heard shouting the most sacred of Names, and words relating to His adorable Passion, as the accompaniment of their wildest games. Unfortunately very little is done at the meetings to convey to the hearers any notion of reverence. We have heard very 'inconvenient' jesting introduced into a meeting, which, though it tends to keep up a friendly feeling with the rough mob, must jar painfully upon the heart of any person who is really under conviction of sin and desires to be pointed to the Saviour. Such well-intended but ill-timed good humour cannot fail to give the impression that the whole thing is either a joke or a job. The prayers, such as they are, are generally a volley of passionate ejaculations, like 'Lord, save souls; save somebody just now; shake sinners over the pit of fire,' repeated incessantly, like the cries of an Eastern dervish, and accompanied by a violent flinging of the body to and fro; and usually the effect is neither more nor less spiritual or Christian than with the dervishes. When the moment seems to be come, some of the workers, while the rest are praying or singing, go about the room, pleading with individual souls; and the pleading of some of the women, at least, is most powerful. When such is the character of the Salvationist 'daily service,' some guess may be formed with regard to those other gatherings which are known by the name of a 'Salvation Free-and-Easy,' or a 'Hallelujah Ham Tea.' But what takes place at these, we confess not to know by experience.

There is always a collection at the meetings; and sometimes a stroke of business is done by the conductor saying, 'Now we'll sing the hymn that's just come out in the new number of the *War Cry*, page three. I hope you've all read the new number. It contains——,' then follows an appetizing bill of fare for those who like it. The Salvation Army has certainly caught one distinctive mark of our times in the extreme boldness and unblushing self-assertion of its advertisements. The *War Cry* is a wonderful paper, with all its vulgarity. It always contains something really worth reading in the way of a sermon, or an epigram, or a biography; and the weekly reports of successes won at the various stations up and down the country make it replete with local interests. It is a model for all papers which wish exactly to hit off the tone and taste of their *clientèle*. There can be no doubt, that —like the silly military titles which have been adopted—its constant repetition of the same stale slang about 'knee-drill,'

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and 'falling into the fountain,' and 'hallelujah lasses,' is a real recommendation to the lower population of our towns. We cannot help hoping that it may, by these means, do much to oust, not only *Lloyd* and *Reynolds*, but also such pernicious and widely-read trash as the *Christian Herald*, to which in manliness and earnestness it is vastly superior. But with all our charity we cannot wish any success to the *Little Soldier*; nor can we imagine it can live long. It is mostly made up of communications of poor little boys and girls, who are encouraged to give their 'experience' in this fashion:—

'I do thank God that I am still saved. It is four months and a week since I gave my heart to God. My brother got saved, and I pray to God that my mother will get saved.

'"Happy Arthur," aged eleven and a half years.'

Mrs. Booth is reported in the *Little Soldier* for March 2, to have said, with her usual good sense: 'Now directly a boy or girl leaves off being simple, he or she leaves off being a child, and becomes a sort of a mixture between a grown-up person and an imp.' Few persons will hesitate to say that the *Little Soldier* is one of the best machines ever invented for turning children into that unamiable mixture.

But the worst feature connected with the new revival is, to our own minds, one which is not peculiar to itself, but which it shares in common with other Protestant revivals, though the Salvation Army has perhaps brought it into greater prominence than any. We refer to their teaching upon sanctification. To those who have not attended any of their indoor gatherings, it may perhaps be interesting to be informed of the nature of their 'Holiness Meetings,' of which so much is heard. These meetings are not intended for the 'conversion' of the unconverted, although the public are free to attend them, and shots will be fired from time to time at any unconverted people who may happen to have come in. The purpose of the 'Holiness Meeting' is to carry on those who already are 'saved,' or 'converted,' or 'believing,' or 'born again,' to a further definite stage of experience. It is not enough to have 'fallen into the fountain' (which is their cant phrase for the first stage); the man who has 'come out for pardon,' must, at some subsequent period, 'come out for purity'; and it is this which forms the object of the 'Holiness Meeting.' You go some Thursday afternoon at five o'clock to the headquarters, in Queen Victoria Street. Passing through the neat little antechamber, fitted up as a depot, where the publications of the Army are sold, you enter a fair-sized room,

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treated, so far as the walls and the woodwork are concerned, in the best æsthetic fashion, with dado and sage-green paint, and wan rhododendron paper. At the further end of the room is a sofa, to serve as a 'penitent form,' and a small dais with a chair for the conductor of the meeting. The meeting begins with a hymn, and then follows prayer. It strikes you as very much like other dissenting prayer-meetings. An ordinary devout Churchman is positively alarmed at the noisy shout or scream which the person who prays finds helpful in expressing his wants. With these prayers hymns are interspersed, sung kneeling, with choruses which are repeated again and again, *ad libitum*. You must be prepared to hear 'Rock of Ages' sung quick, with a swinging chorus, to the tune of 'So early in the Morning,' or something equally unlike what Churchmen would think reverent. The conductor of the meeting sets himself deliberately to arouse a physical excitement in the audience, while perhaps exhibiting in his own countenance not a trace of corresponding feeling. It is evidently part of his business, and he keeps himself perfectly cool for it, while singing at the top of his voice, extending both his arms, and shaking his hands with a thrill such as a peacock makes with his feathers, or clapping them violently over some person whom he wishes to affect. All seems to us a strange method of preparing to receive a spiritual gift; though we are willing to allow that there are some natures so lethargic, or so overcrusted with habitual sin, that without a kind of physical concussion they may be unable to pay attention to a message requiring an effort of reception. In this case, however, the persons who are to receive the message are, as we have said, not those who are supposed to be dead in trespasses and sins, but those who are risen to newness of life; and therefore violent noise and gesture seem doubly out of place. But the real evil lies in the message itself. One after another, the speakers, men and women, stand up and give their 'experience' of receiving what they call 'the second blessing,' or sanctification. They describe how they felt it come over them 'like a second new-birth.' Up till that time they had been believers, and saved, but they had gone on sinning. Since receiving the 'second blessing,' they have been completely delivered from the power of sin. They are now living 'in the land of Beulah.' Sanctification, according to this teaching, is not a progressive development of the justified soul in a course of vigilance, humility, and faith, but a gift to be received in a second, putting the whole man at once on a higher level of life than

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in the days when he was only 'saved.' But there are some sins which go before to judgment, and one of these is spiritual self-conceit; and we must confess (however uncharitable it may appear) that we have heard men declare themselves at 'Holiness Meetings' to be living in the land of Beulah, whose whole bearing and look, as well as their speech, seemed to show plainly that their self-complacency was rapidly preparing them for very different habitations. We have seen young women receive the 'second blessing' at the 'penitents' sofa,' and return with smiles to the kisses and congratulations of their friends, looking none the better for it. Such a doctrine as this of sanctification may, we believe—wrong as it is in philosophy—bring forth no evil in the hands of a person with the intense love of God and His law which stamps every utterance of Mrs. Booth; and the more subtle exponents of the theory have various ways of stating it which delivers them from the charge of bald perfectionism. But take persons of a somewhat coarser spiritual constitution, and they will at once, consciously or unconsciously, evolve two pernicious consequences from it: first, that a man may be considered a converted and saved man without having definitely renounced his bad habits; and secondly, that after having passed through this second crisis he may consider himself, and speak of himself, as a saint beyond the reach of sin.

This teaching about sanctification seems to be inextricably a part of the Salvation Army's system. It is not, like the hideous blasphemies which are sometimes heard in their addresses, an excrescence which a little judicious severity would cut off. The 'Holiness Meetings' seem to us, therefore, to be the worst part of the Salvationists' work. We are sorry to say so, for they must needs represent the highest type of work which the Salvationists can do. They stereotype the least attractive aspect of the Methodist class-meetings. Those class-meetings were in old days the Methodist confessional; they have now come to be, in large measure, the weekly opportunity for displaying religious self-satisfaction. It would be a great boon to her followers if, instead of encouraging these 'Holiness Meetings,' Mrs. Booth would devote her energies to a work such as she speaks of at the end of her noble address on the *Fruits of Union with Christ*:—

'This fruit will also appear in your Church relations. It will bring forth fruit. As the Apostle says, "Exhorting one another daily, not suffering sin in your neighbour; reproving each other, and confessing your faults the one to the other." Where is any of it done? I should like very much to attend such a meeting, if you invite me,

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where Christians really and honestly confess their faults one to the other, and pray for one another, beseeching the Lord to heal them in those particular points where they have failed, telling one another of the deep things of God, and talking lovingly and freely to one another as they used to do. The communion of saints—exhorting one another daily. The devil is at it daily. The world is plying for us daily. The flesh is there daily. Everything else goes on daily. Why should not this exhorting one another, confessing your faults to one another, and praying for one another, go on daily too?'[1]

Enough has been already said to show that, with all their eccentricities and all their serious vices, the Salvationists are displaying a force of enthusiasm, and of hard work, and of practical sagacity in the adaptation of means to ends, which would make them a most valuable instrument for good if they could be controlled by Catholic wisdom; without which control their declension must, we fear, inevitably be rapid and disastrous. It may be asked, what is their attitude towards the Church? What attitude should the Church assume towards them? Is there the least hope of a mutual conciliation?

The main fact to be considered in endeavouring to answer these inquiries is the fact that hitherto the Salvationists have steadily refused to constitute themselves, *eo nomine*, a sect. In the little catechism called *All about the Salvation Army* (p. 24), the question is propounded:—

'Will not this movement result in the making of a new sect? *Ans.* Not in the sense in which a new sect is ordinarily understood. It is not a Church after the fashion of the Churches, but an Army, that is aimed at. That is, a force as real, as active, as self-sacrificing, and as much under control for soul-saving purposes as the ordinary military armies are for slaughter and destruction. There is evidently, at present, nothing after this model in existence, and if it be desirable and scriptural, it does not matter much what it is called.'

And Mr. Railton speaks still more strongly:—

'"But this is making a denomination—a new sect." Well, and supposing it is. Is there any harm in doing so? Is there not a need for just such a "sect" in many a city and town of this kingdom, where no such work is being done amongst the masses? But we deny that we are in any proper sense a sect. We refuse to settle down into places of worship such as might be agreeable to our people and their families, but insist upon the open-air stand and the place of amusement, where there may be little comfort, but where the most good may be done. We refuse to allow our officers to stay very long in any one place, lest they or the people should sink into the relationship of pastor and flock, and look to their mutual enjoyment and advantage rather than to the salvation of others. The whole Army

[1] *Aggressive Christianity:* Sixth Address.

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is kept in its course by the direction of one controlling will. . . . We refuse utterly to allow of any authoritative assembly, committee, church meeting, or any other representative or popular gathering, except purely for the purpose of auditing finance and accepting and confirming and arranging for the execution of the plans which have been tried and proved most calculated to promote the common object. We are not and will not be made a sect. We are an army of soldiers of Christ, organized as perfectly as we have been able to accomplish, seeking no Church status, avoiding as we would the plague every denominational rut, in order perpetually to reach more and more of those who lie outside every Church boundary. Owing to our adherence to this rigid military system, we are losing almost every year officers, as well as people, who, having lost their first love, begin to hanker after the "rights," "privileges," "comforts," "teaching," or "respectability of the Churches." No one remains with us, or is likely to remain, whose sole object in life is not the attainment of the one purpose ever kept before the Army—the rescue from sin and hell of those who are farthest from God and righteousness. And we only wish to keep such people together. No one can possibly object to the formation of another sect more strongly than we do. Let all who wish to be members of a denomination flee from our borders. We only desire to form and to keep up outside every denominational circle a body as large as we can of free-shooters, for the express purpose of assaulting with spiritual weapons those who, like ourselves, are without the Church, but who, unlike us, are still in rebellion against God.' [1]

And again, speaking of the Training Home at Clapton for preparing 'officers' for their work, Mr. Railton says:—

'Let us not be misunderstood. We shall never, we trust, so utterly mistake our path as to encourage any one to try to ape the ministry. We trust the Salvation Army will never be crippled with a college, a theological seminary, a mutual improvement society, or a singing class.' [2]

Yet Churchmen must not misunderstand this refusal to take up the position of a sect. It must be remembered that we are not dealing now with a movement which, like Montanism, like Donatism, like the Mendicant Orders, like Lollardry, like Methodism, had its origin within the bosom of the Church. The Salvationists rightly describe themselves, in the above quotation, as being 'without the Church.' We have to consider whether and on what terms they can be brought in among us, not how to manipulate them so as not to lose them. And such being their origin, their feelings towards us are naturally not what those of other revival movements have been. Mr. Booth has probably almost forgotten by this time

[1] *Heathen England*, p. 144. [2] *Ibid.* p. 184.

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that he owes anything to the Catholic Mother on whose bosom he was nursed during his first fourteen years of life; and for all we know, his debt, or the sense of it, may have been indefinitely diminished by carelessness on the part of those ministers of hers who should have trained him. The objection of the Salvationists to forming a sect, is not—they frankly confess—grounded upon a yearning for Christian unity, or a sense of the guilt of schism, or a belief in the order established by the Founder of the Church; all that they object to, apparently, is the settling down into those orderly habits of Christian life which to the Methodists were their special and eponymous aim. We fear, from what we read, that they have not the slightest respect for the Church, though they may respect individual Churchmen. Mr. Colville, one of their chief 'colonels,' and by birth a gentleman, appears to make a point of announcing frequently—with neither more nor less shame than another of their men will show in announcing that he was a drunkard—how he was once 'a High Churchman,' and sang in a surpliced choir. It is left to be understood that, because *he* was spiritually blind when he practised these things, therefore *all* who practise them must be blind also. One of the best and most devout of their female speakers whom we have heard, whose touching appeals —far richer in thought and doctrine than most—show at every moment where she was taught, impresses continually upon her ignorant audience that once she 'used to go to church twice a Sunday,' and that 'perhaps if she had continued to do so, she might never have known what peace was.' If any voice of ours can reach these good people, we would earnestly implore them not to leave statements of this kind bare and unqualified.

And, indeed, in spite of their disclaimer, it seems probable that they must strictly be called a sect already. We do not know how to define a sect, unless it is a body of persons incorporated for religious purposes independent of the Apostolic Church. There are societies now within the Church, as there were in earlier days, which lack but a touch to push them off into being sects; they still formally profess obedience to the divinely-appointed government of the Church, and they communicate with her. But we have no such link with the Salvationists; and the only difference which exists between them and any other religious body separated from us is this, that they have not yet attempted (in their own words) 'to ape the ministry,' or to administer, as a piece of regular discipline, any substitute for the Blessed Sacraments. In this

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respect they stand in much the same relation to us as the Quakers do, with this distinction, that the Quakers are unbaptized, while we may assume that most of those who join the Army have been previously baptized—(we do not hear of their ever baptizing their converts)—and are so far, individually, children of the Church they have strayed from. But even this hope seems now to be precarious. An interesting correspondence took place in the *Record* newspaper last February, in which it came out that, although Mrs. Booth claimed for the Salvation Army that it was no sect, on the express ground that the Sacraments were not administered, the facts were not wholly on her side. 'Commissioner' Railton, in answer to a letter which showed that something purporting to be a Sacrament was administered, and administered by women, made the following melancholy avowal:—

'It is true that in some of our corps the Sacrament, administered there first by Mr. Booth, is still received monthly, and that in this, as in everything else, the Lord's own principle of there being 'neither male nor female' in Christ Jesus is fully acted upon. But the number of the corps which have any such regular system of Sacramental administration is very small indeed. It must be remembered that until recently there has been no way open to us but to have the Sacrament administered by our own officers; and we certainly repudiate the sacerdotal theory that only a certain sort of bishop can confer the right to break bread in the name of the Lord Jesus!'[1]

The question, then, is seen to be this: Can we draw into Catholic communion a religious society which had its origin outside of us, composed of men who see no harm in being separated from us, whose prejudices are all against us, who 'certainly repudiate' the notion that they would be the richer for contact with the Apostolic ministry? The prospect looks very hopeless. It is evident that at present they would sacrifice nothing for the sake of union with us, because they do not see what would be gained by the union. And, on the other hand, it is evident that the Church could not admit them as a body without requiring some important modifications of their procedure. Yet we cannot but think that the effort is well worth making. And how is it to be made? They cannot be admitted by private members of the Church, nor even, perhaps, by a solitary bishop. There would be no need to appeal to the legislature; but the act must be an official act. With the most profound submission, we venture to suggest that, in our opinion, no harm at least could come of it, if his Grace the

[1] *Record*, February 8, 1882.

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Archbishop of Canterbury, or a committee of bishops, such as those of Durham, Salisbury, Ely, Truro, and Rochester, who are known to be interested in the work of home missions, were to invite some of the leaders of the Army to a private conference, and see what they feel. If this be thought impossible, might not the Lower House of Convocation make some move in the matter? Time is passing by. If ever this great revival is to find its home within the Church, the moment is now present. Large bodies of men, which stand apart from each other, are not drawn together except by personal conference. Is it not possible that, with the Divine blessing on such an interview, the Salvationists might be touched at learning from our bishops how warmly the heart of the Holy Church beats towards any generous endeavour, and might recognize what strength there is in the unity which Christ enjoined and pleaded for? Is it not possible that, seeing *why* we wish them to become Catholics, they might then be willing to submit themselves to the yoke of a holy discipline, and to purify their movement from those things which make it unfit for the Church to adopt?

Meanwhile, the way may be prepared by more private experiments, such as have been tried, not unsuccessfully, in various places. At Nottingham, Canon Morse, encouraged by a discussion at a gathering of clergy there, invited the captain of the Nottingham corps to bring his people to a special service at S. Mary's. The proposal was hailed with acclamation; and on the appointed evening 800 of them, with band and flags, and officers in full regimentals, came to church, where the canon preached to them. The service appears to have been wonderfully hearty, and the fervour with which the canon's hand was grasped by all who could reach him afterwards was very remarkable. Canon Morse then proposed that the Salvationists should pay a weekly visit to S. Mary's; but this 'General' Booth thought himself compelled courteously to decline, while expressing a hope that such services might often be held elsewhere. At Newcastle, the Archdeacon of Northumberland invited the Salvation Army to accompany him on a preaching expedition through the streets of his parish. Preceded by their brass band, he, with his choir and another clergyman, marched in procession, in surplices, through the lower parts of the town. 'The whole had a most solemn and imposing appearance,' says the *War Cry* of January 12, 'as the procession marched down Dog Bank, singing "Rock of Ages." At Stockbridge the archdeacon delivered a most impressive address, and it was evi-

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dent from the demeanour and attention of the crowd that the earnest words spoken were well received. A hymn was sung as the procession made its way up Silver Street to the church. We certainly think,' continues the *War Cry*, 'that the Church and its high officials have taken their true position by showing how willing and how capable the Church is of utilizing all agencies that are attempting true religious work.' The sentiment thus expressed strikes us as well worth noting; and we wish the archdeacon God-speed in his wise endeavours. But more. It is time that we should quote the remainder of Mr. Railton's letter to the *Record*, of which a part was given above, which will show that in some places the *rapprochement* has been carried to a still more sacred length, and that the Army authorities are glad of it. After saying that until recently their only way of obtaining 'the Sacrament' was to administer it themselves, he adds:—'Of late, however, several clergymen, . . . acquainted with our work in their own parishes, . . . have offered the Sacrament to our corps. No such offer has ever been refused, or is ever likely to be.' Since that letter was penned, 400 of the Salvationists received the Blessed Sacrament in a church at York on February 26, under the sanction of the metropolitan. We are not told how many of these were confirmed, or ready and desirous to be confirmed. We should earnestly deprecate rashness and irregularity in multiplying such offers; but the words of Mr. Railton suggest some hope for the future.

But even if we are to give up as visionary the idea of attaching the Salvation Army to the Church, there are at least lessons which the Church may well learn from it. May we not place first and foremost on the list of those lessons, the need of making our Christianity a more 'aggressive Christianity' than it is? While abhorring Calvinism, Churchmen have too much acted on the Calvinistic principle that if people are to have any good done to them, they will come and ask for it. They have made their services and sanctuaries as bright and attractive and popular as they can, and then they expect the populace to come to them. District-visitors, as well as the clergy, go round the parish, and beat the people up, not often, however, seeing any but the women. In hope of gaining persons who are too shabbily dressed to attend the church, services are held in mission-rooms and schools, often very successfully. From time to time, at long intervals, an attempt is made to reach further into the heart of the people by a mission. Individual souls are converted; many are observed in church who have not gone there for years

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before; towards the end of the time a certain degree of awe seems perceptible throughout the city or town. But for one thing, the mission is generally too short to have much permanent effect on the population as a whole: the inevitable result of the priesthood in England being wholly appropriated to parochial cures. And even in the missions, if people do not choose to come in answer to letters, placards, the appeals of district-visitors, and the natural curiosity roused by seeing others go, the Church seems nonplussed. The Church people seem very well satisfied if the parish church has been filled every evening, as it usually is. But the parish church will often hold not a tithe of the parishioners. Even with the supplemental aid of a mission-room, the numbers who have found accommodation at the mission are not very large. The mission comes to an end, and a tremendous residuum of the population has been completely untouched. And if bright services at church, and cottage meetings, and occasional special missions all fail, we have nothing more to turn to. If the people will not come, they must perish.

Would it not be better if there were among us more of the spirit which animates the following words?—

'We should build churches and chapels; we should invite the people to them; but do you think it is consistent with these two commissions (St. Mark xvi. 15; Acts xxvi. 17, 18), and with many others, that we should rest in this, when three parts of the population utterly ignore our invitations, and take no notice whatever of our buildings and of our services? *They will not come to us.* That is an established fact. What is to be done? They have souls. You profess to believe that as much as I do, and that they must live for ever. Where are they going? What is to be done? Jesus Christ says, "Go after them." When all the civil methods have failed; when the genteel invitations have failed; when one man says that he has married a wife, and another that he has bought a yoke of oxen, and another that he has bought a piece of land, then does the master of the feast say, "The ungrateful wretches! let them alone?" No. He says, "Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled. I will have guests, and if you can't get them in by civil measures, use military measures. Go and compel them to come in." It seems to me that we want more of this determined aggressive spirit. Those of you who are right with God this afternoon—you want more of this spirit to thrust the truth upon the attention of your fellow-men. Oh! people say, you must be very careful, very judicious . . . . What! am I to let my unconverted friends and acquaintances drift down quietly to damnation, and never tell them about their souls, until they say, "If you please, I want you to preach to me?" Is this anything like the spirit of early Christianity? No. Verily, we must *make* them look—tear the ban-

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dages off, "open their eyes," make them bear it; and if they run away from you in one place, meet them in another, and let them have no peace until they submit to God and get their souls saved. This is what Christianity *ought* to be doing in this land, and there are plenty of Christians to do it. Why, we might give the world such a time of it that they would get saved in very *self-defence*, if we were only up and doing, and determined that they should have no peace in their sins.'[1]

It is true that patience and reliance upon the secret operations of grace, in answer to faithful prayer, have always been characteristic of the Church. She teaches her children not to be always looking for striking results, sudden conversions, sensible assurances, signs and wonders. To try the effect of psychical and carnal methods, because apparent failure attends the use of spiritual methods, would be unworthy of the Bride of Him who was crucified. Still it cannot be forgotten that England has virtually become, as the Salvationists say, 'Heathen England;' and the highest Authority of all has bidden us not to be afraid of bringing out of our treasure things new as well as old. All things which are not sinful in themselves belong to the Church of right, to be employed when she sees fit. 'We are as free,' says Mrs. Booth, 'as air and sunlight as to our choice of agencies, and it is time the Church woke up to this.'[2] An illustrious English bishop, whom no one can accuse of crude and hasty judgments, is remembered to have said some years ago, before the Salvation Army arose, in addressing a company of Cambridge students, that if anything great was to be done by the Church in the present day, it must be done in an unconventional manner, and that without servilely copying the methods, it must be done in the spirit, of S. Francis of Assisi. It would have been difficult to describe more closely the movement inaugurated by the Salvation Army, than to say that it is animated by the spirit of S. Francis, though adapting itself to England and the nineteenth century. Its very oddities recall many similar features in the Franciscan revival. Both movements took their rise from the heart of the lowest of the people, and both have had power over the lowest of the people for that very reason. There is in both the very spirit of the mob recoiling from its coarse ungodliness, and striving after religion in a pathetic, blind way, and acknowledging ironically its own foolishness with tears and laughter. It is indeed possible to exaggerate, on the one

[1] *Aggressive Christianity*, First Address, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, Third Address, p. 15.

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hand, the connexion of the Salvation Army with the lowest classes; for any one who attends their meetings will see how largely the attendance is composed of young clerks and shop assistants. It is easy, on the other hand, to exaggerate the alienation of the lowest classes from the Church; they are far more alienated from Methodism, for instance, than from us. The work of Mr. Lowder at London Docks, not to mention other familiar names, proves how congenial a home the lowest classes find in the Church, when once it is interpreted to them. But, roughly speaking, the Church has lost the masses; and the Salvation Army has found them. The Church should, therefore, welcome the strange upheaval; and even if she cannot formally join forces with the existing Army, she can try, by following their example in a wiser way, to meet the same need which they are trying to meet. Words of the *Tablet* on the subject come to mind which we may appropriate, reading into them our own sense:—

'Nor, so far as we can learn, do these rough, untutored enthusiasts hinder the work of better teachers. They reach a class which the more decent sects of Protestantism do not touch; a class where, as we believe, there is a vast harvest to be reaped by the Catholic Church, in the hour—not now, we hope, far distant—when the labourers are ready to go forth to reap it.'

It is not possible to take up every point in which the Salvation Army appears to suggest useful hints. There seems to be no reason, for instance, why the Church should not provide a half-penny religious newspaper weekly, that would be as spicy as the '*War Cry*,' and appeal to the same rank of society, while conveying a more salutary teaching. There are many good Churchmen capable of undertaking a work of that nature, who would not be too fastidious to adopt to a certain degree the language of the class they cater for. Again—though we should probably decline to adopt the adjective 'Hallelujah' as applied to them—if 'Ham Teas' are found to be popular, why should there not be a more frequent use of something analogous among ourselves? Those who are acquainted with the large confraternities connected with S. Andrew's, Wells Street, know what an important factor in them the tea-meetings form. The social side of Christianity is even yet too little brought into notice, and among the lowest classes some modern form of the Agape might be extremely useful; where the body might be well nourished (not necessarily gratis), opportunity of friendly intercourse provided, and some good simple religious addresses given.



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Again, though we should be very sorry to have 'Moody and Sankey' or 'Salvation Songs' introduced, on any occasion, into our consecrated churches, where the presence of much balderdash in the most popular of our hymnals is already trying enough, yet Church versifiers might well purvey, for use at irregular meetings, simple verses with a good doctrinal tone which might be sung to taking airs with good choruses. If S. Augustine could condescend to write a *Psalmus Abecedarius* against the Donatists, with a lively chorus, the work cannot be beneath us.

But there are three special points on which we should like to dwell a little. The first is the advisability of doing more work in the open air than has been common lately in the Church. The Salvationists have taught us to see once more how much may be done there. The people will not come to church, nor to any other of our buildings, yet awhile. They have to be shown the way in by our first going to them. Street preaching is almost sure to win attention, and more than ever when Churchmen take to it. Long habit has made the people think that Churchmen can only 'pray from a form,' that they know of no religion except within the four walls of the church, that the parsons are paid to go through a certain routine of services, and care for nothing more. It comes home to them with surprise when they see the clergyman take his stand in the alley or by the roadside, accompanied by a band of faithful men, and after singing a hymn begin to preach a simple extempore sermon. We have known cases where the parish clergyman has long laboured in vain to bring rough miners or fishermen to the church; but directly he has gone to the hedge or the beach where they lounge, they have flocked from every side, and have listened with the deepest attention and respect. We cannot but think that it would be a point gained if some regular out-door preaching-stations were appointed in various places, like Old Paul's Cross, where sermons might be regularly delivered. But preaching is not the only thing which the Salvationists have shown to be useful out of doors. Has not the Church lost much by so seldom appearing out of doors in her majesty and beauty? The sight of a great procession, whether silent or singing, has always a profound effect upon English spectators. Would it not be well, at special seasons, like the Rogation Days or Holy Week, and at some great festivals, to let those who never see the inside of a church have a chance of watching choir and clergy in their robes, together with as many of the faithful laity as can come, and members of the

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guilds with their badges, file slowly through the streets, singing the solemn strains of the Litany, or of the Psalms, or of suitable hymns? The impression produced upon the *War Cry*, and upon the secular press of Newcastle as well, by the sight of the procession in which Archdeacon Watkins walked appears to have been very great. One of the Newcastle papers called it as 'sensational' a *coup* as anything done by the Salvationists themselves, and expressed its conviction that the display was most salutary. And if in some towns the Church procession should suffer some of the same treatment that the Salvationists have suffered, we are not prepared to say that the Church would lose anything by it.

The second point which we notice is this. The great aim of the Salvation Army is to make all their converts begin at once to give testimony to what God has done for them, in public meetings. There are great and obvious dangers connected with this course. We ourselves should strongly deprecate it, at least without much modification. But the time seems to be come when on all hands it is recognized that a large development of lay preaching is necessary. It is quite impossible that the clergy—so few in number as they are in proportion to the population—should do all the preaching work that is required. Many of the most excellent among them have no trace of a gift that way; it is clear that God never intended them for preachers, but for other (perhaps far higher) functions of the ministry. Among the laity there are many thousands, who at present are only listeners, who have latent within themselves the power to become most effective preachers. It is not our proposal that the laity should preach in church—though, under proper sanctions, we can believe this innovation might in some cases be found as useful as that which startled Africa when Bishop Valerius commanded the priest Augustine to preach in his presence. But at no period of Church history that we are aware of have the laity been debarred from giving religious addresses *extra ecclesiam*. It is there, in the mission-room, the town-hall, the market-place, the back slums—anywhere and everywhere if a congregation can be gathered—that we should wish to hear the laity taking their turn along with the clergy. But it is not only the cultured laity, such as might well be admitted to the order of Readers, whose voices we should wish to hear on those occasions. There is no reason why *every* sincere Churchman should not speak. The Salvationists have proved to demonstration that upon the masses of our population not educated eloquence nor long sermons produce the greatest effect. It is the



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simple personal witness of men of their own class whose hearts God has touched, and who do not mind rising up one after another and saying, in a couple of ungrammatical sentences, that they are the happier and better for knowing the saving truth. There are great numbers of illiterate men who never would make 'local preachers,' or anything of the kind, who could be safely trusted to say that they never knew what joy was till they found it in prayer, or in reading the Bible, or at the altar, or even in the confessional; and such testimonies would tell upon their hearers more than the clearest expositions of scriptural texts, or the sermons of our most powerful missioners. It would of course be necessary that these men should go under the charge of some wise person, who would be able to stop any utterances that might be unedifying. But in this way the masses can be reached when perhaps nothing else can reach them :—

'Are there not teeming thousands round about you who never heard the Name of Jesus, and who care nothing for Him, who live every day trampling His law under their feet? For Christ's sake send *somebody* after them. If they will not have your doctors of divinity and your polished divines, get hold of fishermen and costermongers and send them. Let the people have a chance for their souls.'[1]

One good lay preacher going forth accompanied by half a dozen such honest Christian fellows would find himself in a strong position; and few better ways could be devised for training men to be lay preachers themselves, than to let them begin with a few short sentences at first among a number of other speakers.

And will it bring an indelible taint of heresy upon this *Review*, if we venture on a still further and bolder inquiry? Is the question finally, irrevocably settled, that *women* are on no occasion to speak publicly in suitable places on religious topics? When S. Paul says, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches,' is it absolutely certain that his meaning is not explained by the clause following, that if they wish for elucidations, they are to ask their husbands at home, instead of interrupting the speaker 'in the church?' When the same Apostle says, 'I suffer not a woman to teach,' may he not possibly mean that he forbids women to be made authoritative exponents of the Christian tradition, or to make themselves arbiters of the orthodoxy of their ministers, as in spite of his prohibition they sometimes do; for he continues, 'nor to usurp authority over the man?' If he did indeed mean that

[1] *Aggressive Christianity*, Third Address, p. 16.

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no woman was to 'teach,' alas for our Sunday schools, and for many other branches of Church instruction! The teaching work of women in sisterhoods, and mission houses, and penitentiaries, would all be doomed if we are literally to understand that no woman is to teach. One of our greatest needs in the present day is the establishment of some kind of order of *Sœurs Chrétiennes*, to undertake religious instruction in the day schools; but we must pause, if S. Paul has laid his inspired ban upon all teaching by women. The same Apostle has another passage, in which he asserts that a woman praying or prophesying with her head uncovered dishonours her head. There can be but little doubt that he is speaking of what takes place at public Church gatherings. Can it be confidently denied that, in prescribing how the woman was to be attired while praying or prophesying in public, he gave sanction to the usage? Was he shocked, and did he protest, when, staying in the house of Philip the Evangelist, he discovered that the Evangelist's four daughters all prophesied? As we have said that we are unprepared to welcome laymen as preachers in church, the assertion need not be repeated with an *à fortiori* in regard to women. Far be from all whom we love the Salvationist interpretation of S. Paul's principle of 'neither male nor female in Christ.' The horror with which the Apostolical Constitutions condemn any public liturgical ministrations of women as heathen and not Christian ought to be felt by all: and preaching, in the course of any of the solemn offices of the Church, partakes of the liturgical character. If women are ever to be allowed to preach, they should certainly be restricted to unconsecrated buildings and to informal occasions. But we have no scruple in saying, that so far as our experience of the Salvation Army is concerned, the power would be gone from its meetings if the women were silent. While the men often repel, by their business-like air, their jocularity, their self-satisfaction, their irreverence in prayer, in the addresses of the women, and in their prayers, the congregation cannot fail to be moved by the sincerity, the modesty, the devoutness, the love of souls, the self-forgetfulness, which is so prominent in nearly all of them. We should like every one to read—it is too long to quote here, and we should spoil it by cutting it down—the touching account which Mrs. Booth gives[1] in one of her lectures of the way in which she at last yielded to her husband's wishes and began publicly to 'witness for Christ.' Men, at

[1] *Aggressive Christianity*, Seventh Address, pp. 14–19.

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least, who read that account—whatever her sisters may think—will be disposed not to condemn her too harshly. A far smaller proportion of women than of men would be found qualified to give religious discourses, as we believe many Quakers would feelingly testify. And feeble sermons from women would be quite as intolerable to most hearers as feeble sermons from men. But that some women have a wonderful gift for public speaking no one will deny who has heard addresses from Miss Hammond, or Mrs. Josephine Butler, or Mrs. Pearsall Smith, whatever he may have thought of the matter of their speeches. God does undoubtedly give to some persons gifts which He does not mean them to exercise on earth; is this quite assuredly a case in point? It is easy to show the weakness of arguments for the preaching of women based on such passages as Psalm lxviii. 11[1] or Isaiah xl. 9, where the female 'preachers' spoken of are either choirs of women singing patriotic choruses or cities personified. It is easy to show that the traditions of the Church have been against the preaching of women, and that a Maximilla in the early days, or a Joanna Southcote in modern times, are not reckoned among Catholic luminaries. The whole span of Church history, from the Apostolic age till now, contains no names of great female preachers, with the one illustrious exception of S. Catharine. But if the thing was allowed by the Apostles in their time, and if even once the Church has since allowed the same, is it not conceivable that the circumstances of our age may make it right for the Church, in the amplitude of her authority, to use an ancient force once more, and, under as severe restrictions as she may please, to give leave, in the words of Joel and S. Peter, for her daughters again to prophesy?

## ART. VII.—JOHN INGLESANT.

*John Inglesant: a Romance.* By J. H. SHORTHOUSE. Two Volumes. Second Edition. (London, 1882.)

HOW are we to review a book which everybody has already read, and everybody has discussed? A notice such as we now offer proposes in general to call attention to a book; it

[1] It must be remembered that, in Psalm lxviii. 11, the LXX has the masculine, not the feminine.

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may be to excite interest, it may be to pronounce a warning, to admit the public through open and inviting gates, or to terrify it with prophetic utterances on the subject of spring-guns; but in either case, to anticipate and assist its judgment. But with *John Inglesant* the work of judgment is mostly passed. Those who have not yet heard of it may well be suspected of playing croquet, or of decorating their rooms with light French blues, or of any such primeval and abysmal aberration. What, then, can we attempt in a notice such as now we write? Not to praise. This is needless. The world is long ago convinced that it has gained a most remarkable and powerful work; and this conviction we can but cordially endorse. The book is well worth the interest that it has aroused. It deals with the deepest interests of life; it handles them with quick and searching knowledge of the problems that are involved; it throws this knowledge out in a style that charms and fascinates by its lucidity, and freshness, and nerve; it treats its subjects widely and richly; and, finally, it vitalizes its study of life by a dramatic impulse that can use with peculiar skill and force the situations of an historical moment in English life which still thrills us to the depths by its passions and its struggles, and which holds in its romantic episodes a vivid and startling picture of the confused agitations of our own day. No wonder that a most unwonted interest has been roused by the sudden successful portrayal of the profound religious anxieties, amid which we toss, in the guise and shape of that particular period of our history which has for us such an undying, and enthralling, and passionate charm. The sweep and rush of spiritual tides: who is there that does not strongly feel them? The romance, the pathos, the heroic splendour, the tragic sorrows, of Charles and the Cavaliers: who is there that does not feel their unfailing power of dramatic beauty? And it is these two interests, both so deep, so varied, so stirring, so electric, that the author of *John Inglesant* has succeeded in combining, and has so combined that they have become one thing; and though we feel that it is our own inward life which is being searched, and probed, and judged, and clarified, yet the drama in which this spiritual examination expresses itself never loses reality, or sinks into the thin disguise of allegory, or fails to hold us within the range of its own proper and inherent attraction, or drops its historic mask, or forces its situations to meet modern contingences, or irritates by an offensive insistance on its moral application, or disturbs and dispels the atmosphere which it breathes about us. Its

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scenery, its circumstance, preserve throughout their solid identity; we never feel them to be a mere picture through which we might thrust a stick. We walk in and about a living world of men and women; we do not wake at all from our dream until we close the book and lie back and think, and feel then that it is we ourselves whose riddle has been so artfully embodied. No premonitory knock at the door rouses us beforetimes from our happy visions to give us a hideous and abrupt sense of the boots and the hot water on which practical life, with its terrible urgency, will at the end so rigorously insist. Indeed we wondered, as we read the author's preface to the second edition, whether he himself quite knew, or intended, the dramatic interest of his book to be so absorbing as it actually proves itself to be. It is true that in his preface he expresses the power of romance in a most beautiful passage of eager apology, but this passage itself is a sort of palinode for having called romance 'a subordinate element' two pages before; and he speaks just before that again of the 'startling plot' that he fortunately could make it his object to avoid; and again, of the characters vanishing from the stage after fulfilling their purpose. We do not wish to press these words; their general drift is clear and defensible enough. Only we say that they hardly seem to represent a consciousness in the author that one of the chief impressions left on a reader of his book will be certainly admiration for its 'picturesque effect,' for its *dramatic* excellencies. There are limitations to be set on this account of the book, which we will say more about in a moment; but we frankly confess that what we most emphatically recognized, as we read, was a power of seizing and embodying a situation, which seemed to us most effective, most artistic, most masterful: so masterful indeed that the artistic interest, at these special moments, dominated over the philosophical. The appearance of the Ghost of Strafford to the King, with its strain of hushed expectancy, its suddenness of break, the quick thrill of the sentry's cry, the silence that grew terrible after the revelation to the King, the swift passing of the whole, the final loneliness of Charles: all this is charged with a high-wrought intensity which is above all else dramatic. It is the situation that carries with it the surpassing effect: the situation as such, and not as an embodiment of philosophical interests. And this is markedly true of such scenes as that at Chester between Inglesant and Biron, and that, above all, of the trial at London, with its imminent execution. The touch by which Inglesant reveals to Biron the secret of the situation, by the

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rapid look of relief at his own conviction for forgery, is artistic in the highest degree. The only shade of regret that crossed our admiration at the first reading of this passage was the thought of the pain it would provoke in Mr. Browning to discover what a situation he had missed in securing. What has he been about that he should have suffered Mr. Shorthouse to get hold of it? Again, the discovery of the wretched Guardino in the second volume is complete in powerful management of a vivid moment; and we have not yet mentioned the pardon of the brother's murderer in the hill-side chapel in the splendour of the lovely Italian morning, so luminous, so delicate, so bathed in glorious sun; nor the murder of Eustace itself, after the ride through the dreaming woods and the thick winter air, under the pressure of agonizing yet stupefying forebodings; nor the crisis with Lauretta in the oppressive malarious night, broken by the swift sudden breath of recurring dawn. No one of these moments fails in most excellent and thrilling force: the force of the drama, the force of picturesque plot, a force so emphatic as to expel all other rival interests.

And here we will venture on a slight quarrel with our author. What we have said of especial moments does not apply, we seem to feel, to the book as a whole. As a *whole* the dramatic arrangement is loose, and slightly ineffective. As a whole it corresponds to the idea given in the preface of its object. For purposes of philosophical interest, so the author pleads, characters need not be completed; the plot need not concentrate or focus itself; the situation need not work itself out in all its details; men may come and go, vanishing when they have said their say. Indeed, in real life he pleads it is so; every incident must be real and living; but still the sum of incidents will not gather themselves together into decided outlines; a certain indefiniteness will suffuse itself through the whole; incidental scenes will stamp marked impressions on a life, yet will themselves lead to nothing further in fact; powerful effects will strike across a soul's history from outside, yet will spring from causes that do not intertwine their actual history with his. This the author holds, we gather; and in virtue of this plea he deems it needless to weld his whole mass of incident into a single, solid, and compact body. He takes advantage of this plea to plunge Inglesant into sudden contact with persons and things which leave permanent and vivid impressions, and yet which are not taken up into the story; or again, are dropped with disappointing surprise to us out of the consequent tale. The

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philosophical, the spiritual interest, is sufficient; it justifies itself, pleads Mr. Shorthouse. And so it might, we retort, if we had not become too startlingly affected by the personal interest of the separate situations by themselves. But these have laid hold of us too deeply to be easily let go; we have been stirred beyond the possibility of acquiesence in this light dismissal of incidents and personages so profoundly emotional; we cannot drop back into a mere nodding acquaintance with men and women to whom we have been bound by the intense sympathy that belongs to critical and desperate emergencies. We are carried away with the excitement of the rescue at Newnham, and we are distressed never to come across the actors again at all. We find ourselves suddenly rapt into the mystery of Eustace's murder, which determines, in its issue, the whole of the second volume; and yet we have not been led up to a sufficient interest in Eustace to feel adequate to the emergency. Lauretta is disposed of by the most rapid means that necessity could admit of. Giordino is brought through the vivid perils of that most terrible plague at Naples, yet we do not really care the least for Giordino. The author has his defence, and we know it; but we plead that his dramatic skill has been too emphatic to allow for his defence. If the whole book was to be so loosely dramatized, in view of the dominance of its speculative interests, as a romantic setting to the evolution of a spiritual crisis of the inner life, then the separate incidents have, by their artistic intensity, exceeded the measure which the intention of the book permitted. They catch us, they enthral us; we cannot lightly drop them. They compel us, by their very success, to expect a continuous and compact plot; and we are disappointed when we do not get it. The story has won upon us until we demand its completion; and the result is that we feel the story to be flagging, whenever the plot does not proceed, though these intervals of pause in the plot are evidently, to the author, charged with his deepest philosophical teaching. The elaborate portrayal of the Italian Renaissance at the Court of the Duke of Umbria is a notable instance of what we mean. Speculatively, this period in Inglesant's mental development is crucial, is momentous; but the story hangs; the incidents have the effect of being outside the dramatic movement of the tale; they do not carry it obviously forward; they are dropped altogether, when the story recommences. The thrill of rapid action, which fills the whole first volume, has been too intense to allow of this long pause: the pause is essential to the speculative theme,

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but its justification has been made impossible by the very brilliancy of the artistic success which has preceded it. The reader has been worked into an excited condition which is ill-suited for the calmer study of inward character on which the author has his eye fixed.

All this makes us doubt whether Mr. Shorthouse is quite conscious of his power of picturesque romance. It certainly perplexes the reader of his book, and slightly weakens its effectiveness; the public is puzzled by a work so vividly dramatic in its separate moments, so intentionally undramatic in its effect as a whole. In most philosophical romances the philosophy has killed the romance. In *John Inglesant* it seems to us that the romance has been a little too much for the philosophy.

And shall we audaciously venture to carry a little further our complaint against the author's philosophy? We will only presume to do so, because the expression of our enthusiastic admiration for the book is really needless in view of its achieved popularity. We will allow ourselves, then, to say that the effect on the book of the philosophical, as distinct from the religious, interest is, to our minds, slightly unlucky. This interest may be summed up in the word Platonism; and there are few words more pregnant with high and splendid meaning. The author knows the inspiration that breathes from those wonderful lips, from that golden utterance. But the eagle flight of Plato upward into the great sun has always the effect of making the plain world we walk about seem to reel and spin: it loses solidity and reality; it shakes and quivers in vague uncertainty; it grows faint and glamorous. And this effect of Platonism haunts John Inglesant, as it seems to us. It has, indeed, its wonted force in stamping upon his soul the strong need of moving under the pressure of Divine things, of piercing through shell and husk to the Divine life behind and beyond; but this impulse once set moving, it does but little to fulfil or satisfy its aspirations. John Inglesant is left to find his actual way by other lights than those that Plato offers; and his Platonism, therefore, is left to account for, and blend with, certain tendencies towards a mystic supernaturalism, strange and uncanny, lurking in the by-ways of mystery; and this, again, belongs to a certain unhealthy unsteadiness of head in Inglesant himself. He has moods of curious trance. Earth melts from him; visions assault him; his hands lose their grasp on real life; he is dazzled and made dizzy by the whirl of fleeting, vaporous things. All this allows the author to bring

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in some curious knowledge, some vivid pictures characteristic of the time; but it, nevertheless, induces us to feel the weakness, rather than the strength, both of John Inglesant and also of Platonic tendencies. We are kept uncomfortably aware that 'man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain.' The 'fallings from us, the vanishings, the blank misgivings,' do not seem to leave on us the impression of spiritual mastery; they do not uphold or cherish; rather, they perplex and afflict; we seem, in them, to be touched with sickness, with masterless confusion between fact and fiction, between waking and dreaming.

We cannot but think that the power of the Christian Revelation, as contrasted with this, lies in its steady grip on solid fact, in its broad open-hearted recognition of matter, in its attachment to historical realities, in its physical fulness, in its ready welcome to the value of body. 'The Word took flesh.' There is the sacred phrase, in which we victoriously surpass the insecurities of the Platonic position. The earth wins to itself the needful subsistence; the flesh is no longer a dark puzzle; matter no longer falls away from us into hollow emptiness; life steadies itself into a sacramental reality, which evidences and strengthens, instead of disguising and diminishing, the penetrative energies of the Spirit that possesses it. This is what lifts us out of the shadowy reverie of strange and bewildering symbolism into the sturdy recognition of the spiritual actuality of natural facts. How shall we put the difference? Perhaps, most concretely in this: that the instinct of the reverie is to seek to snatch a revelation out of the least known incidents, out of the effects that belong to the edge of human experience, out of those abnormal and unusual effects that hover between the subjective and objective worlds; it haunts the supernaturalistic circles of Alchemy, of Visions, of Astrology, of Spiritualism. The instinct of the truer mysticism, as we would venture to call it, feels no need to fly from the common and the normal. It is these that Spirit creates and uses; in the normal fact, then, will be detected the normal action of Spirit. So believing, it clings to the sound and solid central mass of human experiences, seeking its manifestation and its realization in this core of accepted fact: it can endure to let the edges and the fringes of life shade off into doubtful obscurity, unanxious and unassertive, where certainty fails it. Perhaps Mr. Shorthouse will forgive us if we say that his beautiful book leaves us with an impression rather of the first than of the second temper; and will pardon us again if we are wrong in

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suggesting that to this same temper may belong the unfortunate expression of 'Christian Myth' in the preface to the second edition. Materialism, in our day, has a valid lesson to teach us: the worth and significance of fact; and it will bear down, with overwhelming impetus, upon anything that claims no more for itself than a 'mythical,' or emotional, or imaginative standing. So much for the philosophy.

The *religious* bearings of the book are of permanent and positive value, for they raise the spiritual question into a form at once decisive and vital. This form is the Sacramental. No other aspect of the religious problem seems to present itself to the author as within the region of practical consideration. It is almost amusing to note the entire absence, from the dramatic scene of discussion, of all those theological controversies over which Protestantism would wage its battle with Rome. They do not appear for examination. At the utmost, they present a curious specimen or two of personal character, more or less monstrous in type, which the author uses for a moment and drops, poor Mr. Thorne, *e.g.*, and the fanatic at the Court of the Duke of Umbria, who offers a momentary contrast of great brilliancy and skill to the tolerant humanity of the magnificent Italian Renaissance. But that is all. Theological controversies all resolve themselves into the one absorbing question—'How, and where, without loss to my individual freedom of nature, can I secure Sacramental Grace?' The Christian life is a life in Christ; and a life in Christ is a life fed, here and now, by the flesh and the blood of a living and present Christ. Christianity, then, is a sacrament; and its realization is the Eucharist, brought nigh by the ordained means of approach, the priesthood of Christ's Church. To be in true and sure contact with this inflowing grace, so made nigh: this is the one religious necessity, a necessity, not so much for definition and discussion, as of obvious practical certainty. One anxiety alone remains: how to secure the large and varied intricacy of personal life uncurtailed and unmenaced in the face of this necessary sacerdotalism? How large, how varied, the massive sum of intricate personal experiences is, the author expresses in his portrayal of the broad tolerance, the kindly universality of interest, the welcome to all living things, that constitute the secret and the fascination of the Classical Revivalism. This fascination, it is true, while it dominates Inglesant, paralyses his religious intensity, and weakens his moral fibre; he is on lower levels of life while under its spell; the star of Lauretta rides higher, for the time, than the star

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of holy Mary Collet. But yet, subordinate though it be, there are elements in that wide world of culture which the religious instinct may govern, indeed, but also must include and allow for, and without which it would be stinted and narrow, and, in some degree, ineffectual. Inglesant would have lost something if he had followed the call of the Paris Benedictine, even though he would have avoided the taint of the Italian corruption. He would have been saved much, but he would have missed something. Molinos seems to hold out to him the larger hope of embracing his secular experiences within the possibilities of sacramental grace; and when the Jesuits, with their clever instinct of threatened authority, resolve on shattering the Molinist dream, Rome has made herself impracticable to Inglesant. If she would have given him fair room for the development of that human nature, which it is our sacred task to sustain and tend, he would have gladly made himself hers. But the Jesuit deliberately wrecks all chance of this; with a malicious and provoking cleverness he smilingly demolishes the only spiritual home which was possible to Inglesant within the lines of Rome; and, from that moment, he is Anglican out and out. We earnestly wish that the author had not apparently tired of his work after he has once passed the crisis. As it is, we are suddenly dropped to the level of a third party's report for the final scene; the nature of Inglesant's conviction is expressed in a speech of great force and condensed interest, but the transition to it from the last scene of farewell to the Jesuits is left far too abrupt and unexplained; the matter and the passion of the speech suggest too much to be crowded into a couple of pages; the conclusion has the air of being reached at a rush, leaving a touch of surprise at much that needs unravelling. So much is said in these last two pages which leaves us darkly questioning what the author intends to say. Once more we feel the infection of the Platonic mood upon the story: the scene shakes, even as the woodland reels in autumn 'athwart the smoke of burning weeds.' The fine sweet melancholy of the sunset is Platonic; it lacks the glow and steady patient hopefulness of the slow advancing Christian dawn. Is there, we are inclined to ask, not another answer to the 'Papist's argument' than that suggested by the author's phrase? There is, indeed, 'no absolute exponent' to be found 'of an absolute revelation:' facts are too strong to admit of this easy solution. But are we, therefore, cut off from an absolute revelation? May it not be mediated through a relative,

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partial, incomplete material? Can the Word not make itself known through the Flesh as the very Word that was in the beginning with the Father? Can the absolute truth not make itself felt through the stress and pressure of conflicting hesitations? Is God Himself not known in Nature (*e.g.*) even though it be through no exponent specialized and logical, but through the things that are seen, confused and confusing as they seem? Is there no voice to be heard alive among the stars of heaven because they have no loud speech or fixed language?

These questions rush forward to mix with the last utterances of John Inglesant; and yet we would not be taken to mean that we do not welcome, with grateful enthusiasm, the main effort of the book to point the spiritual dilemma in its most vital form. He has seized the position. It does, indeed, seem most possible to us, amid all the sickening disturbance and fear that now afflict us, that the heart of peace may yet be disclosed to us in the Holy Supper; that there, in the Eucharist, lies the hope of an Eirenicon. Worship is more *central*, even, than the Creed itself; it holds within itself the key of the Creed; it is in the action of worship we are all made one. That all should come to recognize the one Food by which all are fed; that every possible freedom in all secular directions should be perfectly compatible with entire union in that act of spiritual contact with the Divine Power by which and in which all things are done: is this so utterly impossible to conceive? At least, John Inglesant has furthered some such suggestive issue of our blind struggling; the book feels for a solution, in which a wide free range of human and secular life should circle round a sacramental centre of spiritual sustenance; for some such fulfilment it has helped us to pray, and by striking this note it has taught us, once again, how high and stirring is the task to which our Church in England has set its hand. Our troubles, our pangs, our confusions, marshal themselves into rank and order once again, as we sweep them into the scope and purpose of this great achievement. We see them in their place; they are all part of the vast and intricate process by which the leaven laboriously and painfully works its way amid the gross lump, which it claims and yet but slowly penetrates. Better to wait in patience until the dead mass stirs at last than to hasten the process by cutting down and diminishing the lump. Some such thoughts as these Mr. Shorthouse prompts and encourages; and we would fervently beg all those to read his beautiful book who desire to foster

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in themselves a strong and deep passion of spiritual devotion, and yet are conscious of a precious and holy heritage of human hopes and human impulses to which they dare not play false, which they cannot ignore, to which they owe reverence, and to redeem which to Christ they would gladly work and struggle with slow and unflagging patience, even though it involve long waiting and much anxiety, and some perplexity, and no little ridicule.

Perhaps it may be said that the book is overweighted by the perplexities that these last words of ours have attempted to justify. It is, indeed, true that there is a certain sense of brooding oppression about the book; it is sad in tone; and there is a strain of anxiety, of mysterious doomful issues, that hangs heavily about its pages; dark forces in the background press and push Inglesant along; circumstance and authority are, both of them, unduly imperious and compelling, sometimes with a purposelessness that seems blind and depressing. Life appears anxious and perplexing; there is but little freshness, but little play of joyous spontaneity.

But we must not appear to depreciate that which has been to us such a delightful and exciting surprise; the book has taken the world by storm, and we warmly join the chorus of admiration. Yet the author has touched such deep chords that it seemed impossible to speak of his book without an earnest attempt to express where in it we found help and where we seemed to miss it. The novels are rare indeed towards which we find ourselves taking such anxious pains to express our grateful thanks.

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## ART. VIII.—HALF A CENTURY OF CAMBRIDGE LIFE.

1. *William Whewell, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. An Account of his Writings, with Selections from his Literary and Scientific Correspondence.* By I. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S., Honorary Fellow of S. John's College. 2 vols., 8vo. (London, 1876.)
2. *The Life and Selections from the Correspondence of William Whewell, D.D., late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.* By Mrs. STAIR DOUGLAS. 8vo. (London, 1881.)

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FULL materials for the life of Dr. Whewell are at last before the public. We say 'at last,' because ten years elapsed from his death in 1866 before the first instalment of his biography appeared, and fifteen years before the second. Haste, therefore, cannot be pleaded for any faults which may be found with either of them. Nor, indeed, is it our intention to carp at persons who have performed a difficult task as well as they could. Far rather would we take exception to the strange resolution of Dr. Whewell's executors and friends to have his life written in separate portions. It was originally intended that there should have been three of these published simultaneously: (1) the scientific, (2) the academic, (3) the domestic. As time went on, however, it was found impossible to carry out this scheme; and Mr. Todhunter published the first instalment before any one had been found to undertake either of the others. At last, after repeated failures, the two were thrown together, and entrusted to Mrs. Stair Douglas, Dr. Whewell's niece by marriage. The defects of such a method are obvious; events, which were scarcely worth telling once, are told twice; documents that would have been useful to one biographer appear in the work of the other; and the like. For this, however, the authors before us deserve less blame than the scheme which they were compelled to follow. One blemish, common to both of them, we cannot pass over so lightly—we mean the absence of good indices. We feel the want of this help most in Mr. Todhunter's book, where the history is in one volume and the correspondence in another, without either index or chronological table to link the two together.

Few lives, we imagine, have been so many-sided as to need a double, not to say a triple, narrative in order to set them fully before the public; and we assert most distinctly that Dr. Whewell was the last man whose biography should have been so treated. His life, notwithstanding his diverse occupations and his widespread interests, presented a singular unity, due to his unflinching determination to subordinate his pursuits, his actions, and his thoughts to what he felt to be his work in the world, viz. the advancement, in the fullest sense the word can be made to bear, of his College and University. He himself made no attempt to subdivide his time, so as to carry out some special work at the expense of other occupations. He found time for everything. His extraordinary energy, and his power of absorbing himself at a moment's notice in whatever he had to do, whether scientific research or University business, enabled him to get through



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an astonishing amount of work in a single day. Much of what he did must have been very irksome and repulsive to him. He particularly disliked detail, especially that relating to finance. 'I hate these disgusting details,' was his way of putting aside, or trying to put aside, economical discussions at College meetings; and it was often hard to make him understand the real importance of these apparently small matters. Again, no matter how busy he was, he found time to go into society; to keep himself well acquainted with all that was going forward in politics, literature, art, music, science; and to carry on a vast correspondence with relatives, friends, and men of science in England and on the Continent. A considerable number of these letters have of course perished; but the extent of the collection is evident from Mr. Todhunter's statement that he had examined more than 3,500 letters written to Dr. Whewell, and more than 1,000 written by him. His opinion of them, after this patient study, is well worth quotation:—

'I do not think that adequate justice can be rendered to Dr. Whewell's vast knowledge and power by any person who did not know him intimately, except by the examination of his extensive correspondence; such an examination cannot fail to raise the opinion formed of him by the study of his published works, however high that opinion may be. The evidence of his attainments and abilities which is furnished by the fact that he was consulted and honoured by the acknowledged chiefs of many distinct sciences is most ample and impressive. United with this intellectual eminence we find an attractive simplicity and generosity of nature, an entire absence of self-seeking and assertion, and a warm concern in the fortunes of his friends, even when they might be considered in some degree as his rivals.'

The academic side of Dr. Whewell's life has no doubt been imperfectly related in both the works before us; and the due recognition of his merits will have to wait until the intellectual history of the University during the nineteenth century shall one day be written. On the other hand, however, we owe our warmest thanks to Mrs. Stair Douglas for having brought prominently into notice, as only a woman could do, the softer side of Dr. Whewell's character. No one who did not know him as she did could have suspected the almost feminine tenderness, the yearning for sympathy, which were concealed under that rough exterior. These qualities, which were no doubt much developed by his marriage, were characteristic of him throughout his whole life. The following passage, which has not before been printed, from a letter

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written in 1836 to the Marchesa Spineto, his oldest and most valued Cambridge friend, while he was busy writing his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, shows how necessary female sympathy was to him even when he was most occupied :—

'It appears to me long since I have seen you, and I am disposed to write as if your absence were a disagreeable and unusual privation; although it is very likely that if you had been here I might have seen just as little of you and might have felt just as lonely. And perhaps if I send you this sheet of my ruminations, it will find you in the middle of a new set of interests and employments, with only a little bit of your thoughts and affections at liberty to look this way; and so I shall be little the better for the habit you have taught me of depending upon you for unvarying kindness and love. Perhaps you will tell me I am unjust in harbouring such a suspicion, but do not be angry with me if I am; for you know such thoughts come into my head whether I will or no; and then go away the sooner for being put into words.'

University life changes with such rapidity, the generations are so short, that no matter how great a man may have been, it is inevitable that he should soon become little more than a tradition to those who succeed him. In the present case the majority of the resident Fellows of Trinity College can never have even seen the late Master; and though his outward appearance has been handed down to posterity by a picture in the lodge, a bust in the library, and a statue in the chapel, neither canvas nor marble, no matter how skilfully they may be handled, can convey the impression which that king of men made upon his contemporaries. These portraits give a fairly just idea of his lofty stature, broad shoulders, and large limbs, but the features are inadequately rendered in all of them. The proportions are probably correct, but the expression has been lost. The artists have been so anxious to render the philosopher, that they have forgotten the man. His expression, except on very solemn occasions, was never so grave as they have made it. His bright blue eye had nearly always a merry twinkle in it; his clear ruddy complexion glowed with health; and his broad mouth was ever ready to break into a smile. His nature was essentially joyous; and he dearly loved a good joke, a funny story, or a merry party of friends, in which his laugh was always the loudest, and his pleasure the keenest. Nor did he disdain the pleasures of the table; a good dinner, followed by a good bottle of port, was not without its charm for him, though it may be doubted whether he enjoyed these matters for their own sake so much as for the society they brought with them. He could not bear



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to be alone, and was not particular into what company he went, provided he could get good conversation, and plenty of it. He used to say that he liked to hear a dinner in 'full cry;' and, if we may adopt his own simile without offence to the memory of one whom we love and revere, he was himself the leader of the pack. He could hardly be called a good talker; he was too fond of the sound of his own loud cheery voice, and engrossed the conversation too much. He would take up a subject started by somebody else, and handle it in a masterly fashion, as if he were in a lecture room, while the rest sat by and listened. He laid down the law, too, in a style that did not admit of reply. We well remember an occasion when the conversation turned on Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, then just published: 'I think it is a bad echo of a bad original, Goethe's *Faust*,' thundered out the great man; after which, of course, there was a dead silence. Again, he was no respecter of persons, nor was he too careful to observe the ordinary rules of politeness. If anybody said a silly thing, even if the person were a lady, and in her own house, he thought nothing of crushing her with 'Madam, no one but a fool would have made that observation;' but his company was so delightful, his stores of information so varied and so vast, his readiness to communicate them so unusual, and his memory so retentive, that these eccentricities in 'Rough Diamond,' as a clever University *jeu d'esprit* called him, were readily forgiven. He was far too well aware of his own supremacy to be afraid of unbending; and he was a special favourite with young people, especially with young ladies, from the kind way in which he threw himself into their pursuits and pleasures, talked with them, romped with them, wrote verses and riddles for their amusement, and generally made himself what the French call *bon enfant* in their company.

We are not presumptuous enough to suppose that we can add anything, except a few personal recollections, to what has been collected in the volumes before us; but we think that even after their publication there is still room for a short essay, which shall bring out some points in Dr. Whewell's academic life, and attempt to determine the value of what he did for science in general, and for his own College and University in particular. It will be seen that his life divides itself naturally into three periods of about equal length, the first extending from his birth in 1794 to his appointment as assistant-tutor of Trinity College in 1818, the second from 1818 to his appointment as Master in 1841, and the third from 1841 to his death in 1866.

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Mr. Whewell came up to Cambridge at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term, 1812. Those who are familiar with the exciting spectacle presented by the splendid intellectual activity of the Cambridge of to-day—accommodating itself with flexibility and readiness to requirements the most diverse, appointing new teachers in departments of study the most unusual and the most remote on the bare chance of their services being required, flinging open its doors to all comers, regardless of sex, creed, or nationality; and thronged with students whose numbers are increasing year by year, eager to take advantage of the instruction which their elders are equally eager to supply them with—will find it difficult, if not impossible, to imagine the totally different state of things which existed at that time. Were we asked to express its characteristic by a single word, we should answer, dulness. It must be remembered that communication in those days was slow; news did not arrive until it was stale; travelling, especially for passengers, was expensive, so that, at least for the shorter vacations, many persons did not leave Cambridge at all; and some remained there during the whole year—we might say, in some cases, during their whole lives. For the same reasons strangers rarely visited the University. The same people dined and supped together day after day, with no novelty to diversify their lives or their conversation. No wonder that they became narrow, prejudiced, eccentric, or that their habits were tainted with the grosser vices which there was no public opinion to repudiate. The undergraduates, most of whom came from the upper classes, were few. In the fifteen years between 1800 and 1815 the yearly average of those who matriculated did not exceed 205: less than one-fourth of those who now present themselves.[1] The only road to the Honour Degree was through the Mathematical Tripos. The amusements were as little varied as the studies. There was riding for those who could afford it; and a few boated and played cricket or tennis; but the majority contented themselves with a walk. With them, as with their seniors, the habit of hard drinking was unfortunately still prevalent. But the great changes through which the country passed between 1815 and 1834 produced a totally different state of things. The old order changed; slowly and almost imperceptibly at first, but still it changed. As the wealth of the country increased, a new class of students presented them-

[1] In the fifteen years from 1800–1814 inclusive the average was 205; from 1815–1829 it was 402; and from 1830–1844 it was 433; in 1881 the number was 806; this year it will exceed 860.

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selves for education; ideas began to circulate with rapidity; old forms of procedure and examination were given up; academic society was purified from its coarseness and vulgarity, and lost much of its exclusiveness; new studies were admitted upon an all but equal footing with the old ones; and, lastly, the new political principles asserted themselves by gradually sweeping away, one after another, all restrictive enactments. This last change, however, was not consummated until 1871. The other changes with which what may be called modern Cambridge was inaugurated are thus enumerated with characteristic force by Professor Sedgwick in one of his celebrated 'Letters to the Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*,' written in 1836, with which he demolished that infamous slanderer of Cambridge, Mr. R. M. Beverley:—

'It is most strange that in a letter on the present state of Cambridge no notice should be taken of the noble institutions which have of late years risen up within it; of the glories of its Observatory; of the newly-chartered body, the Philosophical Society, organized among its resident members in the year 1819, and now known to the world of science by its "Transactions," the records of many important original discoveries; of the new Collections in Natural History; of the magnificent new Press; of the new School and Museum of Comparative Anatomy; of the noble extension of collegiate buildings, made at some inconvenience and much personal cost to the present Fellows, and entailing on them and their successors the weight of an enormous debt; of the general spirit of inquiry pervading the members of the academic body, young and old; of the eight or nine *new courses* of public lectures (established within the last twenty-five years) both on the applied sciences and the ancient languages; of the general activity of the professors, and of their correspondence with foreign establishments organized for objects like their own, whereby Cambridge is now, at least, an integral part of the vast republic of literature and science; of the crowded class at the lecture of Modern History [by Professor Smyth]; of the great knowledge of many of our younger members in modern languages; of the recent Professorship of Political Economy bestowed on a gentleman [Mr. Pryme] who had been lecturing for years, and was a firm and known supporter of liberal opinions.'

When Whewell came to the University these improvements had not been so much as thought of. He was himself to be the prime mover in bringing several of them about. It must be remembered, however, while we confess to a special enthusiasm for our hero, that he did not stand alone as the champion of intellectual development in the University. Indeed it will become evident as we proceed that he was not naturally a reformer. He had so strong a respect for existing

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institutions, so deep a love for his College and his University, that he hesitated long before he could be brought to sanction any change, no matter how self-evident or how salutary. As a young man, however, he found himself one of a large body of enthusiastic workers, who, while they differed widely, almost fundamentally, on the methods to be employed, were all animated by the same spirit, and stimulated one another to fresh exertions in the common cause. It was one of the most remarkable characteristics of the period of which Professor Sedgwick has sketched the results, that it was hardly more distinguished for the changes produced than it was for the men who brought them about.

But to return to the special subject of our essay. Of Whewell's boyhood, school days, and undergraduateship, few details have been preserved. His father was a master carpenter, residing at Lancaster, where William, the eldest of his seven children, was born in 1794. His father is mentioned as a man of probity and intelligence; but his mother, whom he unfortunately lost when he was only eleven years old, appears to have been a woman of superior talents and considerable culture, who enriched the 'Poet's Corner' of the weekly *Lancaster Gazette* with occasional contributions in verse. William was about to be apprenticed to his father, when his superior intelligence attracted the attention of Mr. Rowley, curate of the parish and master of the grammar school. The father objected at first: 'He knows more about parts of my business than I do,' he said, 'and has a special turn for it.' However, after a week's reflection, he yielded, mainly out of deference to Mr. Rowley, who further offered to find the boy in books, and educate him free of expense. Of his school experiences, Professor Owen, who was one of his schoolfellows, has contributed some delightful reminiscences. After mentioning that he was a tall, ungainly youth, he adds:—

'The rate at which Whewell mastered both English grammar and Latin accidence was a marvel; and before the year was out he had moved upward into the class including my elder brother and a dozen boys of the same age. Then it was that the head-master, noting to them the ease with which Whewell mastered the exercises and lessons, raised the tale and standard. Out of school I remember remonstrances in this fashion: "Now, Whewell, if you say more than twenty lines of Virgil to-day, we'll wallop you." But that was easier said than done. I have seen him, with his back to the churchyard wall, flooring first one, then another, of the "walloppers," and at last public opinion in the school interposed. "Any two of you may take Whewell in a fair stand-up fight, but we won't have any more at him

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at once." After the fate of the first pair, a second was not found willing. My mother thought "it was extremely ungrateful in *that boy Whewell* to have discoloured both eyes of her eldest so shockingly." But Mr. Rowley said, "Boys will be boys," and he always let them fight it fairly out.'

In after years Whewell spoke of the good training he had received in arithmetic, geometry, and mensuration from Mr. Rowley; but it is believed that his recollections of his first school were not wholly agreeable; and probably he was not sorry when he was removed to the grammar school at Heversham, in Westmoreland. This took place in 1810. The reason for it was that he might compete for an exhibition of 50*l.* per annum, to Trinity College, which he was so fortunate as to obtain. At his second school he paid great attention to classical studies, and practised versification in Greek and Latin. In October 1812 he commenced residence at Trinity College as a sub-sizar. His first University distinction was the Chancellor's gold medal for English Verse, the subject being 'Boadicea.' In after years he was fond of expressing the theory that 'a prize-poem should be a prize-poem:' by which he probably meant that the subject should be treated in a conventional fashion, with no eccentric innovations of style or metre. It must be admitted that his own work conformed exactly to this standard. The poem was welcomed with profound admiration in the family circle at home; but his old master took a different view of the question. Professor Owen relates that he called one day at his mother's house, and began as follows:—

'"I've sad news for you, Mrs. Owen, to-day. I've just had a letter from Cambridge; that boy Whewell has ruined himself, he'll never get his Wranglership now!" "Why, good gracious, Mr. Rowley, what *has* Whewell been doing?" "Why, he has gone and got the Chancellor's gold medal for some trumpery poem, 'Boadicea,' or something of that kind, when he ought to have been sticking to his mathematics. I give him up now. Taking after his poor mother, I suppose."'

The letters which he wrote home give us some pleasant glimpses of his College life, which he evidently thoroughly enjoyed. For the first time in his life he had access to a good library—that of Trinity College—and he speaks of 'an inconceivable desire to read all manner of books at once,' adding that at that very moment there were two folios and six quartos of different works upon his table. The success which he afterwards achieved is a proof that he entered heartily into the studies of the place; and among his friends were men

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who were studious then, and afterwards became eminent. Among these we may mention Mr., afterwards Sir John, Herschel, Mr. Richard Jones, Mr. Julius Charles Hare, and Mr. Charles Babbage. A correspondent of his, writing so late as 1841, recalls the 'Sunday morning philosophical breakfasts,' at which they used to meet in 1815; and there are indications in the letters of similar feasts of reason and flows of soul. It must, on the other hand, be admitted that a few indications of an opposite character may be produced. He admits, in a half-bantering, half-serious way, that he had laid himself open to the charge of idleness; and he describes the diversions of himself and his friends during the long vacation of 1815 as 'dancing at country fairs, playing billiards, tuning beakers into musical glasses,' and the like. It is no matter of surprise to us that a young man of high spirits and strong bodily frame, brought up in the seclusion of Lancashire, should have taken the fullest advantage of the first opportunity which presented itself of appreciating the lighter and brighter side of existence. This, however, was all. Whewell knew perfectly well where to stop. We are glad to be able to state, on the authority of a Fellow of Trinity, a few years senior to him, the late Professor Clark, that no scandal ever attached itself to his name; and that he 'wore the white flower of a blameless life' through a period when the customs most prevalent in the University were such as are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1816, when he was second Wrangler and second Smith's Prize-man. On both occasions he was beaten by a Mr. Jacob, of Caius College, who was his junior by two years. It is a Cambridge tradition that Mr. Jacob's success was a surprise to everybody, for he had intentionally affected to be an idle man, and showed himself on most days riding out in hunting costume, the truth being that he kept his books at a farm-house, where he pursued his studies in secrecy and quiet. He was a young man of the greatest promise; and it was expected that he would achieve a conspicuous success at the Bar. But his lungs were affected, and he died of consumption at an early age. As Mr. Todhunter remarks, his fame rests mainly on the fact that he twice outstripped so formidable a competitor as the future Master of Trinity. Whewell mentions him as 'a very pleasant as well as a very clever man,' and adds, 'I had as soon be beaten by him as by anybody else.'

The labours of reading for the degree over, Mr. Whewell had leisure to turn his studies in any direction whither his

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fancy led him. No doubt he fully appreciated the, to him, unusual position, for he tells his sister that few people could be 'more tranquilly happy than your brother, in his green plaid dressing-gown, blue morocco slippers, and with a large book before him.' The time had come, however, when he was to experience the first of the inevitable inconveniences of a College life. Two of his most intimate friends, Herschel and Jones, left Cambridge, and he bitterly deplores their loss. Indeed it probably needed all the attachment to the place, which he proclaims in the same letter, to prevent his following their example. He appears at one time to have thought seriously of going to the Bar. He began, however, to take pupils: an occupation which becomes a singularly absorbing one, especially when the tutor takes the interest in them which apparently he did. One of those with whom he spent the summer of 1818, in Wales, Mr. Kenelm Digby, afterwards author of the *Broadstone of Honour*, who admits that he was so idle that his tutor would take no remuneration from him, has recorded that—

'I had reason to regard Whewell as one of the most generous, open-hearted, disinterested, and noble-minded men that I ever knew. I remember circumstances that called for the exercise of each of those rare qualities, when they were met in a way that would now seem incredible, so fast does the world seem moving away from all ancient standards of goodness and moral grandeur.'

This testimony is important, if only for comparison with the far different feelings with which his more official pupils regarded him in after years. In these occupations he spent the two years succeeding his degree; for the amount of special work done for the Fellowship Examination was probably not great. He was elected Fellow in October 1817; and in the summer of the following year was made one of the assistant-tutors. With this appointment the first part of his University career ends, and the second begins.

His connexion with the educational staff of Trinity College, first as assistant-tutor, then as sole tutor, lasted for just twenty years. These were the most occupied of his busy life; and in justification of what we said at the outset of the multifarious nature of his occupations, we proceed to give a rapid chronological sketch of them. His career as an author began, in 1819, with an *Elementary Treatise on Mechanics*. It went through seven editions, in each of which, as Mr. Todhunter says, 'the subject was revolutionized rather than modified; and the preface to each expounded

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with characteristic energy the paramount merits of the last constitution framed.' The value of the work was greatly impaired by these proceedings; for an author can hardly expect to retain the unwavering confidence of his readers while his own opinions are in constant fluctuation. In 1820 he was Moderator, and travelled abroad for the first time. In 1821 he was working at geology seriously, and took a geological tour in the Isle of Wight with Sedgwick, who had been made Woodwardian Professor three years before. Later in the year he explored the Lake Country, and was introduced to Mr. Wordsworth. Their acquaintance subsequently ripened into a friendship, which appears in numerous letters, and notably in the dedication prefixed to the *Elements of Morality*. A *Treatise on Dynamics* was published in 1823, which was treated in much the same fashion as its fellow on *Mechanics*. In this year he became tutor of his 'side,' by which his Cambridge work must have been largely increased. His vacation was spent in a visit to Paris for the first time, and an architectural tour in Normandy with Mr. Kenelm Digby. In 1824 he took a prominent part in the resistance to the Heads of Colleges in their attempt to nominate to the Professorship of Mineralogy; and later in the year he went again to Cumberland with Sedgwick, 'rambling about the country, and examining the strata;' visiting Southey and Wordsworth; and, in the intervals of geology, seeing cathedrals and churches. In 1825, as the chair of Mineralogy was about to be vacated by Professor Henslow, promoted to that of Botany, Mr. Whewell announced himself a candidate; and by way of preparation spent three months in Germany, studying crystallography at the feet of Professor Mohs, of Freiburg: a subject on which he had already made communications to the Royal Society and the Cambridge Philosophical Society. This was his first introduction to Germany, in whose language and literature he thenceforward took the greatest interest. He even modified his way of writing English in accordance with German custom, as is shown by the plentiful scattering of capitals through his sentences, and by a certain ponderosity of style which savours of German originals. Dissensions as to the mode of election to the Mineralogical chair caused it to remain vacant for three years; so that Dr. Whewell, about the choice of whom there never seems to have been any doubt, had no immediate opportunity of turning to account his newly-acquired knowledge. He therefore, with even more than characteristic energy, devoted himself to two most opposite subjects, Theology, and the Density of the Earth.

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In the summer of 1826 he commenced a series of investigations on the latter subject at Dolcoath Mine, Cornwall, in conjunction with Mr. Airy. The essential part of the process was to compare the time of vibration of a pendulum at the surface of the earth with the time of vibration of the same pendulum at a considerable depth below the surface. Unfortunately the experiments, which were renewed in 1828, failed to lead to any satisfactory result, partly through an error in the construction of the pendulum, partly through a singular fatality, by which, on both occasions, they were frustrated by a serious accident. The account he gives of himself, and of the way in which the researches were regarded by the Cornishmen, is too amusing not to be quoted. It is contained in a letter to his friend, Lady Malcolm, and is dated 'Underground Chamber, Dolcoath Mine, Camborne, Cornwall, June 10, 1820:—

'I venture to suppose that you never had a correspondent who at the time of writing was situated as your present one is. I am at this moment sitting in a small cavern deep in the recesses of the earth, separated by 1,200 feet of rock from the surface on which you mortals tread. I am close to a wooden partition which has been fixed here by human hands, through which I ever and anon look, by means of two telescopes, into a larger cavern. That larger den has got various strange-looking machines, illumined here and there by unseen lamps, among which is visible a clock with a face not unlike common clocks, and a brass bar which swings to and fro with a small but never-ceasing motion. I am clad in the garb of a miner, which is probably more dirty and scanty than anything you may have happened to see in the way of dress. The stillness of this subterranean solitude is interrupted by the noise, most strange to its walls, of the ticking of my clock, and the chirping of seven watches. But besides these sounds it has noises of its own which my ear catches now and then. A huge iron vessel is every quarter of an hour let down through the rock by a chain above a thousand feet long, and in its descent and ascent dashes itself against the sides of the pit with a violence and a din like thunder; and at intervals, louder and deeper still, I hear the heavy burst of an explosion when gunpowder has been used to rend the rock, which seems to pervade every part of the earth like the noise of a huge gong, and to shake the air within my prison. I have sat here for some hours, and shall sit five or six more, at the end of which time I shall climb up to the light of the sky in which you live, by about sixty ladders, which form the weary upward path from hence to your world. I ought not to omit, by way of completing the picturesque, that I have a barrel of porter close to my elbow, and a miner stretched on the granite at my feet, whose yawns at being kept here so many hours watching my inscrutable proceedings are most pathetic. This has been my situation and employment every day for some time, and will be so for some while longer, with the

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alternation of putting myself in a situation as much as possible similar, in a small hut on the surface of the earth. Is not this a curious way of spending one's leisure time? I assure you I often think of Sir John's favourite quotation from Leyden, "Slave of the dark and dirty mine! What vanity has brought thee here?" and sometimes doubt whether sunshine be not better than science.

'If the object of my companion and myself had been to make a sensation, we must have been highly gratified by the impression which we have produced upon the good people in this country. There is no end to the number and oddity of their conjectures and stories about us. The most charitable of them take us to be fortune-tellers; but for the greater part we are suspected of more mischievous kinds of magic. A single loud, insulated peal of thunder, which was heard the first Sunday after our arrival, was laid at our door, and a staff which we had occasion to plant at the top of the cliff, was reported to have the effect of sinking all unfortunate ships which sailed past.

'I could tell you many more such histories; but I think this must be at least enough about myself, if I do not wish to make the quotation from Leyden particularly applicable.'

Mr. Whewell had been ordained priest on Trinity Sunday, 1826, and this circumstance had probably directed him to a more exact study of theology than he had previously attempted. The result was a course of four sermons before the University in February 1827. The subject of these, which have never been printed, may be described as the 'Relation of Human to Divine Knowledge.' They attracted considerable attention when delivered; and it was even suggested that the author ought to devote himself to theology as a profession, and try to obtain one of the Divinity Professorships; but the advice was not taken. A theological tone may, however, be observed in most of his scientific works; he loved to point out analogies between scientific and moral truths, and to show that there was no real antagonism between science and revealed religion.

In 1828 the new Professor of Mineralogy entered upon his functions, and after his manner rushed into print with an *Essay on Mineralogical Classification and Nomenclature*, in which there is much novelty of definition and arrangement. He was conscious that he had been somewhat precipitate; for he writes to his friend, Mr. Jones, who was trying to make up his mind on certain problems of political economy, and declined to print until he had done so:—

'I avoid all your anxieties about authorship by playing for lower stakes of labour and reputation. While you work for years in the elaboration of slowly-growing ideas, I take the first buds of thought and make a nosegay of them without trying what patience and labour might do in ripening and perfecting them.'

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At the beginning of the year 1830 there appeared an anonymous publication entitled *Architectural Notes on German Churches, with Remarks on the Origin of Gothic Architecture.* The author need not have tried to conceal his name; in this, as in other similar attempts, his style betrayed his identity at once. The work went through three editions, in each of which it was characteristically altered and enlarged, so that what had appeared as an essay of 118 pages in 1830, was transformed into a work of 348 pages in 1842. Architecture had been from the first one of Mr. Whewell's favourite studies. In a letter to his sister in 1818 he speaks of a visit to Lichfield and Chester for the purpose of studying their cathedrals; many of his subsequent tours were undertaken for similar objects; and his numerous note-books and sketch-books contain ample evidence of the pains he bestowed on perfecting himself in architectural details. The theory, or 'ground-idea,' as his favourite Germans would have called it, which he puts forward, is, that the pointed arch, even if it was really introduced from the East, which he evidently doubts, was improved and developed through the system of vaulting, which the Gothic builders learnt from the Romans. This theory has not been generally accepted; but the mere statement of it may have been of value, as the author suggests, 'in the way of bringing into view relations and connexions which really exerted a powerful influence on the progress of architecture;' and the sketch of the differences between the classical and the Gothic styles is certainly extremely good. It has been sometimes suggested that the whole book was written in a spirit of rivalry to the *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages,* by Professor Willis. A glance at the dates of publication is enough to refute this view; for the work of Professor Willis was published in 1835, the first edition of Dr. Whewell's in 1830. In the course of this summer he made an architectural tour with Mr. Rickman in Devon and Cornwall; and, as if in order that his occupations might be as sharply contrasted as possible, investigated also the geology of the neighbourhood of Bath.

In 1831 we find Mr. Whewell reviewing three remarkable books: Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*; Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, vol. i.; and Jones *On the Distribution of Wealth.* As Mr. Todhunter remarks, scarcely any person but himself could have ventured on such a task. These reviews are not merely critical; they contain much of the author's own speculations, much that went beyond the interest of the moment, and might be considered to possess a

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permanent value. Herschel was delighted with his own share. He writes to Whewell, thanking him for 'the splendid review,' and declaring that he 'should have envied the author of any work, if a stranger, which could give occasion for such a review.' Lyell wrote in much the same strain; and we are rather surprised that he did so; for his reviewer not only stubbornly refused to accept his theory of uniformity of action, in opposition to the cataclysmic views of the Huttonians, but treated the whole question in a spirit of good-humoured banter, in which even Herschel thought that he had gone too far. The article on his friend Mr. Jones' work—which appeared in the *British Critic*—is rather an exposition of his views, which were original, than a criticism. It was Mr. Whewell's first appearance in print on any question of political economy, except a short memoir in the Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, called a *Mathematical Exposition of some Doctrines of Political Economy*; and therefore marks a period when he had added yet one more science to those which he had already mastered. In this year he gave much time to a controversy which was agitating the University on the question of the best plans to be adopted for a new Public Library; and contributed a bulky pamphlet to the literature of the subject, in opposition to his friend Mr. Peacock. The whole question is a very interesting one; but our space will not allow us to do more than mention it, as another instance of the universality of Mr. Whewell's interests.

The next year (1832) was even a busier one than its predecessor; he was occupied in revising some of his mathematical text-books; in drawing up a Report on Mineralogy for the British Association, described as 'an example of the unrivalled power with which he mastered a subject with which his previous studies had had but little connexion;' and in writing one of the Bridgewater Treatises, a work which, with most men, would have been enough to occupy them fully during the whole of the three years which had elapsed since the President of the Royal Society had selected him as one of the eight writers who should carry out the intentions of the Earl of Bridgewater. The subject of his treatise is *Astronomy and General Physics considered with reference to Natural Theology.* It is one of Mr. Whewell's most thoughtful and justly celebrated works, on which he must have bestowed much time. During the intervals, however, of its composition, he had not only written the reviews we have mentioned, and others also, to which we can only allude, but had commenced those researches on the Tides, which are embodied in no fewer

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than fourteen memoirs in the Transactions of the Royal Society, and for which he afterwards received the Royal Medal. No wonder that even he began to feel overworked, and resigned the Professorship of Mineralogy early in the year. He writes to his friend Mr. Jones, whom he was always striving to inspire with some of his own restless activity of thought and composition :—

'I am plunging into term-work, hurried and distracted as usual; the only comfort is the daily perception of what I have gained by giving up the Professorship. If I can work myself free so as to have a little command of my own time, I think I shall be wiser in future than to mortgage it so far. Quiet reflexion is as necessary as fresh air, and I can scarcely get a breath of it.'

His friend must have smiled as he read this, for he probably knew what such resolutions were worth. Mr. Whewell might have said, with Lord Byron—

'I make
A vow of reformation every spring,
And break it when the summer comes about;'

for, notwithstanding these promises and many others like them, we shall find that in future years he took upon himself a greater rather than a less amount of work, which he did not merely *get through* in a perfunctory fashion, but discharged with a thoroughness as rare as it is marvellous.

The Bridgewater Treatise appeared in 1833, a year in which he delivered an address to the British Association, at its meeting at Cambridge; contributed a paper *On the Use of Definitions* to the Philological Museum; and increased his stock of architectural and geological knowledge by tours with Messrs. Rickman, Sedgwick, and Airy. He was now generally recognized as the best authority on scientific language; and we find Professor Faraday deferring to him on the nomenclature of electricity. In 1834 he invented an *anemometer*, or instrument for measuring the force and direction of the wind; it was employed for some time at York, by Professor Phillips, but has since been superseded by more convenient contrivances.

The real meaning of his longing for leisure soon became manifest. In July 1834 he expounds to his friend Mr. Jones the plan of the *History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, which he was prosecuting vigorously. This great work occupied him, *almost* to the exclusion of other matters, for the whole of 1835 and 1836. We say *almost*, because, even at this time, with his usual habit of taking up some new

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subject just before he had completed an extensive labour on an old one, he was beginning to study systematic morality, and in 1835 published a preface to Sir James Mackintosh's *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, a subject which he further considered in 1837, when he preached before the University *Four Sermons on the Foundation of Morals.* In this year he succeeded Mr. Lyell as President of the Geological Society, an office which must have been given to him rather in recognition of his general scientific attainments and the work he had done in the kindred science of mineralogy, than on account of any special publications on geology. He seems to have made an excellent President. Sir Charles Lyell[1] speaks of him with enthusiasm, and points out his sacrifices of time, not only in attending the meetings of the Society, but in supervising the details of its organization. The extra work which the office involved is thus described in a letter to his sister, dated November 18, 1837:—

'My old complaint of being overwhelmed with business, especially at this time of year, is at present, I think, rather more severe than ever. For, besides all my usual employments, I have to go to London two days every fortnight as President of the Geological Society, and am printing a book which I have not yet written, so that I am obliged often to run as fast as I can to avoid the printers riding over me, so close are they at my heels. I am, in addition to all this, preaching a course of sermons before the University; but this last employment, though it takes time and thought, rather sobers and harmonizes my other occupations than adds anything to my distraction.'

In this same year (1837) the *History of the Inductive Sciences* was published, to be followed in less than three years by the *Philosophy* of the same. This encyclopædic publication—for the two books must be considered together—marks the conclusion of that part of his life which had been devoted, in the main, to pure science; and it gives the reason for his having thrown himself into occupations so diverse. It was not his habit to write on that which he had not completely mastered; and he therefore thought, wrote, and published on most of the separate sciences while tracing their history and developing their philosophy.

In this rapid sketch we have not been able to do more than indicate the principal works which Mr. Whewell had had in hand. It must not be forgotten that at the same time he was engaged in a large and ever-increasing correspondence;

[1] *Life and Letters of Sir C. Lyell*, ii. 38. In the same letter he expresses his astonishment at finding that Whewell, while writing one of his papers on the Tides, was passing through the press *four other works.*



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writing letters—which, as he used to say himself, ought to be 'postworthy'—not merely to scientific men, as we know from Mr. Todhunter's book, but—as we now know from Mrs. Stair Douglas—to his sisters and other ladies, on all sorts of subjects which he thought would interest them. Then he was a wide reader, as is proved by notes he made on the books which he had read from 1817 to 1830: 'books in almost all the languages of Europe; histories of all countries, ancient or modern; treatises on all sciences, moral and physical. Among the notes is an epitome of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, a work which exercised a marked influence on all his speculations in mental philosophy.' Whatever he read, he read thoroughly. Mr. Todhunter illustrates this by a story given on the authority of one of his oldest friends. He was found reading Mr. Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde*, which then had just appeared. Not content with the poem alone, however, he had Froissart by his side, and was carefully comparing the modern drama with the ancient chronicle. Lastly—and we put the subject we are now about to mention last, not because it was least, but because it was, or ought to have been, the most important of all his occupations—he held the office of tutor of one of the three *sides*, as they were called, into which the College was then divided, first alone, and then in conjunction with Mr. Perry, from 1823 to 1838.

At that time the College was far smaller than it is at present, and a tutor was able, if he chose, to see much more of his pupils, to form some appreciation of their tastes and capacities, and personally to direct their studies. A man who combines the varied qualities which a thoroughly good tutor ought to possess is not readily found. It is a question of natural fitness rather than of training. In the first place, he must be content to forego all other occupations, and to be at the beck and call of his pupils and their parents whenever they may choose to come to him. Secondly, he must never forget that the dull, the idle, and the vicious demand even more care and time than the clever and the industrious. It may seem almost superfluous to mention that nothing which concerns his pupils must be beneath his notice. Petty details which concern their daily life, their rooms, their bills, their domestic relations, their amusements, have all to be referred to the tutor; and the most trivial of these may not seldom be of the greatest importance in giving occasion for exercising influence or administering advice. We are sorry to have to admit that Mr. Whewell was hardly so successful as he ought to have been in discharging these

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arduous duties. The period of his tutorship was, as we have shown, precisely that during which he was most occupied with his private studies; he threw his energies into them, and disposed of his College work in a perfunctory fashion. His letters are full of such passages as: 'I have got an infinitude of that trifling men call business on my hands;' 'During the last term I have been almost too busy either to write or read. I took upon myself a number of employments which ate up almost every moment of the day;' and the like; and his delight at having transferred the financial part of the work to his colleague Mr. Perry, in 1833, was unbounded. The result was inevitable; he could not give the requisite time to his pupils, and, in fact, hardly knew some of them by sight. A story used to be current about him which is so amusing that we think it will bear repeating. We do not vouch for its accuracy; but we think that it would hardly have passed current had it not been felt to be applicable. One day he gave his servant a list of names of certain of his pupils whom he wished to see at a wine-party after Hall, a form of entertainment then much in fashion. Among the names was that of an undergraduate who had died some weeks before. 'Mr. Smith, sir; why he died last term, sir!' objected the man. 'You ought to tell me when my pupils die,' replied the tutor sternly; and Mr. Whewell could be stern when he was vexed. Again, his natural roughness of manner was regarded by the undergraduates as indicating want of sympathy. They thought he wanted to get rid of them and their affairs as quickly as possible. Those who understood him better knew that he was really a warm-hearted friend; and we have seen that with his private pupils he had been exceedingly popular; but those who came only occasionally into contact with him regarded him with fear, not with affection. On the other hand, he was inflexibly just, whatever gossip or malevolence may have urged to the contrary. He had no favourites. No influence of any kind could make him swerve from the lofty standard of right which he had prescribed for himself.

We had hoped to have found space to discuss at length the very interesting controversy which took place, in 1834, between himself and Mr. Thirlwall, who had then been as assistant tutor on his 'side' for about two years, respecting the nature of the Chapel services, and the desirability of enforcing compulsory attendance at them. It arose out of the larger subject of the admission of Dissenters to degrees, which had become in the University what would now be



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called a 'burning question.' On the main issue Mr. Whewell had declined to express an opinion, because he had felt himself unable 'fully to agree with either of the contending parties.' But when 'the Chapel system,' as it has since been termed, was attacked, as it was then, with unsparing severity, he felt bound to break his silence, and published an able and temperate pamphlet in defence of the practice of the College.[1] It is well known that Mr. Thirlwall was requested by his Master, Dr. Wordsworth, to resign his office, on the ground that his retention of it would be 'very injurious to the good government, the reputation, and the prosperity of the College in general, to the interests of Mr. Whewell in particular, and to the welfare of the young men.' The letter in which this sentence occurs is a remarkable specimen of the high-handed tone with which the heads of colleges of that day treated those whom they regarded as their inferiors, and Thirlwall's immediate obedience to it was much censured by his friends. It has been often said that Whewell did not exert himself as he might have done to avert the catastrophe. We are glad to know, as we do now most distinctly, from a letter written by him to Professor Sedgwick, full of grief at what had happened, and of apprehension at its probable consequences, that he had done all in his power to stay the Master's hand. He does not say, in so many words, that the Master had consulted him *before* he sent the letter; but he does say that 'the Master's request to him (Mr. Thirlwall) to resign the tuition I entirely disapprove of, and expressed my opinion against it to the Master as strongly as I could.' It is gratifying to find that the friendship between two men who differed so widely was 'rather heightened than diminished' by what had happened, and that it remained unbroken to the last.

We left Dr. Whewell completing the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*. With this his direct contributions to science may be said to have terminated; and for the future we shall find him turning his attention exclusively—so far as he could be said to do anything exclusively—to Moral Philosophy. In 1838 he was elected to the Knightbridge Professorship, founded in 1677 by the Rev. John Knightbridge,

[1] When the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Undergraduates' tabulated the weekly attendance of the Fellows at Chapel in the Lent Term of 1838, and finally published a list, like the class list at the end of an examination, Dr. Whewell was placed in the middle of the second class, having obtained only 34 marks. The Deans, being obliged, in virtue of their office, to attend twice daily, were disqualified from obtaining the prize—a Bible—which the impudent undergraduates gave to Mr. Perry, afterwards Bishop of Melbourne, who had obtained 66 marks.

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who directed his Professor of 'Moral Theology or Casuistical Divinity,' as he termed it, to read five lectures in the Public schools in every term, and, at the end of it, to deliver them, fairly written out, to the Vice-Chancellor. Various pains and penalties were enjoined against those who failed to perform these duties; but, notwithstanding, the office had remained a sinecure for more than a century; indeed we are doubtful whether it had ever been anything else. The suggestion that Mr. Whewell should become a candidate for it was made by his old friend, Dr. Worsley, Master of Downing, who was Vice-Chancellor in that year, and, by virtue of his office, one of the electors. Mr. Whewell determined to inaugurate a new era, and at once commenced a course of lectures, which were regularly continued in subsequent years. We have seen that he had prepared himself for these pursuits by previous studies; and his letters show that he had made up his mind to devote himself to them for some years to come. In 1845 he produced his *Elements of Morality*, wherein the subject is treated systematically; and subsequently he wrote, or edited, works devoted to special parts of it, as the *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England; Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis*; and the *Platonic Dialogues for English Readers*. The permanent hold which the second of these two books took on his mind has been recorded by his munificent foundation of a Professorship of International Law in connexion with the new buildings for Trinity College, with the motto *Paci sacrum* inscribed on their façade, which he planned, and lived long enough to see partly built.

As time went on, and Mr. Whewell approached his fiftieth year, he began to feel that 'College rooms are no home for declining years.' His friends were leaving, or had left; he did not make new ones; and he was beginning to lead a life of loneliness which was very oppressive to him. In 1840 he thought seriously of taking a College living, but his friend Mr. Hare dissuaded him; and the letters that passed between them on this subject are among the most interesting in the volume. In 1841 he made up his mind to settle in Cambridge as a married man, with his Professorship and his ethical studies as an employment. The lady of his choice was Miss Cordelia Marshall. He was married on October 12, 1841, and on the very same day, Dr. Wordsworth, the Master of Trinity, wrote to him at Coniston, where he was spending his honeymoon, announcing his intention of resigning, and his hope that he would become his successor. The news, which seems to have been quite unexpected, spread rapidly among

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the small circle of Dr. Whewell's intimate friends; and succeeding posts brought letters from Dr. Worsley and others, urging him 'not to linger in his hymeneal Elysium,' but to go up to London at once, and solicit the office from the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel. Dr. Whewell describes himself as 'vehemently disturbed;' most probably he was unwilling to comply with what seems to us to have been extraordinary advice. He did comply, however, and went to London, where he found a letter from Sir Robert, offering him the Mastership. It is pleasant to be able to record that the offer was made spontaneously, before any solicitations had reached the Minister. Dr. Whewell accepted it on October 18; had an interview with Sir Robert on the 19th; returned to Coniston by the night mail; and on the 23rd (according to Mr. Todhunter) had sufficiently recovered from his excitement to sit down to compose the first lecture of a new course on Moral Philosophy.

The appointment was felt to be a good one, though it must be admitted that there were dissentient voices. It was notorious that Dr. Wordsworth had resigned as soon as Lord Melbourne had quitted office, in order to prevent the election of either Dean Peacock or Professor Sedgwick, both of whom were very popular with the Fellows. The feeling in College, therefore, was rather against the new Master than with him. Nor was he personally popular. We now know, from the letters which he wrote, in reply to congratulations, to Lord Lyttelton, Bishop Thirlwall, Mr. Hare, and others, how diffident he was of his fitness for the office, and how anxious to discharge its high duties becomingly. Mr. Hare had evidently been giving advice with some freedom, as was his wont, for Dr. Whewell replies:—

'I perceive and feel the value of the advice you give me, and I have no wish, I think, either to deny or to defend the failings you point out. In a person holding so eminent a station as mine will be, everything impatient and overbearing is of course quite out of place; and though it may cost me some effort, my conviction of this truth is so strong that I think it cannot easily lose its hold. As to my love of disputation, I do not deny that it has been a great amusement to me; but I find it to be so little of an amusement to others that I should have to lay down my logical cudgels for the sake of good manners alone.'

The writer of these sentences was far too straightforward not to have meant every word that he wrote; and we feel sure that he tried to carry out his good intentions. We are compelled, however, to admit that he failed. He *was* im-

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patient and he *was* overbearing; or he was thought to be so, which, so far as his success as a Master went, came to the same thing. He had lived so long as a bachelor among bachelors—giving and receiving thrusts in argument, like a pugilist in a fair fight—that he had become somewhat pachydermatous. It is probable, too, that he was quite ignorant of the weight of his own blows. He forgot those he received, and expected his antagonist to have an equally short memory. Again, the high view which he took of his position as Master laid him open to the charge of arrogance. We believe the true explanation to be that he was too conscientious, if such a phrase be admissible; too inflexible in exacting from others the same strict obedience to College rules which he imposed upon himself. There are two ways, however, of doing most things; and he was unlucky in nearly always choosing the wrong one. For instance, his hospitality was boundless; whenever strangers came to Cambridge, they were entertained at Trinity Lodge; and, besides, there were weekly parties at which the residents were received. The rooms are spacious, and the welcome was intended to be a warm one; but the parties were not successful. Even at those social gatherings he never forgot that he was Master; compelling all his guests to come in their gowns, and those who came only after dinner to wear them during the entire evening. Then an idea became current that no undergraduate might sit down. So far as this notion was not wholly erroneous, it was based on the evident fact that the great drawing-room, large as it is, could not contain more than a very limited number of guests, supposing them all to sit; and that the undergraduates were obviously those who ought to stand. A strong feeling against anybody, however, resembles a popular panic; argument is powerless against it; and the victim of it must be content to wait until his persecutors are weary with fault-finding. In Dr. Whewell's case it seemed to matter very little what he did, or what he left undone; he was sure to give offence. The inscription commemorating himself on the restored oriel window of the lodge; the motto, *Lampada tradam*, which he adopted for his arms; his differences with the judges about their entertainment at the lodge; his attempts to stop the disorderly interruptions of undergraduates in the Senate House; and a hundred other similar matters, were all made occasions for unfavourable comment both in and out of College. The comic literature of the day not unfrequently alluded to him as the type of the College Don and the University Snob; and in 1847, when he actively promoted

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the election of the Prince Consort as Chancellor, a letter in the *Times* newspaper, signed 'Junius,' informed Prince Albert that he had been made 'the victim chiefly of one man of notoriously turbulent character and habits. Ask how HE is received by the University whenever he appears,' &c.; and a second letter, signed 'Anti-Junius,' affecting to reply to these aspersions, described in ironical language, with infinite humour, 'the retiring modesty, the unfeigned humility, the genuine courtesy' of the 'honoured and beloved Whewell.'[1] We are happy to be able to say that he outlived much of this obloquy; his temper grew gradually softer—a change due partly to age, partly to the genial influence of both his wives; and before the end came he had achieved respect, if not popularity. The notion that he was arrogant and self-asserting may still be traced in the epigrams to which the essay on *The Plurality of Worlds* gave occasion. Sir Francis Doyle wrote:—

> 'Though you through the regions of space should have travelled,
> And of nebular films the remotest unravelled,
> You'll find, though you tread on the bounds of infinity,
> That God's greatest work is the Master of Trinity.'

Even better than this was the remark that 'Whewell thinks himself a fraction of the universe, and wishes to make the denominator as small as possible.' These, however, were harmless sallies, at which he was probably as much amused as any one.

It would be unbecoming to intrude domestic matters into an essay like the present, in which we have proposed to ourselves a different object; but we cannot wholly omit to draw attention to the painful, but deeply interesting, chapters in which Mrs. Stair Douglas describes her uncle's grief at the loss of his first wife in 1855, and of his second wife in 1865. His strong nature had recovered after a time from the first of these terrible shocks, under which he had wisely distracted his mind by the composition of his essay on *The Plurality of Worlds*, and by again accepting the Vice-Chancellorship. The second, however, fell upon him with even greater severity. He was ten years older, and therefore less able to bear up against it. Lady Affleck died a little before midnight on Saturday, April 1, 1865; and her heart-broken husband, true to his theory that the chapel

[1] The *Times*, February 25 and 26, 1847. Mrs. Stair Douglas, p. 285, prints a letter from Archdeacon Hare, who had been disturbed by reports of the Vice-Chancellor's vehemence.

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service ought to be regarded as family prayers, appeared in his place at the early service on Sunday morning, not fearing to commit to the sympathies of his College 'the saddest of all sights, an old man's bereavement, and a strong man's tears.'[1] We can still recall the look of intense sorrow on his face; a look which, though he tried to rouse himself, and pursue his usual avocations, never completely wore off. He survived her for rather less than a year, dying on March 6, 1866, from injuries received from a fall from his horse on February 24 previous. It was at first hoped that these, like those he had received in many a similar accident—for he was a careless rider, and used to say that he had measured the depth of every ditch in Cambridgeshire, by falling into it—were not serious; but the brain had sustained an injury, and he gradually sank. His last thoughts were for the College. On the very last morning he signified his wish that the windows of his bedroom might be opened wide, that he might see the sun shine on the Great Court, and he smiled as he was reminded that he used to say that the sky never looked so blue as when it was framed by its walls and turrets. Among the numerous tributes to his memory which then appeared, none we think are more appropriate than the following lines, the authorship of which we believe we are right in ascribing to the late Mr. Tom Taylor:[2]—

'Gone from the rule that was questioned so rarely,
Gone from the seat where he laid down the law;
Gaunt, stern, and stalwart, with broad brow set squarely
O'er the fierce eye, and the granite-hewn jaw.

'No more the Great Court shall see him dividing
Surpliced crowds thick round the low chapel door;
No more shall idlers shrink cowed from his chiding,
Senate-house cheers sound his honour no more.

'Son of a hammer-man: right kin of Thor, he
Clove his way through, right onward amain;
Ruled when he conquered, was proud of his glory,—
Sledge-hammer smiter, in body and brain.

'Sizar and Master,—unhasting, unresting;
Each step a triumph, in fair combat won—
Rivals he faced like a strong swimmer breasting
Waves that, once grappled with, terrors have none.

[1] Dr. Lightfoot's Sermon, preached in the College Chapel on Sunday, March 18, 1866.

[2] They appeared in *Punch* for March 17, 1866.

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'Trinity marked him o'er-topping the crowd of
Heads and Professors, self-centred, alone :
Rude as his strength was, that strength he was proud of,
Body and mind, she knew all was her own.

'"Science his strength, and Omniscience his weakness,"
So *they* said of him, who envied his power :
Those whom he silenced with more might than meekness
Carped at his back, in his face fain to cower.

'Milder men's graces *might* in him be lacking,
Still he was honest, kind-hearted, and brave ;
Never good cause looked in vain for his backing,
Fool he ne'er spared, but he never screened knave.

'England should cherish all lives from beginning
Lowly as his to such honour that rise ;
Lives of fair running and straightforward winning,
Lives, that so winning, may boast of the prize.

'They that in years past have chafed at his chiding,
They that in boyish mood strove 'gainst his sway,
Boys' hot blood cooled, boys' impatience subsiding,
Reverently think of "the Master" to-day.

'Counting his courage, his manhood, his knowledge,
Counting the glory he won for us all,
Cambridge—not only his dearly loved College—
Mourns his seat empty in chapel and hall.

'Lay him down here—in the dim ante-chapel,
Where NEWTON'S statue looms ghostly and white,
Broad brow set rigid in thought-mast'ring grapple,
Eyes that look upward for light—and more light.

'So should he rest—not where daisies are growing :
NEWTON beside him, and over his head
Trinity's full tide of life, ebbing, flowing,
Morning and evening, as he lies dead.

'Sailors sleep best within boom of the billow,
Soldiers in sound of the shrill trumpet call :
So his own Chapel his death-sleep should pillow,
Loved in his life-time with love beyond all.'

We have not thought it necessary to go through the events of his Mastership in order, because progressive development of thought and occupation had by that time ended, and his efforts were chiefly directed towards establishing in the University the changes which his previous studies had led him to regard as necessary, and which, from the vantage-ground of his present position, he was enabled to enforce. In his own

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College, so far as its education was concerned, he had little to do except to maintain the high standard which already existed. As tutor he had been successful in increasing the importance of the paper of questions in Philosophy in the Fellowship Examination; and subsequently he had introduced his *Elements of Morality*, his preface to Mackintosh's *Ethical Philosophy*, and his edition of Butler's *Three Sermons* into the examination at the end of the Michaelmas Term, but none of those fundamental measures which have achieved for Trinity College its present position of pre-eminence will in the future be associated with his name; unless the abolition of the Westminster Scholars be thought sufficiently important to be classed in this category. On the contrary, it is remarkable how little influence he exerted on the College while Master. He saw but little of any of the Fellows, and became intimate with none. In theory he was a despot, but in practice he deferred to the College officers; and, with the exception of certain domestic matters, such as granting leave to studious undergraduates to live in College during the Long Vacation, and the formation of a cricket-ground for the use of the College, to which he and Lady Affleck both contributed largely, he originated nothing. As regards the constitution of the College, he was strongly opposed to change. The so-called Reform of the Statutes in 1842 amounted to nothing more than the excision of certain obsolete usages, and the accommodation in some few other points of the written law to the usual practice of the College. The proposals for a more substantive reform which were made by certain of the Fellows in 1856, when called together in accordance with the Act of Parliament passed in that year, met with his vehement disapproval. It was a mental defect with him that he could never be brought to see that others had as much right as himself to hold special views. If he saw no defect in a statute or a practice, no one else had any right to see one. Here is a specimen of the language he used respecting the junior Fellows, all, it must be remembered, men of some distinction, whom he himself had had a hand in electing:—

'It is a very sad evening of my College life, to have the College pulled in pieces and ruined by a set of schoolboys. It is very nearly that kind of work. The Act of Parliament gives all our Fellows equal weight for certain purposes, and the younger part of them all vote the same way, as against the Seniors. Several of these juveniles are really boys, several others only Bachelors of Arts, so we have crazy work as I think it.'

As regards the University, as distinct from the College,

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he deserves recognition as having effected important educational changes. These range over the whole of his life, commencing with the novelties which he introduced, in conjunction with Herschel, Peacock, and Babbage, into the study of mathematics, so early as 1819. It was his constant endeavour, whatever office he held—whether Moderator, Examiner, or College lecturer—to keep the improvement and development of the Mathematical Tripos constantly before the University. But, before we enumerate the special improvements or developments with which he may be credited, let us consider what was his leading idea. He held that every man who was worth educating at all, had within him various faculties, such as the mathematical, the philological, the critical, the poetical, and the like; and that the truly liberal education was that which would develop all of these, some more, some less, according to the individual nature. A devotion to 'favourite and selected pursuits' was a proof, according to him, of 'effeminacy of mind.' We are not quite sure that he would have been prepared to introduce one or more classical papers into the Mathematical Tripos; but he was emphatic in wishing to preserve the provisions by which classical men were obliged to pass certain mathematical examinations. He did not want '*much* mathematics' from them, he said; 'but a man who either cannot or will not understand Euclid, is a man whom we lose nothing by not keeping among us.'[1] He was no friend to examinations. He 'repudiated emulation as the sole spring of action in our education,' but did not see his way to reducing it. It was probably this feeling that made him object to private tuition so strongly as he always did. In opposition to private tutors, he wished to increase attendance at Professors' lectures; and succeeded in 'connecting them with examinations,' as he called it; in other words, making attendance at them compulsory for precisely those men who were least capable of deriving benefit from the highest teaching which the University could give.

The first definite novelty which he promoted was the Voluntary Theological Examination. This was established in 1843. He took great interest in making it a success, and as Vice-Chancellor brought it under the direct notice of the Bishops. Next came the scheme for the establishment of a Moral Sciences Tripos and a Natural Sciences Tripos, which he warmly supported; as he did the further measure of

[1] These views are admirably expressed in a letter to Archdeacon Hare, printed by Mrs. Stair Douglas, p. 264.

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granting the degree of Bachelor of Arts to those who satisfied the examiners not only in these Triposes, but in the Classical Tripos also. The two Triposes which we mentioned first were more especially his work. The first of them cannot, at present at least, be called successful ; the second, on the contrary, shows signs of vigorous vitality and progressive development. Further, it must not be forgotten that, so far back as 1828, he had brought before the University the want of proper lecture-rooms and museums; and that, as a matter of course, he promoted the erection of the present museums in 1863. We are justified, therefore, in claiming for him no inconsiderable share in that development of natural science which is one of the glories of Cambridge; and when we see the crowds which throng the classes of the scientific professors, lecturers, and demonstrators, we often wish that he could have been spared a few years longer to enter into the fruit of his labours.

As regards the constitution of the University he earnestly deprecated the interference of a Commission. He held that 'University reformers should endeavour to reform by efforts within the body, and not by calling in the stranger.' He therefore worked very hard as a member of what was called the 'Statutes Revision Syndicate,' first appointed in 1849, and continued in subsequent years. His views on these important matters have been recorded by him in his work on a Liberal Education. It is worth remarking that while he was in favour of so advanced a step as making College funds available for University purposes, he strenuously maintained the desirability of preserving that ancient body, the *Caput*. One of the most vexatious provisions of its constitution was that each member of it had an absolute veto on any grace to which he might object. As the body was selected, the whole legislative power of the University was practically vested in the Heads of Houses, who are not usually the persons best qualified to understand the feeling of the University. Dr. Whewell has frequently recorded, in his correspondence, his vexation when graces proposed by himself were rejected by this body ; and yet, though he knew how badly the constitution worked, his attachment to existing forms was so great, that he could not be persuaded to yield on any point except the mode of election.

We have spoken first of Dr. Whewell's work in his College and University, because it was to them that he dedicated his life. We must now say a word or two on his literary and scientific attainments. Dr. Whewell wrote an excellent

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English style, which reflects the personality of the writer to a more than usual extent. As might be expected from his studies and tone of mind, he always wrote with clearness and good sense, though occasionally his periods are rough and unpolished, defects due to his habit of writing as fast as he could make the pen traverse the paper. But, just as it was not natural to him to be grave for long together, we find his most serious criticisms and pamphlets—nay, even his didactic works—lightened by good-humoured banter and humorous illustrations. Again, when he was thoroughly serious and in earnest, his style rose to a dignified eloquence which has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. For an illustration of our meaning we beg our readers to turn to the final chapters of the *Plurality of Worlds*. He was always fond of writing verse, and published more than one volume of poems and translations, of which the latter are by far the most meritorious. Nor must we forget his valiant efforts to get hexameters and elegiacs recognized as English metres. Example being better than precept, he began by printing a translation of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, in the metre of the original, which he at first circulated privately among his friends; but subsequently he discussed the subject in several papers, in which he laid down the rules which he thought were required for successful composition of the metre. His main principle is to pay attention to accent, not to quality, and to use trochees where the ancients would have used spondees; in other words, where according to the classical hexameter we should have two strong syllables, we are to have a strong syllable followed by a weak one. Here is a short specimen from the *Isle of the Sirens*:—

'Over the broad-spread sea the thoughtful son of Ulysses
Steered his well-built bark. Full long had he sought for his father,
Till hope, lingering, fled; for the face of the water is trackless.
Then rose strong in his mind the thought of his home and his island;
And he desired to return; to behold his Ithacan people,
Listen their just complaints, restrain the fierce and the lawless.'

We are glad to see that Mrs. Stair Douglas has reprinted the elegiacs written after the death of Mrs. Whewell. We cannot believe that the metre will ever be popular; but in the case of this particular poem eccentricities of style will be forgiven for the sake of the dignified beauty of the thoughts. With the exception of *In Memoriam*, we know of no finer expression of Christian sorrow and Christian hope.

We are sorry to have to record that after Dr. Whewell's

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death his executors found that the copyright of his works had no mercantile value. He perhaps formed a true estimate of his own powers when he said that all he could do was to 'systematize portions of knowledge which the consent of opinions has brought into readiness for such a process.'[1] His name will not be associated with any great discovery, or any original theory, if we except his memoir on Crystallography, which is the basis of the system since adopted; and his researches on the Tides, which have afforded a clear and satisfactory view of those of the Atlantic, while it is hardly his fault if those of the Pacific were not elucidated with equal clearness.[2] It too often happens that those who originally suggest theories are forgotten in the credit due to those who develop them; and we are afraid that this has been the fate of Dr. Whewell. Moreover, since his time scientific speculation has taken a new direction; his favourite theory, that our ideas are innate, and that both in the inductive sciences and in morality we can find a foundation in some immutable principle, no longer finds general favour. We cannot but think, however, that the *History of the Inductive Sciences* will still be referred to as a storehouse of facts; carefully investigated, and agreeably linked together. We are sorry to find that he was not considered really great as a mathematician; he was too much wedded to ancient geometrical methods; and 'had no taste for the more refined methods of modern analysis.'[3] Again, in one very important point, the special characteristic of Cambridge men, he was certainly deficient. We mean, accuracy. It used to be remarked how often his examination papers contained errors. This was not because he prepared them too hastily. We were once staying in his house when he was making his paper for the Smith's Prize (the highest mathematical examination at Cambridge, in which the Master of Trinity is an *ex officio* examiner), and can testify to the pains he took over it. But he seemed to think that accuracy in minor points was of less importance than one would have expected from a mathematician of his power, whose whole life had been spent in severe studies. So, too, in one of his most elegant mathematical investigations (read before the Cambridge Philosophical Society in 1850), the second memoir on what he styles 'the intrinsic value of a curve,' after very cleverly performing the integration necessary to find

[1] Mrs. Stair Douglas, p. 208.
[2] Memoir by Sir John Herschel, *Proceedings of Royal Society*, xvi., p. lvi.
[3] Bishop Goodwin's article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for December 1881, p. 140.

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the rectangular co-ordinates of the running pattern curve $\phi = m \sin s$, he gives a wrong result. Again, to illustrate the same defect in another subject, we remember hearing that he submitted some of the sheets of his translation of Plato's *Dialogues* to one of the first scholars in the country, who indicated 'the grosser blunders.' Notwithstanding the pains he had taken, however, several of the errors pointed out were allowed to appear in the published volumes. In science, as in other matters, his strong conservative instincts stood in his way. He could not be persuaded to accept new theories. To the last he resisted Lyell's geological system, and Mr. Darwin's evolution.[1]

We have felt it our duty to point out these shortcomings; but it is a far more agreeable one to turn from them, and conclude our essay by pointing out the lofty tone of religious enthusiasm which runs through all his works. As Dr. Lightfoot pointed out in his funeral sermon, the world of matter without, the world of thought within, alike spoke to him of the Eternal Creator, the Beneficent Father. Even his opponent, Sir David Brewster, who more strongly than all his other critics had denounced what he termed the paradox advanced in *The Plurality of Worlds*, that our earth may be 'the oasis in the desert of the solar system,' was generous enough to admit that posterity would forgive the author 'on account of the noble sentiments, the lofty aspirations, and the suggestions, almost divine, which mark his closing chapter on the future of the universe.'

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## ART. IX.—NOT NONCONFORMISTS, BUT DISSENTERS.

1. *A Treatise of Divine Worship, tending to prove that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England are in their use unlawful.* By W. BRADSHAW. (1604. Republished in 1660.)

[1] We are not sure that he ever allowed the *Origin of Species* to be admitted into the College library. It was certainly refused more than once, being probably dismissed with the expression which he was fond of using when, as Chairman of the Seniority, he read the list of books proposed—'a worthless publication.'

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2. *The Unreasonableness of the Separation made apparent.* By W. BRADSHAW. (1614. Republished in 1640.)
3. *Superstitio Superstes, or the Relics of Superstition.* By D. CAWDREY. (1641.)
4. *Independency a Great Schism.* A Reply to Dr. Owen. By D. CAWDREY. (1657.)
5. *Independency further proved to be a Schism.* In answer to Owen's reply. By D. CAWDREY. (1658.)

THE student of the ecclesiastical tendencies of our generation cannot fail to notice, when he takes account of the words and phrases which are floating upon the surface of our controversies, that general consent with which the Separatists from the English Church have all but abolished the title of 'Dissenters'—of which they were once so proud—and have adopted in its stead the title of 'Nonconformists.' We shall not now attempt to show for what reasons this most significant change of nomenclature has been made: whether from historical ignorance, from astuteness, or from both. It is evident that it is not due to the mere anxiety of the modern Dissenters to be known to the English nation by a positive rather than a negative denomination, for 'Nonconformity' and 'Dissent' are both negative denominations. Besides, whenever the Dissenters wish to assert their positive standing, they define their sects as 'the Free Churches of England,' or 'the Voluntary Churches,' in contradistinction to the historical Church of England, which they assume to have been manufactured at some time or other by the State, and to be more or less enslaved and tyrannized over by the State, or to be patronized and favoured by it. The modern adherents of those English sects which were successively generated out of the foreign Calvinist germ—the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—have neither etymological nor historical right to the title of Nonconformists. The Dissenters are not the direct heirs of the Nonconformists of history. They are the direct heirs of the Separatists of history. The Nonconformists and Separatists were not one and the same; they were not even friends and allies; they were most bitter foes. The gulf which divided the Nonconformist from the Separatist or Dissenter was deeper and wider than that which divided the Nonconformist from the Conformist.

The difference of the two words Nonconformist and Separatist gives some indication of the original difference between the two historical movements. A 'Nonconformist' meant one who had a quarrel against the *form* or forms of the



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actual historical Church, of which he was a member, but who had no fundamental quarrel against its substance, stuff, or matter. A Separatist, Sectary, or actual Dissenter, meant one who might or might not quarrel with the form or forms of the real historical Church, of which he refused to be a member, but who had a fundamental quarrel with the *substance*, stuff, or matter of the Church.

The original English Nonconformists regarded the historical Church as a true and proper Church, much *deformed* indeed, and in sore need of 'a godly thorough re*form*ation;' but they dared not separate themselves from it, nor persuade others to leave it, nor set up a rival society, lest they should thereby commit the sin of schism. The dread of schism is one of the primary traditions of Nonconformity. The Nonconformist opponents of the Brownists, or early Independent Separatists, contended that the Church of England had been a true Church even before the Reformation, notwithstanding its long subjection to the Pope, whom the Nonconformist and Separatist agreed in regarding as the Antichrist. George Gifford, the Nonconformist, in his controversy with the Independent Separatists, Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, lays down a series of propositions which show that the Nonconformists and the Conformists stood on common ground against the Separatists. He states (1) that 'The Church of England, in the time of Popery, was a member of a Universal Church;' (2) that 'She had not her being of a Church of Christ from Rome;' (3) 'Nor took her beginning of being a Church by separating herself from that Roman Synagogue;' (4) 'But, having her spirits revived, and her eyes opened, by the Light of the Heavenly Word, she did cast forth that tyranny of Antichrist, with his abominable idolatry, heresies, and false worship, and sought to bring all her children into the right faith and true worship of God.' This sturdy Puritan concludes that the rejection of Antichrist's tyranny had not made the Church of England a new Church, as the Papists and Separatists assumed, but simply 'a purer and more faithful Church than before.'[1] Samuel Clark, the popular and voluminous author of the *Martyrology*, the *Marrow of Divinity*, and the *Discourse against Toleration*, may be cited as a witness to the survival

[1] *A Short Reply unto Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, the chief Ringleaders of our Donatists in England*, 1591, p. 55. As Gifford, or Giffard, was one of the Puritan clergy who petitioned the Parliament against the English hierarchy, he doubtless held that the National Church would have become still more pure and faithful if she had rejected or modified the national Episcopate as well as the extra-national Papacy.

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of the old Nonconformist tradition against schism at the time of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 1662. After resigning his benefice, 'he attended the Church of England both as a hearer and as a communicant; for,' as he says, 'he durst not separate from it, nor was he satisfied about gathering a private Church out of a true Church, which he judged the Church of England to be. He continued twenty years in this retirement.' He remained a Nonconformist, and he justified his right to that title by refusing to become a Separatist.[1]

The one persistent aim of the English Nonconformists, from the time of the Tudor Act of Uniformity to the time of the Stuart Act of Uniformity, was the realization, by the arm of the Sovereign or of the Parliament, of their own ideal 'godly thorough Re-formation' of the existing National Church. The Nonconformists did not aim, like their foes the Separatists, at the production of an entirely new visible Church, or of entirely new visible Churches, but at the remodelling of the already existing Church after 'the pattern of the best Reformed Churches.' The English Separatists, Sectaries, or Dissenters, on the contrary, regarded the existing Church of England as no Church at all. The Separatists agreed with their Nonconformist foes in their horror of schism. If an Elizabethan Separatist had believed that his own parish church was in any sense a true visible Church of Christ—as his educated Liberationist successors probably believe every present parochial church in England to be—he would not have dared to separate himself from it. But as he believed the parish congregation to be at its best a mingle-mangle of the elect and the reprobate, at its worst a synagogue of Satan, he dared not remain in communion with it. The Nonconformist held separation from the parish church or the National Church to be the sin of schism: the Separatist or Dissenter held it to be the very first and foremost of Christian duties.[2]

[1] S. Palmer. *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1802, i. p. 101.

[2] 'There is nothing to be expected from Christ by any member of the Church of England but a pouring out of His eternal wrath upon them.' De Cluse, the most active elder in H. Ainsworth's 'Church,' cited in a *Dialogue between an Anti-Christian* (or churchgoer) *and a Christian* (or non-churchgoer), published first in 1615 an *Objection Answered, &c.*, republished under other titles in 1620, 1662, 1827, and by the Baptist Hanserd Knollys Society in 1846, p. 156. 'I may never go to these (parish church) assemblies again without sin,' p. 157. 'They (the parish churches) are in God's account so far from being true churches, that they are synagogues of Satan,' p. 161. This ferocious attack upon Conformists and Nonconformists has received the *imprimatur* of Separatists for more than two centuries. Similarly J. Canne, 'Our inference is that the public assemblies of England are false and anti-Christian, and there-



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To any one who has patiently traced the development of Nonconformity and Separatism through our Ecclesiastical history, from the Act of Uniformity under Elizabeth to the Act of Uniformity under Charles the Second, the distinction between these two rival forces will be evident. Indeed, the whole course of that history must be a confusing chaos to its student unless he keeps the fundamental difference betwixt the Nonconformist and the Separatist always in view. Throughout the period of the later Tudors and the Stuarts we find four systems contending for religious supremacy in England: the extra-national Papal system; the old national English system, freshly liberated from Papal domination; the French, Scottish, Dutch, Swiss, Genevan, Nonconformist, or Puritan system, which aimed at being nationalized in England, applying first to the monarchs and afterwards to the Parliament to force its 'godly thorough Re-formation' upon the parish churches and the National Church; and lastly, the Separatist, Sectarian, or Dissenting system. The Papists and the Separatists stood professedly outside the English Church; they agreed in denying that it was a Church, the former on the ground that it was not Catholic, the latter on the ground that it was Catholic. The Conformists and Nonconformists, who were by far the largest and most powerful of the four parties, wrestled for supremacy within the Church.

It is not strictly correct, indeed, to call the Conformists a party, since they constituted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—as they still do—the immense majority of the English people. There is plentiful proof that the mass of the people was Conformist at heart even under the Puritan tyranny, when either a Nonconformist or a Separatist was forced as pastor, by the secular arm and the pseudo-episcopal Tryers, upon almost every English parochial congregation.[1] The Conformists and Nonconformists agreed in holding that the Church of Jesus Christ ought to be nationally and parochially organized: that the Father, of Whom every fatherland and family in heaven and earth is named, by His civilizing constitution of humanity into states and parishes, into nations and local communes, has provided an order or mould to which the Church of His Son ought to conform all her regulations. The Conformists and Nonconformists, in spite of their bitter civil war with one another, were allied in their common opposition to Separatism or Dissent. In contro-

fore to be left' (*A Necessity of Separation.* 1634, p. 167. Reprint of 1849).

[1] See testimony of Owen, Baxter, and Kentish, note 1, p. 185, *inf.*

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versial and popular literature, from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, we find the two parties within the Church differenced by a variety of names. The Conformists were called 'Conformitans,' in opposition to Puritans; 'Formalists,' not in a purely offensive sense; 'Prelatists,' 'Pontificals,' 'The Formal Protestants,' and, later in the seventeenth century, 'Common-Prayer Men' and 'Episcopalians.' 'Church-and-State Men,' or 'Establishmentarians,' they were never called: for such titles would have described a Nonconformist quite as exactly as they would have described a Conformist. The Nonconformists, in contradistinction to the Conformists on one side and to the Separatists on the other side, were called 'Puritans,' 'Precisians,' 'Inconformitans,' 'Inconformists,' and 'Reformists.' The last denomination was long used by the Separatists to describe that party of the Left within the Church of England which refused either to conform or to separate. In 1590, Barrow, the early Independent Separatist—to whom the Congregationalist sect owed one of its temporary titles, 'Barrowism'—called the Nonconformists 'the Reformists,' and the clergy of their party 'the Reforming priests,' while he called the conforming majority of the clergy 'the Pontifical priests.'[1] In 1600, Francis Johnson, the Independent, contrasted the two parties within the Anglican Church as the 'Formalists and Reformists,' but spoke of both alike as 'consenting and approving that which is done unto us,' the Separatists or Dissenters. 'Not the prelates alone,' he said, 'but you also, the Forward-preachers and professors, have wittingly and willingly your hand in our blood.'[2] In 1610, the famous John Robinson, the second founder of Independency or Congregationalism, a sturdy foe of Nonconformity, uses the words 'Puritans' and 'Reformists' to describe that party which refused either to conform or to separate, which would neither obey the bishops nor join the Dissenters.[3] In 1618, Robinson published a reply to the Nonconformist

[1] *A Brief Discovery of the False Church*, p. 192.

[2] *An Answer to Master H. Jacob his Treatise concerning the Priests of the Church of England made by the Prelates, accepted and joined unto by the People, which he* (H. Jacob) *termeth a Pastoral Calling*, 4to, p. 177. Henry Jacob at that time was a Nonconformist exile. In 1599 he had printed two pamphlets at Middelburg, in Zeeland—*A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England against Mr. F. Johnson and others of the Separation commonly called Brownists*, and *A Short Treatise concerning the Trueness of Pastoral Calling in Pastors made by Prelates.*

[3] *A Justification of Separation from the Church of England.* This thick quarto of nearly 500 pages was a reply to *Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace, also Dissuasives from the Separatists' Schism*, by Richard Bernard, Vicar of Worksop, a leading Nonconformist.

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John Yates, a clergyman in Norwich, who had attacked the Separatists.[1] Robinson excuses himself for replying to Yates rather than to 'Mr. Hall's large and learned volume,' on the ground that Hall's 'treatise is as much, and more immediately, against the Reformists and their cause in the main, as against us and ours.'[2] Two years later, in his remarkable address to the New England pilgrims, before the sailing of 'The May Flower,' Robinson spoke of the Nonconformist clergy as 'the unconformable ministers of England, and asserted that there would be no difference between the Nonconformist and the Separatist if they could 'come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the kingdom.' The assertion reveals a certain defect of grasp in a mind which was otherwise singularly lucid. The Nonconformist position was as indistinct to him as the 'Low Church' position is to those dissenting controversialists of a later day who urge 'Evangelical' clergymen and laymen to separate from the English Church and join one of the sects in order that they may become truly evangelical; or as the 'High Church' position is to those who insist that the only way to become really Catholic is to separate from the English Church and submit to the Roman Pontiff.

The Liberationist upon the platform talks a great deal about his 'Puritan ancestors.' He might as well go further back and talk about his 'Catholic ancestors.' The term 'Puritan,' in the controversial literature of the time of Elizabeth and James I., never meant a Separatist, a Brownist, an Independent or Baptist Dissenter. It always meant a Nonconformist who remained in communion with the Church of England, and regarded separation from that Church as schism; while the term Protestant nearly always meant an Anglican Conformist. The distinction between the 'Puritans' and the 'Protestants' as the two rival parties *inside* the Church, and equally opposed to the Separatists *outside* the Church, is of frequent occurrence. John Canne, the Baptist Separatist, distinguishes the two anti-Separatist parties within the Church as 'the Formal Protestants' and the 'Reformists,' 'Puritans,' or 'Nonconformists.'[3] Henry Ainsworth, in 1608, defined the two parties in the National

[1] *The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy*, 4to, pp. 77.

[2] Bishop Hall's *A Common Apology of the Church of England against the over-just Sect commonly called Brownists*, 1610, 4to, pp. 145.

[3] *A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England proved by the Nonconformists' Principles*, 1634. Republished by the Baptist Hanserd Knollys Society in 1849. Address to the Reader, cxx. pp. 105, 160, 175, 227, &c.

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Church as 'the Protestants,' who 'say Christ's ruling power is in the bishops, the prelates,' and 'the Puritans,' who say 'the ruling power of Christ is the presbytery,' and who aimed at the reduction of the bishops to mere moderators.[1] Robinson, in his reply to R. Bernard, in 1610, draws exactly the same distinction. The Papists, he says, plant the power of Christ in the Pope, the Protestants in the bishops, the Puritans in the presbytery. Canne quotes 'a saying of King James,' that 'the Puritans are the founders and fathers of the Brownists: the latter (saith he) only boldly putting in practice what the former do teach, but dare not perform. For what end he wrote this I let it pass, but the words in part are true. Our separation from the Church of England is by their grounds certainly good and lawful, and therefore they say and do not.'[2] They remained Nonconformists, but they steadily refused to become Separatists, or real Dissenters.

It will be clear from these citations, which might be multiplied a hundredfold, that the Conformist and Nonconformist, whatever their differences, remained fellow-members of one and the same Church. They differed as to the right form and discipline of the Church, and especially as to the application of the sacraments to the entirety of the citizens of the State, and to the entirety of the members of each parish. The theological difference between these two Church parties is probably clearer to us than it was to themselves. The Incarnation was more or less consciously the ground of the Conformist theology. Individual predestination and election, or personal consciousness of conversion, held the same place in the Nonconformist theology. Here lay the point of theological affinity between the Nonconformists and the Separatists. The Conformists stood upon the fact of the redemption, of the totality of the Humankind, of the English nation, and of every local parish in England; they insisted upon the title of every human creature to incorporation into the Catholic Church by the sacrament of baptism. Hence they came in

[1] *Counterpoison*, 255. Reprinted 1642. The book was a reply to a book by John Sprint, the Puritan or Nonconformist Vicar of Thornbury, *Considerations touching the Points of Difference between the Godly Ministers and People of the Church of England* (or Nonconformists) *and the Seduced Brethren of the Separation* (or Dissenters), and to the Puritan R. Bernard's *Christian Advertisements*. Sprint and Bernard defend Nonconformity or Puritanism, not against the Conformists, but against the Separatists. Ainsworth reminds them of the 'schism' in their own Church between the 'Conformitans and Puritans.' In 1618 Sprint published *Cassander Anglicanus*, advising conformity as a less evil than deprivation.

[2] *Neces. of Sep.* 227.

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time to strip themselves wholly of that foreign and inconsistent Calvinist tendency, a tinge of which surprises us even in so resolute a Conformist as Hooker; hence they were labelled both by the Nonconformists and Separatists with the damning epithet of 'Arminian.' The Nonconformists were invariably Calvinists, and regarded only a part of humanity, of the nation, and of the parish, as redeemed, the mass as reprobated. Many amongst them were as eager advocates for the *jure divino* character of Calvin's ecclesiastical system as for his theology. When they demanded the reformation of the Church of England after the pattern of 'the best Reformed Churches,' they used the word 'reformed' in that technical sense which it still retains upon the Continent, as opposed to 'Lutheran,' not as opposed to 'Roman.' Their ideal was realized in Scotland, in Geneva, in Holland, by the Huguenots of France, in the Calvinized German Churches (*Reformirten Kirchen*) of the Palatinate, Bremen, Hesse-Cassel, and other States.[1] The Calvinizing princes of Continental Europe, who, acting upon the Erastian principle *cujus regio ejus religio*, sought to de-Lutheranize their States by force, who treated Lutheranism and Arminianism as political crimes, were the ideal Christian statesmen of the English Nonconformist. They fervently expected, at the death of Elizabeth, that the Scottish James I. would prove such a ruler. The Nonconformists, from the accession of James until the time of their fierce politico-ecclesiastical sermons before the Long Parliament and the meeting of their Westminster Assembly of Divines, were never for a moment Liberationists. Their phrase 'setting up Christ on His Throne,' was a synonym for regal or parliamentary interference with the Church's doctrine and discipline; for State enforcement of the Nonconformist, Presbyterian, or semi-Presbyterian, system upon the English nation and parishes; for State suppression or modification of the historical Catholic and Episcopal system; and for State prohibition of Dissent or Separation. The Scottish army was called into England by the Parliamentary leaders to help them in asserting English liberty against the wilful autocracy of

[1] See the exiled J. Paget's *Defence of Church Government in Presbyterial, Classical, and Synodal Assemblies, according to the practice of the Reformed Churches*, published after his death by T. Paget, and dedicated to the Parliament in 1641. 4to. pp. xviii, 104, 105. The Parliament is told that 'the Scots, French, Dutch, &c.,' supply the model which ought to be enforced upon England. The earlier Nonconformist, Parker, proved by ten arguments that 'the Church of England is bound to imitate the Reformed Churches in their discipline.' *De Polit. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 29, p. 84.

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Charles I.[1] But their accidental allies, the Nonconformists, as Robert Ballie's letters plainly enough show, regarded the Scots as the armed champions of a Calvinist doctrine and an anti-episcopal discipline, and as the heaven-sent agents for forcing the Nonconformist system upon the unwilling English parishes.[2] The secular power of the Nonconformists was greatly broken by the ascendency of Oliver Cromwell and the English army. His total defeat of the Presbyterian Scots, and the subsequent toleration of the hated Independents and other Separatists, was a severe blow to the Nonconformists, properly so called. Dissent or Separation may be said to have been established concurrently with Nonconformity by the swords and guns of the army. Dr. Stoughton virtually grants this when he says that 'the bark of Congregationalism' was 'cut adrift from its State-mooring upon the fall of Cromwell's *Broad* Church'—which, as a matter of fact, was the narrowest and most exclusive 'Church' which

[1] 'Of those who joined with the Parliament,' wrote R. Baillie to Spang, December 27, 1644, 'the greatest and most countenanced part were much Episcopal.' 'The learnedest and most considerable part' (of the English clergy), he adds later, 'were fully Episcopal.'

[2] Richard Kentish, preaching before the House of Commons, November 24, 1647, complained that the English people, 'like Israel of old, preferred the garlick and onions of Egypt before the milk and honey of Canaan. So now a prelatical priest, with a superstitious service-book, is more desired, and would be better welcome to the generality of England, than the most learned, laborious, conscientious preacher, whether Presbyterian or Independent.' 'These poor simple creatures are mad after superstitious festivals, after unholy holidays.' He adds later that the rooted anti-Puritanism of the English would be 'tolerable' if it were confined to one class, 'the generality of England, if it were only among the *riff-raff* of the people.' At the Restoration, Kentish was ejected from S. Catharine's in the Tower. R. Baxter, in his *Reformed Pastor* (1656, p. 288), bears witness to the same fact. 'The common people,' he says, 'tell us we bring up new customs.' Not kneeling at the Eucharist is specified. The famous Independent, Dr. John Owen, makes frequent complaint of the rooted antipathy of the people towards the Nonconformist and Separatist systems forced upon them by the secular arm. In his sermon before the Parliament of the Commonwealth, October 30, 1656, he says, 'The body of the people is dark, and profane, and full of enmity against the remnant.' 'The profane multitude,' he tells the Parliament, are so attached to 'the old paths, that it is yet impossible to keep the burden upright in them, whose guidance you are entrusted with.' 'Nothing almost will satisfy them but their old road of beggarly readers in every parish.' *Works*, 1825, vol. xv. pp. 567, 574, 576. John Canne, in his *Second Voice from the Temple* (1653, 4to), complained that 'though tithes be taken away,' and given to the Independent and Presbyterian, 'yet will the people do as they have done, go to these (sequestered) Priests for marrying, burying, christenings, churchings, &c.' The Anabaptist zealot urged the Parliament 'by public authority to declare that this (Anglican) ministry is held no longer true and lawful' (pp. 8, 11).

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was ever established in Europe.[1] The battle of Worcester was regarded by the English Nonconformists as a defeat of Presbyterian Nonconformity, and as a victory of Independent and Anabaptist Separatism. Presbyterian and anti-Separatist Scotland became fervidly royalist, and English Nonconformists plotted for the restoration of the monarchy, hoping that a Presbyterian, Covenanting, or Nonconformist king—as they took Charles II. to be—would help them to put down their foes the Separatists, Sectaries, or Dissenters.[2] Upon the restoration of the Episcopate, and the restoration of the sacramental rights of the whole Christian People, in 1660, after nearly twenty years of State-imposed Puritan and Separatist tyranny over the parishes, almost all the Nonconformists were ready to accept, while many of them would have preferred, a modified Episcopal system. The Presbyterian ideal had become utterly discredited and detested in England. The Act of Uniformity, against which no national or popular protest was raised, remains as the immediate legislative expression, while the adjective 'puritanical' remains as the permanent popular expression, of the profound disgust of that generation. Its intolerance was the intolerance of those who had escaped from tyranny and illusion. No one in England dared to assert for Presbyterianism a *jure divino* claim. From the time of Elizabeth to the time of Cromwell, the Puritans or Nonconformists had aimed at supremacy in the National Church. They obtained it, by the help of the Parliament and the Scottish army, partially and for a short space after the expulsion of the bishops and the disestablishment of the old Catholic organization of the National Church. But under Cromwell's rule they were compelled by the secular arm, which they had invoked against the bishops and the Conformists, to make room for the Independent and Baptist Separatists at their side. At the close of the struggle by the Act of Uniformity, they asked only for 'comprehension' within the National Church.

Thus the Nonconformist ministers, in their first 'Address and Proposals' to Charles II., in 1660, stated expressly: 'We do not nor ever did renounce the true ancient primitive Episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced and managed by a due commixtion of presbyters therewith.' They told the king that if by his 'grave wisdom and generous moderation' such an 'attempered Presidency' should be constituted, they

[1] *Church of the Restoration*, ii. 164.

[2] Cf. J. Hunter's *Life of O. Heywood.* Neal's *History of Puritans*, 1738, iv. 53, 54, 82, 86, 87.

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would 'humbly submit thereto.'[1] Later, in their 'Defence of our Proposals'—a reply to the answer of the bishops to their original address—the Nonconformists said that they had made their proposals in order 'that all the world might see that it is Episcopacy itself that we plead for.' They further reminded the prelates that 'This primitive Episcopacy was the expedient which those *called* "Presbyterians" offered, never once speaking for the cause of Presbytery.' Again, 'We pleaded not with them at all for Presbytery, unless a moderate Episcopacy be Presbytery.' They even added: 'Archiepiscopacy is acknowledged; and we shall also desire that it may be observed, that we never put in a word to them against archbishops, metropolitans, or primates.'[2]

The ejected Nonconformists, after 1662, steadily maintained that they were not Dissenters—like the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist Separatists. Their most eminent representative, Richard Baxter, as late as the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, when the three Separatist denominations (or the 'Three Persuasions' as they were then called) took out licences for their preaching-houses, refused to take a licence for preaching in which he was described as belonging to 'the Presbyterian Persuasion.' He declared that he was 'a Nonconformist.' He deliberately chose this historical word in order to express as clearly as he could that he was not a Separatist or Dissenter.[3] The saintly Nonconformist, Philip Henry, was equally positive, as his son tells us, that he had not become a Dissenter by continuing to be a Nonconformist, but that his nonconformity was a protest against separation or dissent. 'His moderation in his *nonconformity*,' says Matthew Henry, 'had a great influence upon many, to keep them from running into an uncharitable and schismatical *separation*, which upon all occasions he bore his testimony against. In Church government, he desired and wished for Archbishop Usher's reduction of Episcopacy.' He had received a Presbyterian ordination during the State's suppression of the Episcopate, and could not bring himself to be re-ordained, even conditionally, because he believed the orders which he already had to be valid. He regarded the bishop, according to the older Nonconformist tradition, simply as the presiding presbyter, holding the Episcopate to be an office, but not an order. He was 'greatly clamoured at by some of the rigid Separatists,' says his son, 'and called a *Dissembler* (a weak pun on "Dis-

[1] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 232–234. Vol. i. fol. 1696.
[2] *Ibid.* 252–253.
[3] J. Hunter. *Life of O. Heywood*, 225, 226.

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senter"), and one that halted between two, and the like.'[1] By retaining this attitude Baxter and Henry were faithful to the traditions of the earlier Nonconformists, who frequently spoke of themselves as the party of the centre, and as holding the right *via media* position betwixt the Conformists and the Separatists, or betwixt 'Popish tyranny and Independent anarchy,' or betwixt 'Episcopacy and Popular Confusion.'[2] Anyone who will take the pains to search through the memoirs of the 'Two Thousand' ejected Nonconformists and Separatists, in Calamy and Palmer, will find plentiful evidence of the anxiety of the Nonconformists to maintain the position that they were anti-Separatists, anti-Sectaries, or anti-Dissenters.

It has been forgotten by all the historians and controversialists that an important minority of the ejected 'Two Thousand' were not Nonconformists, but were already professed Separatists. Several Independent and Baptist preachers had been thrust into parochial cures by the patrons, and approved by the Triers. These 'Confessors' scorned the very conception of a visible National Church, or of a visible Parochial Church: yet each of them managed to find some casuistical absolution for his conscience while he was drawing the pay of a national and parochial pastor.[3] The autobio-

[1] *Life and Death of Mr. P. Henry*, 4th ed., 1765, pp. 119–122, 130. Zachary Crofton, who was imprisoned for Nonconformity, published his *Presbyter's Reordination by Bishops*. It was a letter 'resolving the case of conscience—whether a minister ordained by presbyters may with a good conscience be reordained by a bishop?' 4to, Lond. 1660.

[2] G. Gifford, 1590. *A Plain Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists.* Cf. the controversial pamphleteering between the Presbyterians and the Independent 'Five Brethren' in 1643 and 1644. *The Reformation of Church Government in Scotland*, by the Scotch Commissioners in London, 1644. Canne's *Necessity*, cxx, 74, B. Hanbury. *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*, 1839, i. 50, ii. 228, 229.

[3] They formed sects of their own party within the parishes, and considered these sects to be their Churches. George Fox tells us that the famous Baptist, John Tombes (who was one of the hyper-episcopal Triers, and was ejected from the vicarage of Leominster), 'was an Anabaptist preacher, and yet had a parsonage at Lemster. He said he had a wife, and he had a concubine; and his wife was the baptized people (Baptists), and his concubine was the world' (Churchmen, Presbyterians, Quakers, and all non-Baptist parishioners). A Quaker accused Tombes of having 'sued him for tithe-eggs, and other Friends for other tithes.' This was in 1657. Fox's *Journal*, 253, second paging. Wall, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, pays a high tribute to the scholarship of Tombes. In his *Apology for the Two Treatises on Infant Baptism* (4to, 1646, p. 66), Tombes had said that his sect 'must needs say the Churches that have no other than Infant Baptism are no true Churches, nor their members Church members.'

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graphical literature of the early Quakers is full of indignant references to the Independent and Baptist 'priests' who took tithes. The founder of Quakerism, during his missionary journey through the midland counties in 1655, found the Quakers cruelly ill-used by 'the wicked priests, Presbyterians and Independents. Great spoiling also was there of Friends' goods for tithes by the Independent and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests that had gotten into the steeple-houses, as books of Friends' sufferings do at large declare.'[1] In his epistle to 'Gathered Churches' (*i.e.* Independents and Baptists), in the same year Fox wrote, 'You are the devil's messengers, your fruits declare it—your taking tithes, augmentations, treble damages, midsummer dues, as ye call them, of them ye do no work for, nor minister to.' It is due to the honest Anabaptist, John Canne, to say that he protested against this taking of tithes by his fellow Separatists.[2] A manuscript account of the rise of Quakerism states that

'when the Presbyterians and Independents got into the Common-prayer parsonages, then they made fearful havock of us by spoyling our goods, and casting us into prison because we declared against their tithes. It can hardly be declared the cruel havock and spoyle the Presbyterians and Independents made. Their priests made poor people come up two hundred miles because they would not give fourpence for a hemp lock. They took the cow that gave them milk, their corne to make them bread, and the very beds they ley on, their cloathes and their children's cloathes, their oxen and horses they should plow withall, and their kettles, pots, and spoons, that they had not a pott to boyle their victuals with.'[3]

The renowned mystic, William Dell, who was ejected from

[1] p. 166.

[2] In his *Second Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers* (4to, 1653, p. 19), he wrote: 'To pay tithes to a National Ministry is to serve Antichrist. I observe that the Independents and Presbyterians do appear most for tithes. Heretofore, when some such men were not in a capacity to take tithes, by reason of subscription and nonconformity, they were against the thing, and held it superstitious and Judaical, as a learned knight reports. But the power of the prelates being since broken, their opinion now seems to be otherwise. Their practice, I am sure, speaks it so. Yet the truth is, neither of them, Presbyterian nor Independent, by the law of the land have any title to it' (pp. 10, 11). He adds, that Taylor, Hammond, Guaden and 'other service-readers of the old Popish way, as true to their principles, may pretend something to tithes' (p. 12).

[3] *How the Lord by His Power and Spirit did raise up Friends.* The late Mr. Barclay, the Quaker historian, who cites this passage, observes that the beneficed Separatists ejected in 1660 and 1662 were quite as bad as the beneficed Nonconformists. 'The Independents and Baptists, who took the places of the Common-prayer men and accepted State pay, did not manifest a whit better spirit than the Presbyterians.' *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 3rd ed., 1879, pp. 270, 271.

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the benefice of Yeldon, in Bedfordshire, and from the Mastership of Caius College, Cambridge, was a zealous opponent of the Presbyterian schemes of the Nonconformist. The Baptist and Quaker Separatists have both claimed him as their own. The Baptist historian says that 'Dell protested against making a whole kingdom a Church.'[1] Thomas Brooks, ejected from S. Mary Magdalen, Fish Street, in the City of London, was not a Nonconformist, but a Separatist. On his appointment as rector, in 1651, he tyrannically excommunicated the majority of the parish, and formed the minority into an independent sect. His high-handed proceeding brought him into conflict with the indignant parish, and with the beneficed Presbyterian ministers in the city.[2] Francis Holcroft, beneficed at Bassingbourn, was not a Nonconformist but a Dissenter. He 'fell in with the Congregational judgement, and became very zealous for it, so that he formed a Church upon that plan.' Though he held the parsonage and stipend of a parochial pastor, 'he was very much against holding Church communion with the parish churches. After the ejectment, Mr. Holcroft considered himself as being still pastor of his flock.'[3] Samuel Eaton, who was ejected from the living of Dukenfield, in Lancashire, was an Independent Separatist.[4] Cudworth, the Independent, who was ejected from Beeston, had attempted to force Independency upon the parish of Coley. The people would not have it, 'so he did nothing, and was forced to go away.'[5] Samuel Lee, who was ejected from S. Botolph, Bishopsgate, was an Independent, and after his ejection became minister of an Independent congregation at Newington Green, and later at Bristol in New England.[6] Paul Hobson, who was ejected from the chaplaincy of Eton College, was a Baptist Dissenter, and hence not a Nonconformist but a Separatist. He is supposed to have been an officer in the army, and Robinson mentions some scandalous indecencies committed by his soldiers in derision of infant baptism.[7] George Griffith, who was ejected from the Charterhouse, and a lectureship at S. Bartholomew's near the Royal

[1] T. Crosby, *History of the English Baptists*, i. 332.

[2] Palmer, i. 150–153. Dell and Brooks had been select preachers to the Parliament.

[3] Palmer, i. 259, 260.

[4] Palmer, ii. 361. Hunter (*Life of O. Heywood*, 64) says that he had fled to New England before the Civil War, returned to England when the war broke out, like others of the sect, and originated Independency in Manchester.

[5] Hunter, 84, 85. Palmer, iii. 423.

[6] Palmer, i. 104–106.

[7] Robinson, *History of Baptism*, 41. Crosby, *History of the English Baptists*, i. 226, iii. 26. Palmer, i. 300.

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Exchange, was not a Nonconformist, but 'an Independent in principle.'[1] Baxter mentions him as one of those Independents who after the Fire of London 'set up their meetings more openly.' Henry Jessey, who was ejected from the rectory of S. George's, Southwark, was a Baptist of considerable repute. Joseph Caryl, the ejected rector of S. Magnus, London Bridge, was an Independent. He had been one of the Triers. After his ejection, in 1662, he gathered a congregation in the neighbourhood of S. Magnus.[2] William Bartlet, ejected, in 1660, from the rectory of Bideford (to which the sequestered rector Gifford returned), is mildly described in Palmer's hagiology (ii. 5) 'as Congregational in his judgement.' Yet, in 1647, while holding a benefice in Wapping, he wrote a long treatise in which he attacked the theory of a National Church, and denied that 'the Church of England,' in which he held quasi-office and real pay, 'was a true Church for matter or form. How vain a thing it is,' he says, 'to expect a right gospel reformation in matters of visible worship throughout the kingdom, so long as the saints and servants of Jesus Christ, scattered up and down the kingdom, remain under a false, visible, National Church state.'[3] Ralph Venning, who was ejected from S. Olave, Southwark, was an Independent. Philip Nye, who had been one of the famous phalanx of 'the Dissenting Brethren,' in the Assembly of Divines, was ejected from the rectory of S. Bartholomew's near the Exchange, and after his ejection 'preached to a congregation of Dissenters.' John Rowe, ejected from Westminster Abbey, was an Independent; he had 'a congregation gathered there, of whom many were members of Parliament and persons of quality.' After 'the return of the ejected choristers to the Abbey, and of organs,' he moved with his wealthy Congregational sect to Bartholomew Close.[4]

An attempt has been made by modern Separatists to represent these Independent and Baptist intruders into rectories and vicarages as exceptional in their violation of their own Separatist principle. We are asked to bear in mind that 'a very large section of the Independents and Baptists entirely repudiated State-maintenance.'[5] It is awkward

[1] Palmer, i. 107. [2] Palmer, i. 144–148.

[3] *A Model of the Primitive Church Way*, 4to, 1647, p. 144.

[4] Palmer, i. 180. It was a frequent complaint of the Nonconformist Presbyterians that the Independent Separatists courted the wealthy and aristocratic.

[5] R. Barclay. *The Inner Life*, 205. A contemporary Quaker in 1660 stated the very opposite. John Braithwaite said that 'Babylon's cup of forced maintenance' by tithes and parochial benefices had 'not only

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that the exceptional section should include nearly all the eminent names in the contemporary annals of dissent. It is awkward that those Independents and Baptists for whom a share in the glories of Nonconformist confessorship is claimed, should have been exactly the men who were faithless to their own principles, as Separatists from the Church of the nation and the churches of the parishes. We have been at the pains to trace out the history of each of the twenty-five Independent preachers of the City of London, who, between the ejections of 1660 and the ejections of 1662, signed the address to Charles II., disowning the principles of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and expressing their loyal indignation at Venner's mad plot.[1] We have found that all these Congregationalist preachers, except three, although they were professedly Separatists from the parochial churches, were in possession of benefices of the National Church as quasi-pastors of the parishes.[2] We have already given the names of some of these casuistical hybrids who were at the same time pastors of Congregationalist sects, and 'priests,' as the Quakers reminded them, of parishes of a National Church. We find that George Cockayn, the eleventh of the signatories of this Congregational Union address to the king, was Rector of S. Pancras, Soper Lane. The nineteenth, Matthew Barker, was Rector of S. Leonard's, Eastcheap. The twentieth, Thomas Mallery, or Malory, was Incumbent of S. Nicholas, Deptford, and lecturer of S. Michael's, Crooked Lane; while the twenty-fourth on the list, Nathaniel Mather, was the non-resident Vicar of Barnstaple.[3] Dr. Stoughton,

enticed the Presbyterians and Independents, but the Baptists also have been partakers thereof.' 'It is but a small remnant,' he adds, 'that have escaped drinking of this cup of abomination.' *The Ministers of England weighed in the Balance of Equity* (4to, 1660, pp. 11, 12).

[1] *Renunciation and Declaration of the Congregational Churches and Preachers*, January 1660-61. Cf. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv. 311, 312.

[2] Thomas Coleman, of S. Peter's, Cornhill, one of the small Erastian party in the Westminster Assembly, pointed out to the House of Commons, as early as July 1645, that the Independents and other Separatists, in large numbers, were appropriating parochial endowments. 'Few of those men that have gathered congregations, but do take the revenue of one or more lectures besides, and this they do from them whom they own not as their flock. This they must needs do out of covetousness, or out of need.' *Hopes Deferred and Dashed*, 4to, 1645, p. 27. He adds, 'Under this notion of Independency, weavers and tailors may become pastors. Thousands in London can witness how many tradesmen have left their trades, and gathered churches. It becomes the refuge of men that fail.'

[3] He had been presented to the living by Oliver Cromwell. This absentee published an apologetic work with the characteristic title, *A Discussion of the Lawfulness of a Pastor's Officiating in Other Churches.*

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the Independent historian, seems to have been startled by the unexpected discovery that the only ejected ministers in whom his own sect can claim any share were not Nonconformists, but Separatists, and that they were ejected from offices which they had no right to occupy, and the obligations of which they refused to fulfil. 'Between Presbyterianism and an Establishment (the idea of Nonconformity, and the idea of a National or of a Parochial Church) there are strong affinities, but there are insuperable difficulties connected with the maintenance of Congregationalist order in a parish.' The Independents of New England solved these difficulties by employing the secular sword and whip to enforce their own ecclesiastical decrees. The Independents and Anabaptists of old England, in the seventeenth century, solved these difficulties by Puritanical casuistry. As Dr. Stoughton himself naively adds, with a tinge of the ancient Separatist casuistry, 'The only real kind of Congregational Church formed by any (Independent or Anabaptist) incumbent under the commonwealth *had to be practically severed* from the *legal* position which he held as a parochial clergyman.'[1] A Quaker adversary brought this against them as a charge, and no apology. 'The parishes, say they, are no Churches of Christ, but heaps of confusion and anti-Christian assemblies—with which their petty pamphlets are stuffed full, as were the writings of their predecessors formerly. Now let us see how true they are to their own principles.' The Quaker sees them 'frequently heading in worship the aforesaid people, getting up into their pulpits and places of oratory, carrying on their worship with them and for them. Yea, some of their elders become fixed teachers to these assemblies, one while serving that which they call the Church of God, and then by-and-by serving that which they call the world or an harlot. Did the Apostles, or any that were of the primitive Churches, enter into the idol's temple when the idolaters were at worship, and there officiate and carry on their worship for them, under a specious pretence of converting of them?'[2] The great mass of the English people, as so many parochial records bear witness, fretted under the cruel autocracy of these State-made pastors, and anyone who has made an honest study of the social history of that epoch will understand the almost frantic joy of the English parishes on the day of their liberation, when the font was once again freely opened for every child

[1] *The Church of the Restoration*, ii. 164.

[2] *A Brief Survey or Inquiry made into some Particular Proceedings of the Congregational Churches* (Giles Calvert, 4to, 1653, pp. 18, 19).



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born in the land, and when every Englishman was again told that he had a right to become Christ's Churchman. The Act of Uniformity pressed most cruelly upon the Nonconformists. The unwise and brutal course of legislation and policy which followed it pressed most cruelly upon both Nonconformists and Separatists, and converted Nonconformists and their children into Separatists.[1] But it must never be forgotten that the great majority of the English people—the English Church and the English State in the widest possible sense of these words—raised no protest against the Act of Uniformity, but welcomed it as an Act of Liberation of the Church from that State-control to which it had been subjected by the Long Parliament, the army, and the Protector.

The Independent and Baptist preachers, who were found in occupation of parochial cures at the restoration of the old Catholic organization, formed only a minority of the ejected 'confessors' of 1660 and 1662. They had no right, on their own principles, to such a title. The great majority of the 'Two Thousand' were beyond all doubt Nonconformists, and not Separatists. They regarded themselves as National Churchmen, not as Dissenters. A very considerable number of these, as Calamy himself grants, after a longer or shorter trial of Nonconformity, conformed. 'There were several of the London ministers who at first left their livings, but afterwards conformed.'[2] These penitents were not the least pious or learned amongst the 'Two Thousand.' We may instance Dr. John Conant, who had been a noted Puritan or Nonconformist before the Civil War, and who had sat in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.[3] In the *Nonconformists' Memorial* an imperfect list is given of those who conformed in each county. We find thirteen in Lancashire, sixteen in Yorkshire, nine in Cornwall, seven in Berkshire, eight in Cheshire, six in Derbyshire, twelve in Suffolk, and ten in Nottinghamshire—more than eighty in eight counties. Yet every one of these deliberate Conformists, as well as every anti-Separatist Nonconformist, is appropriated by the modern Separatist of the Congregational Union as a spiritual ancestor; each receives a two-thousandth portion of the eccentric saint-worship, which is offered in the Bicentenary

[1] The persecution of the Nonconformists and Separatists was mainly due, as George Fox thought, to the genuine panic which the rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men produced, not only in the Court and among the bishops, but throughout the whole 'city and nation.' *Journal*, 229, 230.

[2] Palmer, i. 195.

[3] *Biographia Brit.*, art. 'Conant,' iii. pp. 1433–1438. The MS. Life by Dr. Conant's son has since been printed.

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Hall and on the Liberationist platform; each is subsidized for political agitation against the Church of England.

Ejected Nonconformists, as distinct from the ejected Separatists, continued to uphold the traditional Puritan witness against Dissent or Separatism by their strict attendance at their parish churches, and by their regular participation in the parochial Eucharist. Although we have already illustrated their standpoint by citing Baxter and Philip Henry as witnesses, it will be in place here to cite a few less known fellow-witnesses. Zachary Crofton was ejected from S. Botolph, Aldgate. But although he was cruelly persecuted and even imprisoned for his nonconformity, he steadily refused to turn a Dissenter. Even while he was in gaol this consistent Nonconformist wrote a pamphlet against Dissent.[1] When he was at liberty he attended the public worship of the Church, 'though he himself, as a minister, could not use the Common Prayer or the Ceremonies.'[2] Peter Vincke, who was ejected from S. Michael's, Cornhill, took his stand upon the *via media* theory of the old Nonconformists. He kept up communion with the Church, 'whereupon, as he sometime observed, he incurred the anger of some that he went so far; and of others that he went no farther.'[3] Thomas Gouge, who was ejected from S. Sepulchre's, at once forebore preaching as well as ministering. The Welsh bishops, learning that he was in priest's orders, licensed him to preach in Wales. He regularly communicated at the parish churches, but remained a Nonconformist, refusing to celebrate the Eucharist, wear the surplice, or conform ministerially to the Book of Common Prayer.[4] John Ray, the famous naturalist, who had been Episcopally ordained, was a true Nonconformist. He regularly communicated at church, but would not minister. It is curious that Palmer—who is usually confused and

[1] *Reformation not Separation, or a Plea for Communion with the Church under those corruptions to which he cannot conform*, &c., 4to, 1660. It called forth a controversy, to which Crofton replied in his *Jerubaal Justified*, 4to, 1663.

[2] 'My resolution is to attend these corrupt administrations and that disorderly service of God' (p. 3). 'At present I have no choice. If I will attend God's solemn public worship I must do it in this place and order, or not at all' (p. 6). 'Their Common Prayer is my burden, by reason of its defects and disorder; yet I find in it no matter to which a sober, serious Christian may not say Amen' (p. 24). 'It is nauseous, but not venomous; puddled, but not poisonous' (p. 24). 'We are without a sufficient ground for Separation' (p. 26). He calls himself 'an *Anti-Sectarian*,' like 'the old *Nonconformists* who repelled and reproved the brainsick Brownists.'

[3] Palmer, i. 166.

[4] Abp. Tillotson preached his funeral sermon.



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unscientific in his nomenclature—when he is attempting to orientate Ray's position, stumbles as if by accident upon the true distinction, which is so rare in Dissenting literature. 'Strictly and properly speaking,' he observes, 'Ray was a *Nonconformist*, and not a *Dissenter*.'[1] Orme, the Dissenting biographer, had a glimpse of only one aspect of the true distinction when he said that 'the Brownists, as they have been nicknamed, were treated with great severity both by Churchmen and Nonconformists; they were the first consistent *Dissenters* from the Church of England.'[2] But by his uninquiring acceptance of the modern Dissenting assumption that the Nonconformists were not 'Churchmen,' and by his consequent qualification of the Separatists as '*consistent* Dissenters,' he shows that he was blind to another aspect of the distinction.[3] The dissent of the Nonconformists or Presbyterians, to use their own scholastic phraseology, was merely 'formal,' and left them free to keep within the National Church; whereas the dissent of the Separatists, Independents, Baptists, or Quakers was 'material,' and so compelled them to go outside the Church. We detect a similar mixture of perception and confusion in Mr. Barclay's attempt to orientate the nomenclature of ecclesiastical controversy. He rightly says that 'it is of the utmost importance to have a clear view of the origin and the distinct character of the religious opinions of the persons who are termed *Puritans* (he should add, or *Nonconformists*), 'and to distinguish them from those of the people called *Separatists*, *Brownists*, *Barrowists*, and afterwards *Independents* and *Congregationalists*, and those again who are termed *Anabaptists* or *Baptists*.' He tells us that throughout his own volume 'the word *Puritan* is used in its original meaning, viz. of a person who desired the reform of the Church of England in a Presbyterian sense. The application of the word (since the ejection of the 2,000 Puritan ministers from the Established Church in 1662) to *any* Nonconformist has led to serious misconception.'[4] He ought to have said 'to any Separatist.' We need hardly say that not a single Nonconformist among the 'two thousand' ever believed that he was ejected from the Established Church, while several of them, on Mr. Barclay's showing, had no right whatever to the title of

[1] I. 274. The italics are his own.

[2] *Memoirs of J. Owen, D.D.*, 1820, p. 60.

[3] He is more clear on p. 6. 'The great mass of the early Puritans, and even of the later Nonconformists, were not *Dissenters* from the Church's constitution, but *Nonconformists* to some of its requisitions.' The italics are Orme's own.

[4] *The Inner Life*, p. 11.

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Puritans, as they were Independents and Baptists. His own treatment involves him in a mass of misconceptions, since it starts with the assumption that 'the Established Church' was made by the Tudors, and was consequently not so old as 'the idea of a Church' which the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers 'embodied.' He says elsewhere, 'From the period of the ejection of the 2,000 nonconforming ministers the terms *Puritan, Dissenter, Nonconformist,* were applied to all the Free Churches indiscriminately; but these terms were totally inapplicable to the ancient Independent and Baptist Churches, and to the Society of Friends. They never had any connection with the Church of England, and no modification of a Church connected with the State would have satisfied them:' albeit—he should have added—the most eminent and famous of the Independents were beneficed as rectors, vicars, and lecturers of the English Church. 'With the ejected Presbyterians as Puritans,' he rightly adds, 'the case was different. They were constantly looking forward to the time when, by some shifting of the political parties, they would again be included in the State Church. They were prepared to meet the Anglican party half way. In some Presbyterian societies this was actually contemplated in the trust-deeds of their chapels.'[1]

Writers upon the Anglican side have been equally careless and unscientific in their nomenclature. Thus the late Mr. Lathbury, knowing that the Presbyterians of his own age were Dissenters or Separatists, applied the latter term indiscriminately to the Puritans or Nonconformists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 'Cartwright, the Lady Margaret professor at Cambridge,' he says, 'was one of the chief leaders of the Separatists.'[2] The exact reverse was true. Thomas Cartwright, the greatest of the Nonconformists, was the chief opponent of the Separatists.[3] 'Though Cartwright was previously a strong Presbyterian,' says Mr. Lathbury, 'he died in the bosom of the Church of England.' He never left the Church. 'The grand design' (of Cartwright and Travers), says T. Fuller, 'was to set up a discipline in a discipline, Presbytery in Episcopacy' (A.D. 1584, p. 142). Every honoured Nonconformist teacher and confessor from the early Noncon-

[1] P. 588.

[2] *A History of the English Episcopacy*, 1836, p. 47. He accuses Neal and Brooks of being 'slipshod' in their use of the term Puritan, but his corrections are as bad as their faults. See pp. 54–56.

[3] See what the Separatists said of T. Cartwright. Hanbury, *Hist. Memorials of Independency*, i. 35. Bp. Stillingfleet, *Unreason of Separation*, 3rd ed., 1682, p. 28.

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formist agitation for supremacy over the Church to the later Nonconformist demand for comprehension within the Church, protested against any degree of Separatism or actual Dissent. When Dr. Copcote, a Conformist opponent of Cartwright at Cambridge, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, 1584, charged the Nonconformists with saying that 'the Church of England was no Church but after a sort,' the Nonconformists retorted that this was a slander, and they could appeal to their antagonism against the Brownists and Anabaptists as a proof of their resolute Churchmanship. 'We hold the Church of England,' they replied, 'for a true Church, from which no man may separate himself.'[1] They doubtlessly held that the Common-Prayer-Book of the National Church contained a theology and a humanity which needed much reforming. They held that the Church's doctrinal *form*, as well as its disciplinary *form*, needed to be more emphatically Protestantized, Puritanized, Calvinized, narrowed. They regarded it as too catholic, too liberal, too widely national, too widely parochial—too 'Arminian.'[2] But the English Nonconformists never held nor taught, at any point in their history, that the doctrinal and disciplinary faults in the Church, as they thought them, were sufficiently anti-Christian to justify separation from the National Church and the erection of a sect. Thomas Fuller bore witness to the resolution with which two successive generations of Puritans or Nonconformists, in spite of persecution on one side and flattering invitations on the other side, would neither give up their Nonconformity nor their Churchmanship. 'The prime of the first set of Puritans, which, being very aged, expired for the most part about this time, when, behold, another generation of active and zealous Nonconformists succeeded them, inveighing against the established Church-discipline, accounting everything from Rome which was not from Geneva, endeavouring in all things to *conform the government of the English Church* to the Presbyterian reformation'—that is to say, not to set up a new and rival Church. As Heylin uncharitably put it, when speaking of the Separatists, 'Their more cunning brethren (the Nonconformists) kept within the pale of the Church.'[3] If a Puritan incumbent was imprisoned or deprived for nonconformity, for disobedience to his ordinary, for not wearing the surplice, for

[1] *A Defence of the Reasons of the Counterpoison for the maintenance of the Eldership, against an Answer made by Dr. Copequot*, 8vo, 1586, *n.p.*

[2] *The Church History of Great Britain*, Book IX., vol. iii. p. 81, fol. 1655.

[3] *Hist. Presbyt.*, Book VIII., § 23.

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mutilating the prescribed service, for autocratically imposing upon his parish a foreign Genevan ritual, for refusing to baptize a child because he held its parents not to be within the covenant of grace, or for any other plea—he never left the Church of England; or, if he did, he was no longer counted a Nonconformist. By the act of schism he passed out of the regiment of the Nonconformists into the hostile army of the Separatists or Dissenters. A man ceased to be a Nonconformist in the very moment in which he became a Separatist.

## ART. X.—POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF CURATES.

1. *Report of Sub-Committee of the Curates' Alliance on Tenure and Status of the Unbeneficed Clergy.* (London, 1882.)
2. *The Church and her Curates.* (Gardner: London, 1877.)
3. *Reports of Curates' Augmentation Fund.* (London, 1867–81.)

THE movement which has within the last few months attracted a considerable deal of notice, at all events in ecclesiastical circles, and which, under the name of 'The Curates' Alliance,' aims at promoting the more special interests of the unbeneficed parochial clergy, has, if not very successful in gaining general support, still done good service in calling the attention of churchmen to certain disadvantages and anomalies in the position of the assistant curates, which, however impossible, by any means hitherto suggested, to correct, still advance a claim, which cannot be made too prominent, upon the sympathy, the good will, and the considerate regard of all. The disadvantages they labour under, as compared to those who have passed from their ranks into independent posts in the Church, may be admitted by everyone, while the extent of these disadvantages, as experienced by the least fortunate in the way of promotion, may be appreciated by very few; and the discussing of the matter cannot fail to bear good fruit in some directions, if not in those immediately proposed.

With these convictions, we are certainly not of those who regard the establishment of the Curates' Alliance as a sort

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of clerical trades-union, framed to organize the agitation of 'servants' against 'employers' (we use the society's own terms) in ecclesiastical work. On the contrary, we welcome heartily the discussions on the subject, however we may regret their apparent barrenness of practical suggestion. Neither the curates nor the incumbents can be 'wise at once' on any newly mooted subject, and all contributions to general thought on such a subject as this, with all possible intercommunication of opinion, must be of value to the cause of true religion which both the parties concerned have really at heart.

If, then, the proposals for reform which the Alliance has put forth, and which we are about to examine in some of the following pages, betray a certain lack of thought and judgment, we must bear in mind that, from the nature of the case, the movement is the movement of young men, who put forth so much of the truth as is in them on these important topics, and who, in exercising their undoubted rights of free discussion, may, though failing to convince us of the wisdom of their proposals, lay good claim to gratitude for giving us much that is worth our while to think over and to lay to heart.

The newly formed society appointed a sub-committee from their number 'to examine into the security of tenure and diocesan *status* of the unbeneficed clergy of the Established Church of England.' Their report, received and adopted by the Curates' Alliance, is now before us, containing a number of recommendations, prefaced by certain observations, which we will proceed to examine *seriatim*.

Some of these are framed upon suggestions made by supporters of the Curates' Augmentation Fund, the work of which most valuable society we shall have an opportunity of referring to further on, in proposing, as we shall venture to do, a new measure for remedying some of the evils complained of by the unbeneficed clergy, and, as we think, a more hopeful one than those which hitherto have been suggested by themselves.

The 'observations' with which the sub-committee of the Curates' Alliance introduce their proposals for reform touch indeed some very manifest difficulties, but show no true appreciation of the one characteristic impediment which lies immovably across any path whatever of reform such as the sub-committee advocates. They protest against 'the beneficed clergy, with a life tenure of office, having almost autocratic power, while the unbeneficed are servants liable to capricious dismissal;' but they entirely leave out of view the fact that

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there is no compulsion whatever on the beneficed clergy to employ curates at all, and that, in proportion as they limit the powers of the beneficed employers to suit themselves in the labour market, they limit the demand for the unbeneficed employed. This, so far as regards the manner of their treatment, which we greatly question *as a rule* to be either autocratic or capricious. The committee also, with regard to the promotion of assistant curates, entirely leaves out of sight the important fact that the men who give titles for orders *are entirely different men* from those who have benefices to confer as supposed rewards of special merit.

And in the same paragraph of the preliminary observations we must also notice a remarkable assumption. It is couched in the following terms: 'It cannot fail to act injuriously on the Church, when so large a body of ministers is compelled to consider *the will of the incumbent* . . . in preference to *the good of the parish* to which they (the curates) are sent by the bishops, *whose delegates they legally are.*' We beg to ask, 'Who is *responsible* for the good of the parish in all its management?' The incumbent evidently, not the curate; and the responsibility both to man and God is very grave and serious. No curate should (whether anyone try to compel him or no) consider the incumbent's will rather than the good of the parish; sooner than submit to such compulsion the conscientious curate should resign any post whatsoever. But, considering the unquestionable responsibility of the incumbent for all measures taken in his parish, whether by himself or his nominees, he *must* be regarded as a better judge of what is or is not for the good of the parish than the curate, who may dissent, indeed, from his opinion, but has no responsibility whatever.

And the sentence we have quoted must be still further examined, and not allowed to pass unchallenged. To say that an assistant curate is sent to a parish by the bishop is certainly true in a canonical sense, but not exactly, or at all, in the sense the Committee of the Curates' Alliance ventures to assign to it. That 'no man may take upon himself to minister in the congregation except he be sent thereto by those having authority for the purpose' will be admitted by every one who has signed the XXIII. Article of Religion; but no man is 'sent' by the bishop, so far as ordination sends him, until some one else has found him place and function. The bishop's appointment is dependent on, and subject to, the incumbent's appointment. Nay more; the bishop, if he would, has no power to 'send' any man to minister in any

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place without the nomination of the incumbent; and if he have no such power, it is plainly an abuse of terms to imply, as this sentence does, that in opposing the 'will of the incumbent' (without whom the bishop cannot 'send' at all) to the sanction of the bishop as ordainer merely, the curate has any episcopal authority, if he think fit, to oppose the action of the incumbent.

And there is no excuse to be found for this extraordinary suggestion in the fact that the sentence may have been drawn by an inexperienced hand, and the report have been adopted and sent in by the committee, and accepted and published by the Alliance, without anyone noting, in a well-rounded sentence, the very questionable meaning of the words employed. For there can be no excuse of oversight on anyone's behalf for the still stronger expression with which the paragraph ends, '*whose delegates they legally are.*'

For these words mean, if they mean anything, that, as against the incumbent, the curate is a representative of the bishop. It argues a singular misapprehension of the whole subject to imagine such a thing possible. The bishop authorizes the curate to exercise, under certain conditions, a *curate's* functions; but he in no respect whatever, for that reason, transfers to the curate his own episcopal authority. He invests him with a function, but does not delegate his own, any more than a tailor who supplies a man with a coat authorizes his customer to draw cheques in his name by doing so. The whole statement is a grave error in fact, in conception, and in expression, and cannot fail to do, as it has done, most serious injury to the cause, good in itself, which the Alliance has taken in hand.

Though we feel it part of our duty to point out the inherent weakness of judgment, and indeed superficiality of thought, which have suggested and published these observations, we are very far from denying that the position of stipendiary curates is in many points deserving of the heartiest sympathy, and of every conceivable amelioration, both as regards the present and the future. What we do take vigorous exception to is the too common assumption that persons or classes are to be blamed for these conditions, rather than the circumstances in which they are placed, and the plain nature of things.

Nor should we find fault with an inconsiderate, or even a fanciful, exaggeration of statements, if made to attract more public attention to a really pressing subject, did any means suggested by the committee seem to hold out the faintest

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prospect of correcting the conditions of which complaint is made.

We will briefly examine the 'practical suggestions' offered, which would be well worthy of consideration and adoption if the adjective prefixed could be found applicable to the case.

I. The first, indeed the be-all and end-all of the matter, the cardinal condition on which the whole report hinges, seems to us so absolutely hopeless as to virtually conclude the whole matter. We are told that, as it is desirable that *in no case* curates should be paid by the incumbents, '*it is of primary importance* that there should be created in each diocese a fund out of which the assistant clergy should be paid.' For this purpose, we are informed (Appendix I. to Report), that 'in order to supply 5,000 assistant clergy with stipends, beginning at 150*l.* per annum and gradually increasing to 250*l.* per annum, it will be necessary to create a fund of not less than one-seventh of the whole annual income of the Church of England. This is certainly not too large a proportion to expend upon the efficiency of the 5,000 additional clergy whom it has been found necessary to ordain.' Of course this is not too much to expend, but that is not the question which arises, and on which the whole suggestion depends; namely, where is the money to come from, and who are the people likely to contribute it? An annual sum equal to a seventh of the whole income of the Church of England may be put roughly at 700,000*l.* Neither that amount nor anything like it can be reckoned upon from voluntary sources as an annual contribution. While, were it to take the form of an endowment, and were any security available that any endowment whatever would be suffered to exist for one single century, the raising of the sum required would imply a voluntary gift of something like fourteen millions of money!

It might be said that the sum now contributed for curates' stipends would be available; but this could only apply to a comparatively small part of such funds. The Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Additional Curates Society together dispose of about 130,000*l.* a year, which possibly might, if a good administrative plan were adopted for its distribution, be counted on as a nucleus for the fund. But the incumbents, who contribute the mass of present stipends with a power of choosing their own fellow-workers, could never be expected (and if they were they would disappoint the expectation) to continue their contributions for the mere purpose of having practically irremovable curates placed in their parishes by the bishops. The result, even supposing such a plan were tried,

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would be curious. For every 'incompatible' unremoved an amount of money equal to his stipend would drop off from the fund, for no man would continue voluntarily to provide, in paying to any fund, the sinews of war which should support an opponent in his own parish; and, these lapses from contribution being for the most part final, the fund itself in course of time would disappear.

And, apart from personal disagreements, doctrinal disagreements would affect the fund in the same way, but with more rapid effect. Every contributor to such a fund as is suggested who might ever be displeased or alarmed at innovations introduced and persisted in by curates 'on the advance,' would take an early opportunity of terminating his subscription, and the fund again would fall to pieces.

But we need not discuss these possibilities any further in the face of the antecedent hopelessness of getting together by *voluntary* means (since national means are out of the question) anything conceivably like the enormous sum which we are very candidly told it is of 'primary importance' to collect in order to carry out the reforms suggested in the report. If the raising of the fund be of 'primary importance' to the initiation of the reform, it is plain the reforms must wait till the fund be collected, and discussion meanwhile must be but waste of energy.

Of course the committee who drew up the proposals of the Curates' Alliance may urge against the impossibility we assert of 'creating' a fund to pay all the assistant clergy,[1] that the sums now expended for that purpose by the beneficed clergy should be included.

We have, however, shown that, so long as those sums are voluntarily provided by incumbents, there could be no security to-morrow for the fund depending on it, even were all present incumbents willing to fall in with it to-day. The only manner in which it could be conceivably raised and secured from them would be by compulsory contribution.

And suppose they submitted to this; its effect would simply be to divide large livings into a number of small endowments, and to leave livings of large extent but of small value, whose incomes could not be subdivided, without any assistant clergy at all.

[1] The proposal says 'in each diocese,' but the measure would have to be general, not local; otherwise in a rich diocese too much might be contributed (though that, we think, rather improbable), while in a poor one the comparative smallness of the provision made might deprive the Church of any sufficiency of curates whatever. A national fund alone could meet the case.

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For the members of the Alliance, or of its committee, have left out of view one very important consideration, that a large number of extensive and laborious livings at the present time are held by men who spend their entire ecclesiastic incomes, and often very much more, in supplying material provision for the spiritual needs of their parishes. How many large parishes, nominally richly endowed, are declined over and over again by unbeneficed men, from the feeling that to undertake them on the clerical income alone, however nominally large, would result in diminution of spiritual provision for the people or in pecuniary disaster for the minister.

If, therefore any compulsory method could be adopted of requiring all incumbents to supply to a Diocesan Board funds for paying the stipends either of all the assistant clergy now employed, or of all whom a bishop or Diocesan Committee might consider should be employed in each parish, it would be very soon found that a large number of present curates could not be supported at all, and the difficulties in the way of securing independent posts, or any posts whatever, by unbeneficed men would be multiplied instead of being diminished.

For no compulsion could ever touch incumbents' private income; and *a very large proportion* (very greatly more than is generally supposed) of the whole sum earned by unbeneficed men in England is derived from this voluntary and honourable source.

In this connection we offer the following striking figures. The admirable statistical calculations of the Rev. A. Mackreth Deane, published by the Curates' Augmentation Fund in *The Church and her Curates* (a work now unfortunately out of print), give 687,000*l.* as the sum spent on stipends of 5,500 unbeneficed men—an average of 125*l.* each. Of these the Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Additional Curates' Society, by their own funds *and those which their grants elicit from others* (many of whom are beneficed clergy), supply stipends for 1,225 curates, say 150,000*l.* a year, leaving 37,000*l.* to cover contributions towards the provision of curates' stipends by laymen, unconnected with the societies formed for the purpose (and this is a large margin, for in nearly every case they know their gift would be doubled by sending it through a society). It is not too much to say that all the rest of the money, 500,000*l.* a year, comes out of the pockets of the beneficed clergy by voluntary gift.

These figures must be quite conclusive in showing that, even were it universally granted that all the *clerical incomes* of beneficed men should be made chargeable to a Diocesan

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Curates' Fund, the vast amount spent voluntarily for curates' stipends by beneficed men *out of private income* could never be made chargeable to the extent of one single farthing.

II. In turning to another point of reform proposed, the desirability of establishing Collegiate Churches, managed by a Provost and Fellows instead of a Rector and Curates, we feel again that we are being led at once beyond the bounds of the practical. For such an arrangement must imply three antecedent conditions, none of which is at the present time within measurable distance: namely, endowments to support the fellows; irremovability; and such an independence (resulting from irremovability) as must alter the whole parochial system. If the endowments, a first condition, be not available, the thing cannot be done. If they be available, the parish may even now be divided into districts, when the 'Fellows' will be incumbents, as irremovable and independent of the 'Provost' as they can desire, and lifted out of the category of 'stipendiary curates' altogether.

Unless this be admitted to be a better plan than the other, the proposal would seem to tend towards giving all the advantage of independence to the Fellows, and leaving all the burden of responsibility to the Provost.

For it will be noted that the 'Fellowships' under the 'Provost' are distinctly spoken of as 'independent and desirable posts,' which last they certainly would be in terms of the proposition.

III. The proposal, again, of providing houses, partly furnished, for the curates is excellent in its way, but can only be carried out when endowments are provided from other than present sources; since any other arrangement would simply be regarded by those asked to contribute to the building and furnishing fund, as a rate in aid to the incumbent to obtain a curate on cheaper terms than where he had to provide his own residence.

On the other hand, once such houses were provided, the tendency of turning the 'Curatage' into a Vicarage, and the curacy into an Ecclesiastical district, would naturally operate just as the tendency towards separating districts does to-day; and with special force, as directly removing one of the complaints made by the Alliance of the difficulty experienced by curates in obtaining independent posts.

IV. The suggestions with regard to changes in the power of incumbents to dismiss curates are two in number. The first, that assistant curates should make themselves acquainted with the existing law on the subject (which is a matter of

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self-evident common sense), has been made very simple by the appending to the Report of clause 95 of the Act (1 and 2 Vict. cap. 106, sec. 95), which in a few words supplies the information. But when we come to examine it, we are rather at a loss to understand what more, under present conditions, short of permanent tenure, can be reasonably claimed than the law already gives. All assistant curates are appointed by incumbents; none would be appointed at all if irremovable. No curate can be arbitrarily dismissed by the incumbent who appointed him with a shorter notice than six months; and then the bishop may absolutely refuse to require his removal, if he see fit. Supposing the case of a rector suddenly losing all the private property out of which he had been paying the stipend of a curate, his clerical income would certainly be liable for six months' stipend to the curate; while, on the other hand, the curate, wishing to dismiss his rector, to change his sphere, or to take a living, is only bound to give three months' notice of his intention to leave.

And this, though not at all stated as a grievance on the other side, is a point worthy of consideration, inasmuch as, though the number of unemployed curates may be greater than most people have been in the habit of supposing, the difficulty of finding occupants for the less eligible posts, and in the less sought-for dioceses, is often very great indeed; and though a man be reminded that there are as good fish in the sea as ever were caught, he knows also by experience that he himself has no assurance of catching them.

The second suggestion on this point is as follows, 'That in order to check vexatious and unreasonable dismissals, the curate should have the power of requiring the incumbent to state in writing, in the same terms in which he had stated them to the bishop, his reasons for terminating his curate's engagement.' As a matter of simple candour and frankness, we have not a word to say against this proposition; but, as a practical measure, likely to lengthen by a single month any engagement which either party felt it desirable to terminate, it is inconceivable that it could have any appreciable effect. For misconduct, to the honour of our Christian ministry be it said, there is never much need to remove a man, and in the infinitesimal number of exceptional cases, he removes himself without notice at all. But in a profession where, more than in any other, two cannot walk together unless they be agreed, very many reasons, most difficult to define, and which will suggest themselves to our readers, may combine to render a change of curate desirable without its becoming at all neces-

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sary, or doing the slightest good, to make each one of those reasons public.

Suppose, from whatever cause, in the event of difference of opinion between curate and incumbent, both parties feel that not merely their own personal relations, but, what is of unspeakably greater importance, the Christian interests of the parishioners are jeopardized: how would the curate require the incumbent to couch the 'terms' of dismissal? And, however couched, would not their spirit most assuredly be misrepresented or misinterpreted? The practical result would be the same in any case; if unremoved, the curate's position as well as the incumbent's would, through strained relations, become utterly intolerable, and the parishioners made the greatest sufferers of all.

And, the parish itself being the chief concern, far beyond that of either curate or incumbent, the proposed remedy which might lie in the bishop's power of preventing a curate's dismissal would be entirely ineffectual; since, no matter how capricious or vexatious the character and conduct of the incumbent might be, as long as he was irremovable himself, no bishop would conceivably, in the interests of the parish, force upon him for a permanence any fellow worker, however excellent, with whom he found himself out of general agreement.

It may be urged that in cases where such caprice were plain to the bishop, he might refuse to license another curate to such an incumbent. This would injure the parish itself all the more in proportion to the demerits of the incumbent, and would also counteract the objects of the Curates' Alliance, by diminishing the number of posts available for assistant curates to occupy.

V. The next suggestion is based on the statement that there is reason to fear that, under the present system, the bishops know little of the assistant clergy of their dioceses, except in some casual way.

We will touch upon this misfortune itself, before examining its suggested remedy.

Considering that there are 30 bishops[1] and 5,300 assistant curates, scattered over 37,000,000 acres of space, we find that each bishop has, in his diocese, on an average (not counting changes and fluctuations to and from other dioceses), 276 assistant curates, located over an average space of 1,250,000 acres. Is it at all a matter of wonder or blame if he 'know

[1] We leave out Sodor and Man from calculation, as that diocese has only 31 benefices and 14 curates, all of whom are probably known to the bishop.

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but little' of them individually? How is it possible that he can know much of them? Or even much more than at present? If he went about each Sunday of his life to hear one fresh one preach, it would take, allowing for changes and new ordinations, more than four years of his time; and a man's pulpit powers, be it remembered, go for only one factor out of many in estimating not merely his general fitness for any post at all, but his special fitness for each special post as, at rare intervals, it becomes vacant, and a bishop has power to appoint. To know much more than he does at present of his assistant clergy is only possible on the assumption that such a diocese as Sodor and Man were typical in its extent; but even then the curate's case would be no bettered by the bishop's personal knowledge, since the proportion of vacant preferments to assistant curates employed would not be altered in the least.

By way of a remedy for this necessarily imperfect personal knowledge the bishops have of the assistant curates (a misfortune, we admit, but lying in the very nature of things), the Curates' Alliance suggests a course which a little consideration will show they are quite mistaken in declaring would 'obviate the disadvantage.'

For the recommendation made 'that the bishops should keep formal registers of the assistant clergy, recording the length of their services in the Church, *in England and abroad*, and their incidental contributions to its efficiency, *also taking into account their intellectual attainments*,' would be perhaps admitted to be desirable, but should first be proved to be possible.

Let us consider what this implies. Bishops at the present time, certainly in most cases, keep their own private registers, with their own annotations, relative to the clergy who are licensed in their dioceses. And this alone, even in the baldest form, gives the busiest men of their age, which bishops are, a very large share of laborious work. But that each bishop should have to do this, not only with regard to his own diocesan share of the assistant curates, but also with regard to thirty times the number, not one of whom was antecedently certain ever to take a post in his diocese, is as far beyond all reason to require as it is beyond all possibility to do.

Nor, if practicable and practised, would it be of the least avail; for, be it remembered, *such a register exists already*. There is not a bishop on the bench whose study table is without a *Crockford*, and that admirable and comprehensive work supplies (on terms of great advantage to the assistant curates,



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since it publishes their own statement of their services) just the very particulars which we are told the bishops ought to be continually registering relative to the special class of the clergy whose case we are discussing. If this information be at the hand of every bishop now, and yet it be feared he knows too little of his assistant curates, we cannot think that practically to copy out the appalling list would in the slightest degree obviate the difficulty.

VI. The claim that every ordained man should have a vote in electing Proctors to Convocation has a share of reason in its sound. But its effect would probably be the extinction of any real power which Convocation has recovered or may recover; since it would tend more or less to make the voice of Convocation echo, as unquestionable doctrine, whatever cry might be newest or loudest among the brood of ecclesiastical fledglings, rather than what the sound and ripe wisdom of quiet, skilled, and serious theologians might uphold.

We think a reform might indeed be made in this matter; in the direction of giving a vote for Convocation to every man, beneficed or otherwise, who had been in orders for a certain fixed number of years, *and to no others.*

We have thus gone carefully through the practical, or the assumedly practical, measures proposed by the Alliance, with the result, we regret to say, of finding very little prospect of their attainment, or very little hope of their benefitting the parties concerned, if attained. The uncertainty of tenure of any single post must, we fear, always exist while there are differences of character, feeling, temper and efficiency in different men. Short of automatic action, of Procrustean measurement, and of unvariable environment, this must always be the case. Of course we are not concerned to say, indeed it would be most unjust even to think, that faults or deficiencies in any of these matters are by any means always on the curate's side.

But there is one measure the omission of which from the programme strikes us as requiring remark, since it is the obviously first indispensable requisite for the correction of what seems to be the truest grievance of all those debated; namely, the uncertainty of obtaining independent posts, or, in a word, promotion to benefices. The Curates' Alliance does not propose that no curate shall be appointed to a benefice before serving as a curate the average number of years.

Another of the Rev. R. Mackreth Deane's excellent papers in *The Church and her Curates*, that on 'The Rate of Promotion,' shows us that the period is no shorter than

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*twelve years.* As there are no present means of multiplying the benefices, or diminishing the demand for curates, the only clear way to set the alleged wrong right would be to prohibit any one from holding a living at all till he had served that length of time as a curate. But we greatly question whether the majority of the gentlemen forming the Curates' Alliance would dream of undertaking even a much smaller disability than this, and submitting to a rule which should prevent any man's institution to a benefice above 200*l.* a year till he had passed, let us say, ten years in active work.

In fact, such a self-denying ordinance is not in human nature, and, were it carried out, there would be soon a dearth of candidates for orders. But the placing the matter in this light will remind us that after all incumbents are only curates moved on, and that the parties ready, in the subordinate condition, to complain to-day of the more successful class would not hesitate to join their ranks and share their odium to-morrow if they had the chance; though their doing so, before completing the average time of service, would from their previous point of view be of prejudice to the curates' interests which they are now, very rightly, concerned to advance.

The Alliance, however unsuccessful, so far, in the enforcement of its views with regard to other people, has been of service, in one way at least, by teaching its members to provide to some extent for themselves.

For out of its discussions has arisen, as a kindred, but not an actually identical, work, the Clergy Friendly Society, founded to enable them to make provision for payment of stipends during sickness and incapacity to officiate. This is excellent in its way, and we wish the measure, which is really a practical one, and far more reasonable and hopeful than the others proposed, every possible extension and success. With such a society the curate may feel himself tolerably secure of existence, if not of dignity and wealth. While well, he will earn his stipend; when sick, he will have his sick pay; so that, during all his working life he may feel fairly secure from want. But when the working life is over and old age comes on, he must seek for something further in the way of pension, the consideration of which leads us, by a natural transition, to the subject of the Curates' Augmentation Fund. A development of the Curates' Augmentation Fund, which would really enable it to carry out its first idea—that is, to give to every unbeneficed curate *while still at work*, after fifteen or sixteen



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years of service, 100*l.* a year (not really as a dole or favour, but as a public recognition of service)—would of course provide directly the first requisite for a satisfactory adjustment of the great, and in no other way remediable, inequality which exists, and must always exist, between the professional fortunes of different individuals in the Christian ministry. And it seems rather strange that this most admirable society, highly appreciated as it is both for its intentions and its achievements, should be obliged to limit its annual stipends (for they should not be called benefactions) to only 50*l.* a year instead of 100*l.*, and should be able to pay those sums over to only 250 clergymen out of more than 1,000 still at work as unbeneficed curates after fifteen years of service.

We cannot but look with hopeful confidence to a great strengthening of this society; but we can think of nothing more likely to swell its funds and extend its benefits than to show to those who are asked to support it some supplementary prospect of aid from another direction, both in lessening the number of claimants on its funds, and in shortening of the period during which the claims are likely to be made.

For there is this unavoidable incompleteness in the operations of the Curates' Augmentation Fund: whatever it pays is, and must be, almost without exception, paid to the man *still in work*, and the recipients of its stipends may, at the best, look for their receipt with tolerable security only from the age of forty till incapacitated by sickness or old age from active service. But, when that time comes, when their work and earnings end, their supplements from the Augmentation Fund must, as a rule, end also, and the poor men who have lived a life of struggle, with little possibility of doing more than barely paying their way, are left entirely unprovided. Contributors to the Augmentation Fund must often, for this reason, limit their liberality from a sense of its necessary final insufficiency; while, could they see a way in which the needs of infirm old age could be securely provided for, they would make more cheerful, because more hopeful, efforts at bridging over the time of what are generally lessening earnings as the unbeneficed man grows old.

It will be plain to our readers that this line of thought touches the often mooted, never settled, and most difficult subject of a pension fund for the unbeneficed. Knowing how generally thoughtless all young folk are as to providing for possible but very distant needs, we doubt that good men are often kept out of the ministry from fear of destitution in old age; but we have no doubt whatever that they would be

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more hopeful in entering it, and more happy throughout their course, if they knew that, however small their fortunes as to preferment might prove, they were secure, when their active strength failed, of a sufficient sustenance to live.

But how can any such thing be assured? Are the requisite funds to come from national sources? Impossible. The nation has long ago divorced itself from any cost for the Established Church and its ministry. Are they to come from private benevolence? Then it will, and must be, precarious and insecure. The zeal that might contribute large annual subscriptions to-day, which would seem to assure a certain future pension to all new candidates for the ministry, might slacken of itself, or be alienated to-morrow by some new vagaries on the part of some new generation of divines; the fund might dwindle and the provision fail. Or, even were this not the case, the contributions, while largely supplementing the sort of work done by the Curates' Augmentation Fund, would be sure to diminish its power of working, since a large part of those contributions would certainly be withdrawn from the Augmentation to swell the Pension Fund; and in proportion as Peter was thus robbed to pay Paul, the proposed method would be a failure. Or, lastly, the better provision promised, but not perfectly secured, would attract more men into the ministry, who would increase the number of claimants on the fund, and tend to multiply the misery it was meant to lighten.

Even laying these objections aside, there is one far graver that makes against the possibility of any Pension Fund yet proposed being anything better than a spasmodic success. It is the stern but sound economical objection that, however well deserved by the pensioners, such a fund would be dependent upon other people, instead of upon themselves. *The only hope of anything stable and effectual being accomplished must lie in the direction of self-aid;* and that of *absolute* not of *partial* self-aid. That alone can effect the purpose required, while the establishment of a good Pension Fund *by the clergy themselves* will greatly stimulate efforts in other directions by loyal friends of the Church, while obviating the objections we have indicated against all other schemes.

'The principle is undoubtedly sound,' we hear our reader say to himself, 'but the practice is impossible; if the poor clergy themselves are to provide from their own small resources a retiring pension for old age, it will be a failure. A few who have means (and want pensions least) may undertake to do it for themselves; but the many, whose

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needs through working life are pressing, will neither have the means, the self-denial, nor the perseverance, to deduct continual large cantles from their small earnings in order to provide subsistence for the time of infirmities which they may never suffer, and old age which they may never see—the proof of which view lies in the fact that they do not do it now.'

At first blush this seems very good common sense. And yet we are bold to beg the careful attention of our readers to a proposal, which seems to us a hopeful one, of establishing and supporting *with the curates' own money* a Pension Fund, which will perfectly secure 100*l.* a year to every man henceforth to be ordained, who at any date after sixty years of age shall be holding no clerical benefice of more value than 150*l.* a year.

If such a contrivance could be provided, it is worthy of notice that, as far as affects the operations of the 'Curates' Augmentation Fund,' it would set free for its noble purposes more than a ninth part (11·6 per cent.) of its yearly income, that being the proportion of recipients from the Augmentation who have reached their sixtieth year (or, at all events, who have been thirty-seven years in orders). If the average age of ordination be set as high as twenty-five years, instead of twenty-three years, the relief will appear still greater: it would set free a sixth part instead of a ninth part of the funds. And it would have two other advantages: the recipients from the Augmentation Fund would feel that their own independent provision could, so far as setting the Augmentation Fund free after its beneficiaries reached sixty years of age, be regarded as a considerable contribution on their part to the fund itself, and thus diminish *pro tanto* their sense of being in any way objects of charity; while, as regards persons invited to contribute to the Augmentation Fund, their willingness to do so would be quickened by the new feeling thus afforded that they would be helping men who had proved their willingness to help themselves.

Another immense tangible advantage would result to the clerical profession and the *status* of its members by the singular stimulation which would be given to the resignation by old men of small livings, which, for mere subsistence sake, they are fully justified in clinging to at the present time, however personally infirm and incapable they may be. The operation of the Pension Fund would, at a much earlier age than now, place at the disposal of the unbeneficed men at all events all the smaller independent posts for which so many vainly long, and the possession of which, to a vast number, would do away with all the sense of servitude and humiliation

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complained of by so many who have never obtained a benefice at all. For it is obvious that were every man without a benefice able to claim 100*l.* a year as his own pension, it would become the interest of every incumbent of a benefice under 150*l.* to resign it the moment physical infirmity compelled him to provide assistance for the doing of his ministerial work; and, as a result, an incumbency would be placed at the disposal of a curate years earlier than now. Let us take these two cases. A beneficed man at any age after sixty with a living of 200*l.* a year, and obliged to pay a curate. Let us suppose the curate to cost him 120*l.*—and this is at a lower calculation than need be, for the average curate's stipend is 125*l.*—this will leave him only 100*l.* for himself with all claims and charges, manifold as they are, for parish expenses, subscriptions to charities, *et hoc genus omne*, besides repairs, at least, for the house, and the rates and taxes upon it. Will it be called unreasonable to put these at 30*l.*? He remains endowed with 70*l.* as his whole provision by the Church, in a place where he is expected to be always spending money.

But if he resign his living, he may obtain possibly 66*l.*, but in any case 60*l.*, as a retiring pension; and from the moment of his resignation adds to that sum his own pension of 100*l.*, is free from all responsibility, may live where he likes on any scale of expense that suits him best, may take a little occasional duty as he may be able, and at all events may end his days in rest and ease with a secure income, without work, of 160*l.*, instead of continuous work, under a sense of growing incapacity, with an income of only 70*l.* And if this be the case with regard to incomes of fully 200*l.*, the effect in stimulating resignations of livings smaller still would be even more remarkable. The incumbent of one worth only 150*l.* a year has practically nothing to live on when obliged to employ a substitute whose tenure depends on the incumbent's life. If he retired upon his 'thirds' and pension he would have 150*l.*; while his stipendiary, or *a* stipendiary, would be willing enough to accept the living, even chargeable with the pension, as securing himself an 'independent post.'

The result would be that nearly all the posts under 200*l.* a year would be resigned at a much earlier age than now, and a much greater number of independent positions be at the disposal of the stipendiary curates in their earlier work.

We have calculated only the lowest values of livings, those below 200*l.* a year; but it is easy to see further, that the inducement to early retirement would affect many more incumbents

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than these, since the holder of a living worth 250*l.*, if obliged to pay a curate even as little as 100*l.*, would, by retiring on his 'thirds' and pension, have an income of over 180*l.* and rest, as against only 150*l.* and a house, but with undiminished responsibilities and care.

And the holder of a living of 300*l.* a year, under the same supposed circumstances, would on retirement have exactly the same net income, 200*l.* a year (less a house), without work as he would with work.

The effect then of providing such a Pension Fund would be to greatly quicken the resignation of nearly two-thirds of all benefices in the Church of England (the proportion under 300*l.* to those over it being in the ratio of all but two to one), and consequently to throw open two-thirds of the independent posts to the stipendiary curates at an earlier date, and at more frequent intervals, than at the present time.

This would take away a great part of the present ground of complaint, that so many of the stipendiary curates are kept so long entirely dependent on the wills and purses of incumbents for even subordinate posts in which to execute their functions; and by promoting many more to independent positions would leave to those unpromoted a better chance and greater certainty of employment.

It would do more than this. Many, too many, of these unfortunate good men have passed the age of hope; their illusions are faded away, their ambitions are dead, they are not found, for the most part, in the ranks of the Curates' Alliance, concerning which some cruel demonstrator pointed out last winter that their four most prominent men had been only, on an average, some three years in holy orders, and could hardly be regarded as sufferers at all, except in possible prospect, from the evils they have set themselves to reform. The older ones, some of whose patient, gentle, unmurmuring, nay, we may even say saintly, letters in the clerical papers most deeply touch the hearts and sympathies of brethren of better fortune, as the world thinks, and sometimes of much worse deserts, as they think themselves, take no part in the suggested agitation, but only point out anxiously, as well they may, the fact, that as they grow the older they must change their posts the oftener, and, as a simple matter of statistics, be content, at each remove, with a diminished income. These are the men who are past ambition, but who have a right to bread, to whom the supplement of the Augmentation Fund till sixty, while they could work, would be an advantage indeed, but to whom, when they could

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work no more, and their stipend and supplement must cease together, the pension of 100*l.* a year would make their bread secure, and the sense that it was self-provided would make it sweet as well.

But, desirable and advantageous as such a retiring pension would manifestly be, we are of course to be met next by the question, 'How is it to be provided?' Is there any conceivable means of making all the curates willing, and, if willing, of making them able, to secure so valuable a provision?

Let us examine the matter a little closely, begging our readers to read these remarks to the end. If any young man at the time of his ordination were to pay to the Post Office a sum of 167*l.*, he could purchase a right, nationally secured, to an annual pension of 100*l.* a year on reaching sixty years. If every one did it, with the limitation of his right to draw pension to his holding no benefice above 150*l.* a year, it could be secured for about 85*l.*[1] This at Post Office rates, whose money is invested at a very low interest, 3¼ per cent. The investment of such a fund as we propose, requiring hardly any 'loading,' and needing to make no profits for shareholders, might on 'mutual' principles be made at a much higher rate, say 3¾ or even 4 per cent.,[2] which at compound interest would very largely cheapen the rate we have proposed, reducing the 85*l.* probably to a sum less than 70*l.*; which, if every man at his ordination could be compelled or induced to pay, would effect the great object desired.

As to being compelled, this is of course out of the question. Is there any possibility of their being induced? Can any immediate tangible advantage be offered them sufficient to persuade them, or the friends they depend on till able to earn their own living, to pay down the proposed sum?

We think there can, and that by a very simple process; namely, by the bishops seeking the power (if they do not now possess it, which is a question), and by their exercising the power when obtained, to ordain deacons a year earlier than at present (and that really for the advantage of the Church itself), *on condition* of the person so ordained securing the pension either by a previous cash payment, or out of his first two years' stipend.

[1] There are calculated (in Mr. Deane's statistics) to be 18,126 clergy, of whom 5,500 are curates, and 3,777 holding livings under 150*l.* a year; together 9,277 to draw from the fund; while 18,126 contribute. This would just halve the cost.

[2] The whole funds of the Clergy Mutual Assurance Society are invested at an average of 4*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* per cent.

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Quite apart from any proposal of this sort, the introduction of the earlier diaconate (of course, we make no proposal to ordain *priests* before twenty-four years of age) has for many other reasons been long desired, as the insertion of the words (taken from the form for Ordination of Deacons) '*unless he have a faculty*' in the new code of canons drawn up by Convocation most plainly shows. The only difficulty in the way would be the cost of the faculty, which a short Act of Parliament might, for this object alone, reduce to a nominal sum, say five shillings, without injuring any vested interest whatever, no faculties for this object being ever granted now.

Suppose this, then, to be done, the candidate for orders, instead, as is nearly always the case now, of requiring the support of his friends during his twenty-third year, and earning nothing, would be earning about 115*l.* for himself, from which, if he paid the whole insurance at once, he would have 45*l.* towards the cost of his own subsistence, which otherwise his friends would have to supply entirely; and if he chose to divide it over two years, he might lessen the difficulty, if dependent on his own exertions solely, while securing himself, beyond all possibility of loss, an additional 100*l.* a year, when he reached sixty years of age, if holding a small living; or if only a curate, an independent provision of that amount, if unbeneficed.

To put the matter plainly, a candidate for orders at the present time can hardly live, without a cost, however provided, of 50*l.* for his twenty-third year. The saving of this cost, with added stipend of 115*l.*, which he might earn if ordained at twenty-two, would represent 165*l.* The payment of, say 70*l.*, as premium for pension would leave him by 95*l.* better off in the first year of his ministry, and give him full security, at least, against necessity in old age, before the thought of which so many good men faint and tremble now while labouring in the vineyard of the Lord, and seeing the sun go slowly down upon their diminishing powers.

But, it may be said, if the bishop ordain a man on the promise of payment, even though the promise be entered in the nomination, he cannot deprive the man of his orders should he fail of carrying out the condition. The answer is, he would not, at the end of his two years, admit him to priest's orders were the condition unfulfilled.

And should the deacon resign his functions and never proceed to priest's orders, he might be permitted to recover the sum he had paid in, less interest during the time it had been invested.

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Of course the details and estimates of such a scheme are only rough and approximate; at the same time, as showing some hopeful prospect of the extrication, in the future, of a large class from a pressing and painful difficulty, we are bold to commend it to the thoughtful consideration of all parties concerned.

## SHORT NOTICES.

*The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version* (A.D. 1611). *With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation.* Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. *New Testament.* Vol. IV., *Hebrews—The Revelation of S. John.* (London: John Murray, 1881.)

With this volume comes to its natural completion and close one of the most interesting literary enterprises, bearing upon the interpretation of Scripture, which has been undertaken in our time. Ten years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume, and notwithstanding the appearance of more than one formidable rival, it has more than held its ground during that period. It was characteristic of the spirit in which the work was undertaken, that the words 'By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church' were frankly and boldly put upon its title-page. As a scholarly, thoughtful, and, above all, cautious and conservative handling of the Scriptures, it is, for the most part, a very fair and adequate expression of the mind of the Anglican Church. The later volumes, we think, exhibit wider research and a more leisurely treatment of the text than the earlier; and their much larger size is an intimation of the fact which every eye will at once appreciate. The volume before us, for instance, is about twice as thick as that on Genesis and Exodus; and about as much space has been given to eight Epistles (all very short indeed, with the single exception of that to the Hebrews) and the Apocalypse as to the whole of the Pentateuch, with the numerous questions of very great difficulty which are suggested by it. Encyclopædic learning poured out upon the particular question in hand is not, perhaps, a characteristic of any part of the Commentary. Unlike, *e.g.*, the Commentary of Lange, and German Biblical criticism in general, the results alone are given, and the evidence is not exhibited with any approach to completeness. Such a course spares lay readers trouble; but it renders the work far less helpful to the learned, who care less for the *ipse dixit* of any one man, however able, than for the presentation of the whole of the facts bearing on the case, and the general *consensus* of opinions upon it. It is no doubt very characteristic of the differences between English and German readers, that the one class should require this thoroughness of literary treatment of a subject, and the other should not.

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To come, however, to this Vol. IV., the Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews has been undertaken by Dr. Kay; on the Epistles of S. Peter by the Editor and Professor Lumby, who has also undertaken the Epistle of S. Jude; while the three Epistles of S. John have all been committed to the Bishop of Derry; and the Revelation to Archdeacon Lee of Dublin. Of this last comment—a remarkable effort from whichever side we look at it—we must express a high opinion. It required considerable hardihood to attempt a fresh exposition of that book, which, by the insoluble difficulties it presents in identifying the fulfilment of its prophecies, has proved the *crux* of so many orthodox commentators. The threshold of the subject is, as it were, strewed with wrecks of abandoned systems of interpretation, and with historical guesses of which time has proved the futility. It has been said of the Apocalypse that it 'either finds men mad or leaves them so.' Dr. Lee is, however, careful not to add another 'system' to this melancholy list. He treats the exposition historically and recalls the various writers and schools of interpretation, but he does not affect to decide between these: and in this he no doubt shows his wisdom. It may, perhaps, be gathered from various remarks made by him that the 'Spiritual' system of interpretation is that which he would prefer. He rather intimates than expresses this view in the following passage:—

'The "Spiritual" system of interpretation receives support from the review of Apocalyptic symbolism which has occupied sections 9–11 of this Introduction. It appears from that review how naturally the imagery of the book describes, in accordance with the whole spirit of prophecy, the various conditions of the Kingdom of God on earth, during its successive struggles against the Prince of this world. The figurative utterances of the Seer are specially suited for this purpose, owing to the latitude of application which all symbolism allows; and this, without distorting the sense, or offering violence to the language, of a single passage. . . . As already pointed out, the "Spiritual" application is never exhausted, but merely receives additional illustrations as time rolls on; while the "Historical" system assumes that single events, as they come to pass in succession, exhibit the full accomplishment of the different predictions of the Apocalypse'—(pp. 491, 492).

The section on 'Symbolic Numbers' is remarkably able and learned. But where the author wishes to derive the significance of the number seven from the seven days during which 'Creation arose from Chaos,' it may not unreasonably be objected, by those critics whose theories he is discussing, that this is one of the instances of the working of the principle in question, and so is itself derivative and requires to be accounted for. The varieties of interpretation, again, as to 'The Number of the Beast,' 'Antichrist,' 'The Holy Roman Empire,' give occasion for dissertations on each, which are of the greatest interest and value, though necessarily much compressed. On the other hand, we, somewhat to our surprise, fail to find the discussion we should have looked for, as to the *source* from whence the symbolic imagery of the description given of the worship in heaven was derived. Was it from the ritual of the Jewish Temple? or, as it has been maintained in our own day, from that of the Primitive

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Church? This treatise occupies 439 pages out of the 844 which compose the volume. The remaining commentaries are as good and satisfactory as might be expected from the high reputation of their respective authors; except that Dr. Kay's comment on Hebrews, though minute and painstaking, seems to us somewhat cold and unsympathetic in tone. The writer of this Epistle, whoever he may have been, was apparently an enthusiast about the Mosaic ritual: in other words, he was one of that class of men so much persecuted at the present day—a Ritualist!

*The Pulpit Commentary.* 1 *Kings. Exposition and Homiletics.* Rev. Joseph Hammond, LL.B., B.A., Vicar of S. Austell.

*Leviticus. Introductions.* Rev. R. Collins, M.A.; Rev. Prof. A. Cave, B.A. *Exposition and Homiletics.* Rev. F. Meyrick, M.A., Rector of Blickling. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1882.)

The growth of this Commentary is really astonishing. Volume succeeds volume with a really remarkable rapidity; and yet we are bound to say that the character of the contents does not appear to deteriorate in any way; and that the moderate standard of the early volumes is quite maintained and even improved upon. The former of the two volumes before us supplies, in addition to the Commentary, properly so named, an intelligent discussion of the various questions concerning the sources and authorship of the so-called Books of the Kings. It is probably the case that no certain conclusion can be ever reached upon either of these subjects. That 'Hebrew antiquity does not know the secular historian,' a sentiment which Mr. Hammond quotes with approval from Bähr, is so far from elucidating the question of who was their author, that it makes it still more obscure, by rendering any presumption that might be formed, by reasoning from the character of their contents, to the last degree uncertain. But it is singular that after Mr. Hammond has thus narrowed the ground of authorship by distinctly showing (according to his view) that the history must be due *to a prophet*, he should then express any doubt as to the authorship of Jeremiah, which, as he rightly allows, is expressly asserted by the Talmud, '*Jeremias scripsit librum suum et librum regum et threnos.*' The difficulty of which he makes much, arising from the necessity supposed by him, of putting the composition of the book as late as B.C. 562, or B.C. 561 at latest, is not, as would seem, as formidable as he makes it. If we suppose, *e.g.*, the concluding section of the Book of Kings (2 Kings xxv. 27–30), to be a later *addendum* to the history, and by another hand, as the corresponding section added to the *prophecy* of Jeremiah (lii. 31–34, and probably the entire chapter) certainly is, then we at once add on twenty-six years, almost an entire generation, to the age of the book, and bring it well within the limit of Jeremiah's prophetic activity.[1] We do not propound this solution as in all respects satisfactory. But we own that we think the authorship of Jeremiah as well nigh certain,

[1] See Ewald, *Proph. of the O.T.*, vol. iii. p. 90; also p. 298 of Bähr's *Commentary on the Kings*, in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (Eng. ed.).

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even on the facts as far as now known to us; and we can by no means coincide in Mr. Hammond's conclusion that 'it is impossible to speak positively one way or the other.'

In fact this introduction, learned, painstaking, and generally meritorious as it is, is somewhat deficient in originality. The author marshals and discusses the arguments of other writers, with an avoidance of positive conclusions of his own. This would be a matter of small importance if the Commentary were for the use of learned scholars alone. But the general reader requires the guidance of clearly expressed views on the part of a commentator.

The volume on *Leviticus* is valuable for a well-digested and reverent treatise on the *Levitical Sacrifices literally Considered*, by Professor Alfred Cave, author of a meritorious work on *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, published in 1877. The subject was no doubt familiar to him, and he has treated it with power and luminousness, and in an admirable spirit. We were tempted, however, to exclaim *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* when we found Mr. Cave speaking of S. Isidore *Hispalensis* as 'that delicate exegete, Isidore of Hispala' (why not Anglicize the name uniformly, and say 'Isidore of Seville?')—nor did the term chosen seem to us to describe S. Isidore very happily. Reading on, however, we came to an incidental statement that 'the reign of Augustine in Biblical hermeneutics gave way to that of Isidore, whose work *De Allegoriis* became a type of Scriptural exposition in the middle ages,' which makes us fear that Mr. Cave is not greatly conversant with the works of the writers he refers to (if indeed he had seen them, for they are somewhat rare). For, firstly, S. Isidore did not belong to the 'middle ages' at all, but to the seventh century. He was Bishop of Seville from A.D. 601 to A.D. 636. Secondly, there is, so far as we are aware, no work *De Allegoriis* among his writings. The work intended must be *Allegoriarum quarundam Sacræ Scripturæ liber unus*,' and this is but a brief tract, occupying seven folios (sheets, not volumes) only. To talk of it as if it were the *magnum opus* of the writer, and had worked a revolution in the mind of his age, is, we think, to show a considerable misapprehension of the facts of the case. Nor can we follow Mr. Cave in attributing to S. Isidore that his influence supplanted that of S. Augustine, except over a very small area and for a very brief period; for Isidore, though he had a considerable *local* reputation, never could be said to have exercised any very large influence over general European thought. Du Pin says of him that 'he was well read, but had not so much fineness of wit and elevation of mind; there is nothing commendable in his style but the clearness of it; he is neither eloquent nor polite; his own opinions are often false, and he does not always make a good choice when he borrows of others.' It was but a local Council (the 8th of Toledo) which, among other high compliments, spoke of him as 'the last of the fathers.' Can Mr. Cave have been thinking of that *umbra nominis* Isidore Mercator or Peccator, and of the vast influence of the forged Decretals?

Notwithstanding this slip, the Essay is a good one, and worth reading.

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We cannot say as much in favour of the Essay which preceded. The writer can hardly suppose that he is rightly describing high Eucharistic doctrine when he says that 'it is necessary for salvation that the body, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ should be digested in the human stomach.' We fail to see the morality of caricaturing an obnoxious doctrine and then calling it 'blasphemous' (p. xiii.).

*The Cambridge Bible for Schools. The Book of Judges.* By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. (Cambridge, 1882.)

MR. LIAS has already contributed two small volumes (on the 1st and 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians) to the New Testament series of this Commentary. In the book now before us he gives abundant illustrations by way of historical parallels to this the period of Hebrew history to which it relates. Of older commentators, he extracts freely and judiciously from Bp. Hall, quoting from a quaint seventeenth-century edition of the *Contemplations*. We observe, also, references to Blunt's *Coincidences*, and to Isaac Williams' *Jewish Characters*. In the Appendix we may notice a version of the *Song of Deborah*, illustrating the characteristics of Hebrew poetry; also an historical summary of opinion on the nature of Jephthah's fulfilment of his rash vow. Mr. Lias (as the Bishop of Lincoln has done on similar grounds) pronounces decidedly that it was literally carried out.

In the case of books intended for the use of schools, we may perhaps be permitted to be fastidious about spelling. In a Commentary on the *Book of Judges* the word *apostasy* is in frequent request; in this volume it is only *once* spelt rightly (p. 34), so far as we have noticed.

*The Revelation of the Risen Lord.* By B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, &c. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881.)

IN these 'short studies,' as they are described in the preface, Dr. Westcott, who seventeen years ago published a work on *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, makes a second contribution to what may be called our Easter literature: a contribution 'intended to serve as an introduction or a supplement to' the former volume. This connection determines the character of the smaller book. In it Mr. Westcott does not, like Christlieb, set in array against negative criticism the manifold splendours of the Easter triumph; he does not, like Isaac Williams, lead us onward with gentle yet subduing solemnity into the inmost sanctuaries of Easter devotion. He aims, as before, at showing how the Resurrection explains 'the mysteries of personal life, the whole progress of mankind,' the very existence of a Christian Church; how 'it is not properly an overwhelming fact attesting doctrines separate from itself, but a revelation which illuminates the whole range of human experience, all that we hear and see and feel,' (p. xiii.). In our age, he justly considers, it will most easily win credence, or find least difficulty in disarming intellectual repugnances, if it is presented as 'the only adequate interpretation of the manifold

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'phenomena which are set before us,' or, as he says elsewhere (p. 55), of 'the growing purpose of life.'

Given a God, given the human soul, given the facts of our spiritual history, and we can understand them in the light of the open sepulchre, at the feet of the Risen Christ: not elsewhere, and not otherwise.

Dr. Westcott in these pages traverses ground which, for the most part, is as familiar as it is inexhaustible in significance. He explains the limited area of the manifestations—'not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen before of God'—substantially as the objection derived from it was met by Tertullian and by Origen; but with a fulness and freshness which will be appreciated by a modern reader. The Risen Lord, he suggests, was to exhibit 'to men, as they could bear it, a new life;' the life of the world to come, and of man in that world. Had He been simply such as He was before His Passion, had His body not been 'glorified' and spiritualized, He would not have needed to appeal to faith, but merely to sense. And

'Then the experience of unbelievers would have been sufficient to test, the witness of unbelievers would have been adequate to establish, the reality of the Resurrection. But if it was a foreshadowing of new powers of human action, of a new mode of human being, then without a corresponding power of spiritual discernment there could be no testimony to its truth' (p. 11).

So as to the sceptical assumption that the disciples were expecting a resurrection, and therefore eagerly grasped at the good news, Professor Westcott, like other writers, insists that

'There was in the society of the believers no enthusiastic hope to create visions, still less to create visions which involved the sacrifice of cherished expectations' (p. x.). In 'the narrative of S. Luke we see in a vivid transcript from life that the idea of the Resurrection was strange and even alarming to the disciples as a body . . . that belief was enforced only after long resistance' (p. 65).

The doubts of S. Thomas, and the mode in which our Lord dealt with them, are treated on the old lines, but, we think, with peculiar success: less eloquently, indeed, than in Archbishop Trench's *Westminster Abbey Sermons*, but still in the same general tone. Dr. Westcott points out that Thomas, in his response to Christ's words, rose at a bound to a height far above what a sensuous test could have made accessible. And he adds with pointed suggestiveness—

'If indeed the Risen Christ had been no more than Thomas could have proved by his touch, then indeed the very fulfilment of his test would have destroyed the Apostle's real hope' (p. 103).

That Christ 'deals tenderly with the doubter who is ready to believe' has become a commonplace of modern preaching. But it is specially a word in season which Dr. Westcott adds:

'Doubts are often dallied with; and, still worse, they are often affected. It is strange that the hypocrisy of scepticism should be looked upon as less repulsive than the affectation of belief; yet in the present day it has become almost a fashion for men to repeat doubts on the gravest questions without the least sense of personal responsibility.'

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Again, like M. Godet (see *C.Q.R.*, vol. xiii. p. 247), Dr. Westcott dwells on that cessation of the appearances after the Ascension, which

'is intelligible if they were granted for the specific end of producing the faith which they did produce: is *not* intelligible if they were the creation of enthusiasm' (p. 192).

He carefully distinguishes the visions of S. Stephen, of Ananias, and of S. Paul during his apostleship, from the appearance at Saul's conversion, which

'was on the same line as the appearances during the forty days, objective and personal' (p. 193).

So said Dr. Macpherson of Aberdeen in his very able work on *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* We may refer also to our own pages (*C. Q. R.*, vol. ix. p. 416).

But we are disappointed by the cloudy language in which Dr. Westcott describes the Ascension as only phenomenal, 'not a change of place, but a change of state, not local yet spiritual,' although represented economically 'in an outward form' (p. 180). That there are mysteries surrounding the Ascension narrative we all know; a moment's thought suggests them, and they were long ago very plainly stated in the second volume of Newman's *Parochial Sermons.* So Riggenbach asks (we quote the French translation of his *Lectures on the Life of the Lord*, p. 629): 'Dirons-nous que l'ascension ne se comprend plus depuis Copernic?' and answers that—'s'il devait nous paraître étrange de nous figurer que Christ soit remonté vers son Père d'une manière locale, rappelons-nous que la toute-présence de Dieu n'empêche nullement de considérer les espaces différents comme des scènes des diverses manifestations de Dieu, et que l'astronomie n'élève aucune objection contre elle.' And Bishop Ellicott does not shrink from saying, 'We may think perchance that we are free. . . . to boast the liberty of a suspended assent to what seems all too objective and material for the falsely spiritualizing tendencies of the age in which we live. . . A hearty belief in the literal and local ascent of our Lord's humanity into the heavens is in itself a belief in the whole mystery of the union of His Godhead and Manhood' (*Lectures on Life of our Lord*, p. 416). Not that such a belief can profess to see through all the difficulties of the thought; but language such as Dr. Westcott has used is too idealistic to be satisfactory, and suggests some amount of misgiving with regard to his warnings, in another passage, against the intrusion of materialistic ideas into the field of faith as of science (p. 27). In that passage, moreover, there is an instance of that allusive obscurity which is a frequent defect in Dr. Westcott's style. He is too fond of sonorous, or, haply, melodious generalities; he hints where he should speak out, and raises a needless cloud. 'The subjects and methods of current controversy' lead him to ask

'whether we ourselves are busy in building the tomb of Christ, or really ready to recognize Him if He comes to us in the form of a new life; whether we are fruitlessly mourning over a loss which is, in fact, the con-



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dition of a blessing, or waiting trustfully for the transfigurement of a dead past' (p. 27).

What loss? we ask; and how much of the past is dead? and who is 'building a tomb?' The only interpretation granted us in the context is a complaint against the materializing tone of many books of devotion and the sentimentalism in many modern hymns. There is some truth in this, particularly as to the second indictment. When we are told that 'devout and passionate worshippers' even now, like Magdalene at the sepulchre, 'seek to make that which is of the earth the centre and type of their service,' and that we are not to turn Christ into 'a relic which we can decorate with our offerings,' or His Gospel into 'a formula which we can repeat with easy pertinacity,' the admonition would be none the less useful for being illustrated by clear examples of the fault. Meantime we welcome any reminder of the fact that the illuminating centre of all worship, all belief, all religious activity, is the faith in a present and living Lord.

In regard to the Ascension, we observe what seems to be an oversight. Dr. Westcott says:

'As they gazed up into heaven, He rose, as it appears, by the exertion of His own will, and not, as from the grave, by the power of the Father' (p. 179).

If this means, as we suppose it must, that the New Testament ascribes the Resurrection solely to the Father's agency, and the Ascension solely to Christ's own, we must remind Dr. Westcott (1) that although Scripture usually employs the passive verb, 'to be raised up,' in regard to the Resurrection, and although the verb 'to rise again' is used not only of Christ (*e.g.* 1 Thess. iv. 14), but also of men in general, who will be raised from the dead by extrinsic power (*e.g. ib.* 16, John xi. 24), yet our Lord expressly said that He would 'raise up the temple' of His body (John ii. 19), and that He 'had a right to resume His life' (John x. 18); and, as Oosterzee says in his *Image of Christ in Scripture*, there is no real opposition between the two modes of speaking, because 'the Son has received of the Father to have life in Himself;' and (2) that the active form 'to ascend' (see John vi. 62, xx. 17, Eph. iv. 9, 10) is balanced by, and at the same time is in complete harmony with, the passive forms in Acts i. 2, 11, 1 Tim. iii. 16, beside Mark xvi. 19. Any such antithesis, then, as is indicated in the passage before us, would appear to be unreal.

But we must now consider Dr. Westcott's interpretation of what is commonly called the Apostolical commission, imparted by our Lord on Easter-night. And first, as to his general view; it is briefly this, that the commission was given to 'the Christian society' as a whole, 'not to any special order in it;' that it was the charter of the Church, and not simply the charter of the ministry (p. 82). He means, evidently, that it was not 'the charter of the ministry' in any sense at all. He understands it, and also apparently the promise relating to the keys, and to the power of binding and loosing, as addressed to the disciples representing all Christians, not to the Apostles representing a ministry.

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'I do not touch upon the Divine necessity by which the different persons and channels through which the manifold graces of the Christian life are administered were afterwards marked out. I wish only to insist upon the Apostolic mission of all Christians, which no subsequent delegation of specific duties to others can annul. . . . All Christians as such are indeed apostles, envoys of their risen Lord. To ministers and to people alike, while they are as yet undistinguished, He directs the words of sovereign power in the announcement of His victory over death and sin,' etc. (p. 83).

From this it follows that the Apostolate is really co-extensive with the whole body of the baptized; and that the ministerial order was not appointed or commissioned by Jesus Christ, but after His Ascension, by the Church, acting under a 'Divine necessity,' and evolving 'divers orders,' we presume, in accordance with the promptings of the Holy Spirit. This is a momentous position enough; on what does it rest, so far as the words in John xx. 21, 22, are concerned? Apparently on the facts that all the eleven were not present, and that according to Luke xxiv. 33, 'there were others assembled with the apostles' (p. 81). The word 'disciples,' in S. John, is a usual equivalent for 'apostles.' Now the absence of S. Thomas has been referred to by Church theologians as indicating that our Lord addressed the Apostles, not as individuals, but as an order. And if the *οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς* were included in our Lord's address, they may well be supposed as having been thereby made ministers; perhaps they were already among the Seventy. But they may have been present without being so included; we are expressly told that on one occasion (Luke xii. 1 ff.) when a vast multitude (*ὄχλου*) encircled Him, He began by addressing His disciples in the hearing of the rest; presently one of the 'multitude' (so rightly rendered in the R.V.) asked Him to interfere in a dispute; He met this request by the parable of the rich fool, and then resumed His discourse 'to His disciples;' after it had gone on for some time, S. Peter asked, 'Lord, speakest Thou this parable unto us, or also to all?' and our Lord's answer indicated clearly enough that He was addressing the future stewards of His household. So it may well have been when, in the presence of more than five hundred brethren (according to the opinion shared by Dr. Westcott with other interpreters), He commissioned the apostles to make disciples of all nations; and so also in the case before us, of which Isaac Williams says unhesitatingly, 'of course it is understood that the others were present as witnesses' (*Narrative of the Resurrection*, p. 328). And is it probable, looking at the circumstances, and what preceded and what followed them, that Christ would here have conferred the apostolate—for it really comes to that—on the whole body of believers, represented by those who were then gathered in the upper chamber? Canon Wordsworth, in his admirable *Bampton Lectures*, says with great force, 'So clear is it that our Lord desired to establish a body of officers in His Church, that, as has been well said' (by F. D. Maurice, in his *Kingdom of Christ*), '"If we called the Four Gospels the *Institution of a Christian Ministry*, we might not go very far wrong, or lose sight of many of their essential qualities." The careful and even elaborate education given step by



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step to the Apostles—as a body in the Galilean ministry recorded by the first three evangelists, as individuals in that which is the special subject of S. John—is inexplicable unless our Lord was training them for an office, that is, for a permanent function in the Church. For Christ speaks of His Church . . . as a kingdom . . . and a kingdom implies an abiding constitution. . . . It was clearly our Blessed Lord's "plan" . . . to employ the Apostles rather than Himself as visible instruments of salvation. He might have made a multitude of converts all on the same level of equal relations with Himself; but He did *not* do so' (*The One Religion*, p. 329). Consistently with this, Mr. Wordsworth adds, 'To the Apostles especially He gave the assurance, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you,"' and 'this assurance is implied in many places,' etc., 'and He speaks of their ministry as lasting till His second coming' (Luke xii. 42, 43). According to Dr. Westcott, the most important addresses relating to authority were really made to the Apostles not as an order, but as representing the whole future Church; the special apostolate dwindles into a temporary arrangement for the time of our Lord's personal ministry: no wonder, therefore, on that hypothesis, that, on Easter-night, it practically dies. But we maintain that in regard to the time just referred to, this is not the natural interpretation of the Gospel narrative; and there can be no question that if the apostolate was on Easter-night extended to all believers, the proceedings of the Twelve in the Acts are unintelligible, and we might say unjustifiable. For they appear as the centre, the nucleus, the constitutive element, so to speak, out of and around which the Church's life is unfolded. It is of this that Mr. Gladstone says, 'the Church began with a clergy; nay, began *in* a clergy: it had its centre of life, and of self-propagating power, in the Apostolic College' (*Gleanings*, iii. 262). The Apostles act authoritatively and decisively as apostles, as supreme Church rulers under Christ, in virtue of a proper commission to themselves; they treat 'this ministry' of theirs as an abiding fact (Acts i. 17, see Bp. Jacobson on Acts i. 23); they emphatically reserve to themselves the appointment of the first deacons after the election of them has been made by the Church. Why say more? S. Luke has expressly interpreted the commands given by our Lord between the Resurrection and the Ascension (he is clearly not thinking of such an order as those in John xx. 17, or Matt. xxviii. 10) as addressed to '*the Apostles* whom He had chosen.' He could not have spoken thus had he understood them as addressed to every believing soul. And it is he who has told us of the *οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς*. Moreover, on Dr. Westcott's showing, our Lord never did appoint any permanent ministry. A ministry grew out of the needs of the Christian society; it was evolved from below by human delegation, not empowered from above by a Divine act of grace. It appears to us simply impossible to reconcile this hypothesis with Luke xii. 42 and Eph. iv. 11–13; and we need not dwell on the consideration that 'had the ministry been left to grow up as a human afterthought, developed merely by social necessities, and receiving its commission from below' (which, our readers will

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recollect, is Mr. Hatch's theory), 'it is probable that Christ's perpetual presence in His Church would soon have been disparaged or denied. The sacraments might have remained as outward signs, but they would surely have been reduced . . . to *tesseræ* of mutual fellowship' (Wordsworth, p. 331). The theory suggested by Dr. Westcott is indeed far-reaching; if accepted, it would materially alter our whole conception of Christian ordinances, and it would deprive both minister and layman of those moral grounds of warning and of comfort which have never been so well exhibited as in Mr. Gladstone's *Church Principles*, chap. v.

In regard to 'the priestly office of all Christians,' dwelt on, as Dr. Westcott says, by two chief Apostles (p. 83), we will only say that it is completely in harmony with such ministerial sacerdotalism as is involved in the idea of a stewardship, a ministry of reconciliation, appointed not by the 'society,' but by its Divine Head. On this point our readers may be referred to Dr. Liddon's sermon on 'Sacerdotalism' (*Univ. Serm.* ii. 198).

Now as to the special words of the commission. We need not dwell on the affirmation in verse 21, of which Dr. Westcott's theory would compel us to say that every baptized man and woman is sent by Christ as 'He was sent by the Father.' Such a proposition, sufficiently paradoxical in itself, is in our opinion refuted by the whole tenor of the Acts and the Epistles. We say nothing about the traditional voice of the Church. 'The very circumstances of the text,' says Bishop Andrewes, 'do evict that the commission was not common to all Christians, for all Christians are not so sent' (*Sermons*, v. 92). Then, how does Dr. Westcott interpret the words which follow? He says:

> 'The message of the Gospel is the glad-tidings of sin conquered. To apply this to each man severally is the office of the Church, and so of each member of the Church. To embrace it personally is to gain absolution. As we in our different places bring home to the consciences of others the import of Christ's work, so far we set them free from the bondage in which they are held. . . . He to whom the word comes can appropriate or reject the message of deliverance which we, as Christians, are authorized to bear. As he does so, we, speaking in Christ's name, either remove the load by which he is weighed down, or make it more oppressive' (p. 83).

He had said before, 'The power described deals with sin, and not with the punishment of sin. In essence, it has nothing to do with discipline.'

Now, we ask, in all seriousness, is this a fair interpretation of the Greek words? Ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται (or ἀφέωνται) αὐτοῖς· ἄν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται. This is the text. Dr. Westcott's gloss is, When you set forth Christ as a Deliverer from sin, if A accepts your declaration and B rejects it, you remove the load from A's conscience and make it heavier on B's. If our Lord had meant this, assuredly He would have expressed this meaning in other words. He meant to be understood, we are sure; He knew in what sense the phrase 'to remit sins,' and therefore in what sense the phrase 'to

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retain sins,' would be taken by those who heard them. Apply this gloss to other texts in which the former phrase occurs, as, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.' Does *this* mean, 'I have presented the idea of deliverance from sin to thy conscience, and thou hast welcomed it, and so set thyself free?' Was this what the Jews declared to belong to an incommunicable Divine prerogative? Was it this which the Son of Man proved Himself by miracle to be competent to perform? We know well that no human absolver, on the ordinary view of the absolving power, acts otherwise than as a minister or instrument, whereas in the Word Incarnate, as Andrewes says, 'the power is absolute and imperial;' but in both cases the *usus loquendi* will refer the words to a real Divine pardon, not a mere acceptance of relief by the conscience. But this is not all. An interpretation is best tested by paraphrase. Suppose that to 'remit' and to 'retain sins' mean respectively to suggest deliverance from guilt to one who accepts or who declines the suggestion. What will then be the point of the dictum: Whoever profit by the opportunity for relieving their conscience which I now bid you offer, they *do* profit by it; whoever reject it so as to increase their sense of guilt, they do so reject it? The antithesis between 'ye remit' and 'they are remitted' points clearly to a correspondence between the act of the envoy and the act of the Sovereign; the latter is to confirm the former. 'What you do in the matter, I will ratify.' But according to Dr. Westcott, the whole force of 'remitting' or 'retaining' is exhausted by the effect which the announcement of the redemption necessarily has in virtue of the disposition of the hearers. They are relieved, or they are weighed down, according as they receive or reject the offer; and there is an end of it. We must needs say, with all respect to the high office of Professor Westcott, and to his own high endowments, that he has explained away this solemn passage in a fashion incompatible with true exegesis, and only accounted for by the supposition of a strong bias against 'sacerdotalism.' The difficulty which many have found in the recitation of these Divine words by every ordaining bishop has arisen out of the conviction that they describe a power too great for uninspired men. Apostles, it is granted, might remit and retain sins; but how can ordinary priests? Dr. Westcott's gloss would certainly alleviate these scruples; but if we were to adopt it, we should feel bound to agitate for so much, at least, of Liturgical revision as would remove the sentence, 'Whose sins thou dost forgive,' etc., from the Ordinal, and insert it in the latter portion of the Baptismal Service. In its present place, Dr. Westcott must surely admit to himself, it is most seriously misleading.

If it be said the bestowal of the Holy Spirit on those who were then 'sent as the Father sent the Son,' and empowered to remit and retain sins, proves that this commission must be in its nature open to all Christians, we answer that this bestowal of the Holy Spirit differed from the Pentecostal gift: assuming that the fiery tongues descended on others besides the Twelve. The preliminary gift looked back to that presence of the Holy Spirit which our Lord received when He entered on His own ministry. 'Such as was the consecration of the

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Master, such was that of the disciples. . . . The gift or office cannot be named which belongs to our Lord as the Christ, which He did not, in its degree, transfer to His Apostles by the communication of that Spirit through which He Himself wrought; one of course excepted, the one great work which none else in the whole world could sustain, of being the atoning Sacrifice' (Newman's *Sermons*, ii. 303). So Hooker, after quoting from Luke xxiv. 49 a promise of the Holy Spirit subsequent to the Easter commission, says 'Undoubtedly it was some other effect of the Spirit . . . which our Saviour did then bestow;' and he explains it from the context as a holy and a ghostly authority over the souls of men (*E. P.* v. 77. 7).

*We* can hold that 'the special duties, privileges, responsibilities, of the Christian ministry remain undiminished and undisparaged when we recognize the common priesthood of all believers as sharers in the life of the risen Lord, and charged to make known that which they have experienced' (Westcott, p. 89), for we trace that ministry to Christ's own appointment; whereas in his view, if we understand him aright, it is a creation of the Christian society. We cannot agree with him in thinking that 'the greatest danger of the Church at present seems to be, not lest we should forget the peculiar functions of the ministerial office, but lest we should allow this to supersede the general power which it concentrates and represents in the economy of life.' To us, the tendencies of the age seem distinctly unfavourable to the idea of a real ministry; the principle of Ordination is widely disparaged, the priesthood is even fiercely disowned, the popular conception of clerical functions is more and more assimilated to that of a moral police, and a Bampton lecturer accounts for the ministry on a theory of religious naturalism. As for the duty incumbent on all Christians of being witnesses for their Lord and Saviour, of endeavouring to spread His truth, of 'interpreting to the world the lessons of the Passion and of the Resurrection,' we only wish it were more universally recognized; but we would base it, not on a commission which, naturally interpreted, is ministerial, but on the fact of baptism and the vow of loyalty to Christ.

We have no space, nor, after what we have already said, is it necessary to discuss the subsequent commission of Matt. xxviii. 19. Dr. Westcott regards it as addressed to the 'whole congregation of believers' (p. 157); and we suppose that the expression in a later chapter, 'He bids His *ministers* proclaim His sovereignty over all the nations' (p. 177), must be regarded as an oversight, perhaps as a 'survival.'

It is with unfeigned regret that we have criticized what we believe to be a serious flaw in this eminent writer's exposition of the Paschal 'Christophanies;' but it has seemed to us a simple duty to do so. We have not for a moment forgotten the great debt of gratitude which students of the New Testament owe to Dr. Westcott: a debt which is increased by the remaining portions of this volume.

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*Concerning Spiritual Gifts.* Three Addresses spoken to the Candidates for Holy Orders in the Diocese of Ely, together with a Sermon preached on the following Sunday, before the Service of Ordination. By FRANCIS PAGET, M.A., Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ely; and one of Her Majesty's Preachers at Whitehall. (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1881.)

MR. PAGET in this little volume gives us a singularly thoughtful and refined exposition of the various Spiritual Gifts mentioned by S. Paul in 1 Cor. xii. 4–12, considering them as the requisite graces of the Priesthood. He points out that they fall naturally into a threefold division, in which each class contains three gifts: and he deals with the first class, 'the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, and faith,' as marking a 'miraculous enabling and enrichment of a man's true and eternal self;' with the second, the 'gifts of healing, works of miraculous powers, and prophecy,' as 'primarily connected with the work of the clergy among such as are already members of Christ's Church;' with the third, 'discerning of spirits, diverse kinds of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues,' as indicating the grace necessary for 'our widest work in our dealings with all our fellow-men.' Mr. Paget enforces with much power and earnestness the practical necessity of each and all of these gifts in the work of the ministry. We might, but for his disclaimer of anything more than a 'tentative' application, question his explanation of the gifts of the third class, which are, he says, 'diverse acts of one and the same enabling grace, the grace of true and spiritual sympathy.' Allowing this, however, we are not sure that, even yet, our clergy need to be checked, rather than encouraged, in sympathizing and co-operating with the 'public movements and efforts which lie outside the narrowest conceptions of the clerical office.' We hope we are not misrepresenting Mr. Paget's opinion; it is chiefly the arrangement of his third address, the fact that he ends with a warning against temerity rather than inaction in such matters, that leaves us with an impression that he does not, in general, wish the clergy to be prominent in sympathy or co-operation with 'social movements.' And this, we cannot but think, is not a well-timed caution. But we should be sorry to imply that our prevailing impression of these addresses is one of criticism. On the contrary, they seem to us to present, in language of appropriate beauty and refinement, thoughts of great delicacy of insight, and at the same time of great depth. But beyond this we feel in them something of a very rare quality, viz., a profound spiritual earnestness and reality, the marks of a mind full of reverence and awe in presence of the responsibilities and privileges of the priesthood. This is a quality which must be felt to be understood; but it must have been felt by those who heard these addresses, and must have been most helpful to them at the time of their preparation for their solemn calling. It leads Mr. Paget to lay stress on the work, not on the result of the work: 'each one of us,' he says in a striking image, 'can be at the very utmost only like some mason,

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who, in the six centuries which passed between the conception and the achievement of the great Cathedral of Germany, may have given his life to the elaboration of some single detail in that unnumbered wealth of ornament, and left to far-off generations the hope of wondering at the perfect work.' A spirit trained to humility and loyalty by such thoughts is the right spirit for those who are to share in the overpowering work of the ministry, and we are grateful to Mr. Paget for giving others the opportunity of profiting by the tone of deep reverence in which he speaks of sacred things, and the spiritual vocation.

*The New Man and the Eternal Life.* By ANDREW JUKES. (London: Longmans and Co., 1881.)

THIS is a commentary on those twelve sayings of our Lord in S. John's Gospel, which He prefaces with the word 'Amen,' whether singly or repeated. Such as are familiar with the author's former works, entitled *Types of Genesis* and *Law of the Offerings in Leviticus*, will be prepared to find in this volume the same remarkable qualities that distinguished them; qualities best described, perhaps, in the beautiful verses on Origen in *Lyra Apostolica*. For it is with Origen in his strength, it may also be in his weakness, that Mr. Jukes as a theologian shows the strongest affinities, and then with Richard of S. Victor among the mediæval mystics. The reader need not look for textual criticism or literal exegesis, both of them articles of which the current supply is if anything in excess of the demand; but he will find, as almost nowhere else, profound devotional reflections teeming throughout the whole volume, and often giving unexpected vitality of meaning to passages which have been possibly somewhat overlooked even by pious and intelligent students of Holy Writ.

Mr. Jukes holds that the twelve 'Amen' sayings, however dissociated from each other in the sacred text, and however diverse the occasions on which they were severally uttered, really are intimately connected with each other, and designedly form an orderly whole, embodying a progressive course of teaching on the deepest mysteries of the faith. In a brief introductory chapter Mr. Jukes explains his theory of the Amens. The first 'Verily, verily' (S. John i. 51) he views as revealing the *home* of the new man, the opening of the long shut heavens; the second (S. John iii. 3, 5), as showing the only way to this home, through the *new birth*; the third (S. John v. 19–22) declares the *law* of this new life of the new man; the fourth (S. John vi. 26–58) tells us of his *meat*, the bread which comes down from heaven; the fifth (S. John viii. 31–35) shows what is his special *liberty*, to be free from sin; the sixth (S. John viii. 48–58) declares his *divinity* and his right to say 'I am;' the seventh (S. John x. 1–18) describes his *service* as the Good Shepherd who dies for his sheep; the eighth (S. John xii. 24–26) more fully opens his *sacrifice* and its results; the ninth (S. John xiii. 1–32) tells of his *lowliness* and its uses in the cleansing of disciples and the glorifying of God; the tenth (S. John xiv. 8–14) shows his *glory* and his revelation of God; the eleventh (S. John xvi. 16–25) shows us his

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*sorrow* and *joy*; while the twelfth and last (S. John xxi. 15–23) tells of his *perfecting*.

From this syllabus some slight notion of the mode of treatment can be gathered, but it would require copious extracts, for which the needful space is not here available, to do adequate justice to Mr. Jukes's manner of handling his subject, which compels admiration from the emotional side of a religious nature, even when the harder intellect is compelled to charge him with being too fancifully tropological in his gloss.

*Onesimus. Memoirs of a Disciple of S. Paul.* By the Author of *Philochristus*. (London: Macmillan, 1882.)

IT would have been impossible for any one who had read that very remarkable book, *Philochristus*, to take up another work by the same author, and designed to be a sequel to it, without very high expectations; and in our case certainly these expectations were not disappointed. There is no falling off in the attraction, we may almost say the fascination, of the second part. There is the same charm of style, the same power of description, the same deep spirit of piety, breathing through the reflections; but also, we are constrained to add, as we might have expected, the same dangerous tendencies. Of these more hereafter. The scope of *Onesimus* is wider than of *Philochristus*. It is an attempt not merely to delineate the social life and domestic institutions of the Roman Empire in the first century of the Christian era, in which the cruelty, the corruption, and the misery of a decaying Heathenism are most vividly portrayed, but also to reproduce the doubts and questionings which agitated men's minds, and to exhibit the various superstitions and systems of philosophy which Christianity had to encounter. Though, as we are informed, the descriptions of these are taken from writers of a somewhat later period, yet doubtless the author is justified in assuming 'that these thoughts must have been in the air throughout Asia as early as A.D. 60, though they did not find expression in extant books till some time later.' The work is thrown into the form of an autobiography, evidently formed in some degree on the model of the *Confessions of S. Augustine*, and containing many passages not unworthy of the great father.

Onesimus is, of course, the slave of Philemon, to whom we are indebted for the *Epistle to Philemon*. He tells us that he and his twin-brother, Chrestus, having been exposed as babes in the Temple of Asclepius at Pergamus, with no mark by which they could be recognized but two silver seals inscribed with 'I love' and 'Trust me' respectively, were adopted by a rich lady, who had lost her own child, and by her brought up with every care and attention, and well educated, at Lystra. There, when ten years old, he heard the Apostle Paul preach, and witnessed his cure of the lame man; and words addressed to him by the Apostle when he was brought with other children for a blessing—'The Lord be unto thee as a Father, little one'—made an impression which was never effaced.

But when sixteen years of age he lost his adopted mother,

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Ammiane, who had been for years a widow, and then had experience of one of the most cruel evils of the system of slavery, both in ancient and modern times. He and his brother had never been formally enfranchised, and were legally in the position of slaves, and as such came into the possession of Nicander, the heir-at-law, a man of brutal character, who carried them off with him to Tyana. There they were put up for sale, and Onesimus's violence at the prospect of separation from his brother, who was sold to go to Rome, led to his being sent away in chains to work at the quarries amidst a gang of the most degraded criminals—monsters rather than men. The account of the cruel treatment of the slaves in the 'ergastulum' is, we are told, borrowed from Apuleius, and not imaginary. At the end of two years of misery, the death of Nicander led to his release and to his being sold to Philemon of Colossæ as an amanuensis, for which his education had fitted him.

Philemon was not yet a Christian, but a man of literary tastes and an inquiring disposition, whose house was the rendezvous of several philosophers. Onesimus, though still a slave, lived on a footing of equality with his master, and was admitted to their discussions, in which he took much interest. An opportunity is thus given of introducing the views of different schools of philosophy. Artemidorus, we are told in a note, represents the opinions of Celsus, the sceptical opponent of Christianity in the beginning of the second century, and the real father of its opponents in the nineteenth. Similarly Nicostratus represents Maximus of Tyre; Oneirocritus, Aristides. After a time Onesimus goes with his master to Antioch, and there they are both much impressed with what they hear of Christian doctrine, and still more with what they see of Christian lives. Meanwhile, in the form of a long correspondence with Artemidorus, occupying the third part of the fourth book, every argument against the truth of Christianity and Christian miracles is urged in the most telling manner, in order to dissuade Onesimus from becoming a Christian. Though Onesimus wrote much in defence of the Christian teaching, yet, as he says of himself—

'I was very far from following the Lord, yea and perhaps all the farther that I had learned to talk admiringly of Him as of a man on a level with Socrates, and Pythagoras, and others. For this kind of admiration took up that place in my heart which should have been filled by faith or trust, and left no room for them. Nor indeed was I at that time fit to come to the Saviour, because my eyes were not yet open to discern my own sins so as to desire forgiveness, for the Saviour calls unto himself the weary and heavy laden, but I was not yet weary enough, nor felt as yet the burden of my sinfulness. . . .

'I erred in the pride of my heart, because I preferred the wisdom of the Greeks to the wisdom of the Lord Jesus. Therefore didst thou, O All-Wise, permit me to have my heart's desire, and to serve the Greek Philosophy, and to take that yoke on my neck, that I might prove it and know it, whether that service were freedom indeed, and then didst Thou make me pass through the dark valley of affliction, and didst suffer my wandering steps to stumble and sink in the mire of wickedness, to the intent that I might understand at last that the Wisdom of the Greeks,

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for all the beauty of it, and the pleasant sound of it, has no power to lift up a drowning soul from the deep waters of sin.'

From Antioch Onesimus and his master went on to Jerusalem, where both were rather repelled by the narrowness of the Jewish Christians; but a longer stay was prevented by the illness of Philemon's wife, and they sailed from Cæsarea to Ephesus. On the voyage a storm drove them into the Piræus, where they lodged with Molon, a rhetorician, and when Philemon returned to Colossæ Onesimus was left behind for a time to study and improve himself. This led to his falling in love with Molon's daughter, Eucharis, and writing to Philemon to ask him to emancipate him, as he had promised to do, that he might marry her. Philemon's reply was a summons to return immediately to Colossæ, where he found that his master had joined the Christians, and objected to his marriage with Eucharis as a heathen, but offered to emancipate him on condition of his marrying a wife whom he had selected for him at Colossæ. This Onesimus refused, and owing to his master's conduct in this and other respects, conceived a great prejudice against Christianity. The breach with his master was increased by the artifices of a fellow-slave, who accused him of stealing. The news of the death of Eucharis coming at this time so upset him that he attempted to commit suicide, and was only saved by his master's entrance.

Stung to madness by reproaches which Philemon addressed to him, he sprung on him and wounded him with his own *stilus*. He was of course immediately seized and put in confinement, but managed to escape by night, carrying off his master's purse with a large sum of money. When hiding in the mountains he fell in with a wandering priest of Cybele, leader of a troop of dancers. With them he joined company, and sank for a time into the lowest stage of riotous and unclean living, till they came to Pergamos. There he chanced to learn from the priest of Asclepius that some months before his mother had come to inquire of him for her twin sons who had been exposed many years before, describing them by the tokens which Onesimus and his brother Chrestus had had on. This circumstance gave a new turn to his thoughts, and roused him for a time from his dissolute life; but before long, haunted by fear of capture by Philemon, he left Pergamos and went to Corinth, and thence to Rome, supporting himself as a low actor or buffoon.

It was thus that he fell in with the Apostle Paul, whom he recognized in his prison as the man who had blessed him in his childhood at Lystra. Though he endeavoured to harden his heart, he could not resist his influence. There seemed a spell on him which led him against his intentions to go and listen to the Apostle's preaching at the house of Tryphena and Tryphosa, when he was converted and passed from darkness to light. After his baptism he returned to Colossæ to Philemon, and was received by him as a brother, and before long appointed to labour with him in the ministry.

Once again he goes to Rome, hearing that S. Paul was under sentence of death (S. Peter having been executed), that he might see him before he died. With some difficulty he finds him in one of

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the dungeons of the Palace, more dead than alive from the treatment which he had received. But the Apostle, revived by the food which Onesimus had brought, is able to converse with him, and to tell him the story of his life. Then, as the time drew near for his execution, the Apostle says to Onesimus: 'Now, my son, because the time is short, let us make haste to be with Christ a while, and with all the company of the Saints, both the blessed ones that have gone to rest before us and those that have remained below.'

'Then'—Onesimus continues—'he took of the bread and wine which I had brought, and when he had broken and blessed, we ate and drank, and the Apostle called on the Lord in prayer,' and afterwards bade him farewell.

In the eighth book Onesimus takes up his history again, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem. He relates how he had been to Britain to see Philochristus, in order to hear tidings of his mother from a former nurse, a slave in the household of Pomponia. Seven years he remained with Philochristus in Britain, and then returned in the time of Domitian's persecution to take the place of the martyred Bishop of Cæsarea. Two years after, having gone to Smyrna, he was there seized by the Proconsul, and cast into a dungeon, and thrown to the wild beasts together with Trophimus. The narrative of this martyrdom is taken from that of S. Perpetua. It will be clear from this mere outline of the autobiography, that the author has a wide scope for the exercise of his powers of description and delineation of character. It is no easy matter to clothe the dry bones of a bygone age with real flesh and blood, and to bring the living characters before our eyes. We think that even in a field where John Mason Neale, Cardinal Newman, and others of equal note, have tried their hand, the writer of *Onesimus* is by no means the least successful. He is thoroughly familiar with the history and literature of the period which he treats, and succeeds in giving his readers an insight into the spirit of the times without any pedantic display of learning.

But the question that immediately concerns us is this—What is the end which the author proposes to himself? Is it merely to give us a vivid picture of the doubts and questionings of the first century, or has he throughout an eye to the nineteenth? And if the latter, what are the views which he is anxious to promote? What is his own theological standpoint? We may say at once, that, very reluctantly and after much careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that the object of the book, very consistently pursued, is to eliminate the supernatural element from the Gospel narrative as regards miracles and prophecies, or at any rate to minimize it. On our first reading, at least till we came to the eighth book, we were disposed to take a more favourable view, and to hope that the writer of *Philochristus* was working his way to a more definite belief.

There are many passages which favour such a view, which it is only fair to quote,—showing, if words mean anything, an acknowledgment of our Lord's Divinity and of the Resurrection. Of course in a work of this kind, where different opinions are represented as held by

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different speakers, it is important to know with which of the 'dramatis personæ' the writer is to be identified. One naturally assumes that it is with Onesimus himself, especially when Onesimus adopts the opinions of S. Paul or of Philochristus.

This is what he says of Philochristus:—'In all his discourses he spoke of the Lord Jesus as being verily a man in all points, sin only excepted—subject, as men are subject, to both pain and death, but none the less as being the Beginning and Goal of human life, the Eternal love of God, spiritually begotten of God before the foundation of the world.' And of S. Paul's teaching:—'In all his doctrine he made mention of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus as being the foundation of the whole Gospel, and the seal of its truth.' 'Strive thou earnestly to keep pure and undefiled that truth which is the source and foundation of the rest, that Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, hath manifested to us the love of the Father through Himself, and that he, having verily risen from the dead, reigneth in Heaven, and helps his Saints on earth' (p. 253). And again in his own person. 'Between these two errors—some denying that the Lord Jesus was Divine, and others denying that he was human—the Church was marvellously guided by the hand of the Lord to hold fast the true belief, namely, that he was both human and divine.' 'Thus by the Spirit it was revealed even to the simplest and meanest of the brethren that in Christ Jesus God and man are joined together.'

It is painful, after such language, to have to suggest any doubt as to the writer's belief 'in the literal resurrection of the human body of Jesus,' 'a denial of which,' as Canon Liddon observes, 'involves nothing less than an absolute and total rejection of Christianity.' This certainly was the case with *Philochristus*, and it is the impression left on our mind by the general tenor of the language used, that he considers the appearances of our Lord after his resurrection to have been rather of the nature of phantasms presented to the minds of impressionable women in a state bordering on ecstasy.

Assuming his belief in the literal reality of the Resurrection, it is difficult to understand his evident desire to get rid as much as possible of the miraculous element from the Gospel; for, as Dr. Liddon has said, 'If the Resurrection be admitted as a fact, it is puerile to object to the other miracles of Jesus.' It is not our province, however, to defend his logical consistency, but it is quite clear that the tendency of all he writes is to raise a suspicion that the miracles recorded in our present Gospels did not for the most part form a portion of the original record, but were subsequent additions to gratify the appetite for the marvellous. The words attributed to Artemidorus seem to express his own view (p. 95):—

'It is beyond all question that in a few years, if not already, the believers in this new faith will have clothed or embellished the life of their leader with all manner of wonders, which in itself it had not. And already I discern this process of clothing in the beginning and first endeavour. For whereas your Lucius preaches about the Star of Judah shining, and the preparing a table in the wilderness, and the stilling of the storm by Him whose path is on the deep waters, and the testimony of

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Moses and Elias on the right hand and on the left of Christus, and the giving of the bread of life, and the living water, I doubt not but that these and many other figures and metaphors either are, or speedily will be, so interlaced with the tradition of the life of Christus, that his followers will soon believe that he did really and actually walk upon the waves, and bestow upon them miraculous water, and wine, and bread; yea, and that a special star shone forth at his birth, and that Moses and Elias did really appear on his right hand and left, bearing testimony to him, and a thousand other portents.'

Onesimus, in answer to his question concerning the wonders said to have been wrought by Christus, replies :—

'That in the Tradition almost all the works are works of healing, and all to be explained according to nature, saving some four or five, and these four or five seem to me to have arisen from figures of speech, or prophecies, or hyperbole. For example, the tradition contains already that story of the casting out of the swine from the demoniac, whereof you wrote to me, but diversely reported, some saying that it happened at a placed called Gerasa, but others at Gadara.'

Of the Transfiguration and voice at our Lord's baptism he says :—'I know not whether it is not fitter to set it down as a vision or waking dream than as an error springing from a figure of speech.' Of the stilling of the storm, he cannot say whether it has sprung from metaphor misunderstood, or from some phantasm apparent to the fishermen. The two feedings of the multitude he judges to have sprung altogether from metaphor; the cursing and withering of the barren fig-tree to have been a misconstruing by the Christians of the parable of the barren fig-tree. Again he says—'Whereas the ancient books of the Jews contain two accounts how prophets raised up them that were dead, the Tradition has no such relation, except concerning a little child who had but a few minutes been pronounced dead, and in whom doubtless the life was not extinct.' And he goes on to relate how, in an argument with Jews who maintained the superiority of Elisha's miracle, a Christian made shift to reply that it was reported at Ephesus that Christus had raised up a man that was dead and carried out to burial, to which the Jew rejoined that if Christus had been greater than Elisha, he would have gone beyond this and raised up one that had been dead and buried three or four days. The Christians were disturbed that they had no relation to bring forward of one raised after being some days buried, but Onesimus adds, 'Methinks before many years some such tradition as this is likely to find a place in the traditions of the sect.'

Here then we have a theory of the *genesis* of miracles or myths. It may be said that these are not the views of the writer; but some additional light is thrown on the subject by a note (p. 309) in which, for further information on the nature of the *Tradition* mentioned by Onesimus, we are referred to an article on the Gospels in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

We turn to the article, and we find such passages as the following :—

'The first two supernatural narratives peculiar to S. Luke suggest to many minds a symbolical interpretation, and raise the question whether

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they, and possibly some of the other miracles, may be emblematic rather than historical. Luke's other principal miracle is also considered by many to have arisen from metaphor misunderstood.

'Many will be so far influenced by the extraordinary beauty of the story (of the widow's son at Nain), and perhaps by the fact that the custom of early burial among the Jews might reduce this, like the case of Jairus' daughter, to the level of *natural* though marvellous events, as to believe that we have in it not legend, but history.'

And with reference to the casting out the Legion of Devils—'It has been suggested that this extremely difficult narrative may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the phenomena of possession.[1] But it is perhaps more likely that the variation in the name of the place points to some misunderstanding as to the origin of the story.'

We do not think we are doing injustice to the author in assuming that Onesimus throughout expresses his own sentiments. The general tendency of the whole of the eighth book is to throw doubt on the Gospel narrative, outside what he calls the Tradition, or the matter common to the three Synoptic Gospels (p. 272). For instance, Onesimus coming back to Rome after seven years' absence in Britain, finds that the beliefs of which he had written to Artemidorus as being currently reported among the faithful, but not yet added to the Tradition, were accepted by all. He borrows copies of the three Gospels, and finds least addition of wonders and other doubtful matters in the Gospel said by most to have been written according to the teaching of Marcus, 'only in some two or three passages figures of speech appeared to have been interpreted according to the letter.' 'But the other two books, though they contained most excellent traditions, very full and ample, of certain words of the Lord, had added supplements touching the birth of the Lord Jesus and his childhood and youth, and also concerning his manifestations after his rising from the dead, which were not known to me.' So he writes to Philochristus in Britain, asking his judgment on the three books which he sends him. Philochristus replies in words full of significance:—'They contain relations of certain matters whereof I neither saw nor heard aught while I followed the Lord Jesus in Galilee; nor have I heard ought of them *from the disciples*, nor *from the Lord's* brethren, nor *from the Mother of the Lord.* Nevertheless it is possible that they may have been revealed to the disciples after my coming to this island;' and he counsels him to go to Ephesus and question John, the disciple of the Lord. 'For if neither he nor I know aught of these new traditions, then it is likely that they are *not* according to truth; but if he consent unto them, then they are without doubt true.' But supposing he could not learn from S. John, he was not to be troubled overmuch.

'The exact truth, it may be, thou shalt never find out in this life, but thy duty to thy brethren thou canst certainly find out. I say not that thou in thy doctrine and preaching should teach or even assent to these new traditions; but what I say is this, that if the worship of the Lord Jesus be enwrapped (among the unlearned) in some integument of doubtful tradition which *commendeth itself to the brethren because they*

[1] Compare the Letter of Artemidorus, p. 97.

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*cannot easily believe that he worked mightily in the Spirit unless they also believe that he wrought mighty works according to the flesh*, then I say it needeth not, nor is fit, that thou shouldest spend thy time in rending this integument asunder, but rather that thou shouldest labour to teach the main truth.

'But thou sayest that "a time may come when these traditions shall be found to be false, and then the common people finding a part of the tradition of the acts of the Lord to be false, will cast aside the whole as a mere fable." Well and wisely is this said; yet have I faith in truth, and whensoever the danger whereof thou speakest shall press upon the Church, then I doubt not but the Lord, who is also the truth, shall raise up teachers that have skill to sift the true from the false.'

Onesimus is prevented for two years from going to S. John, but then 'craving after certainty concerning the additions to the Tradition' he sets out to see the Apostle, who is still alive, but on his way he suffers martyrdom at Smyrna, and consequently no certainty is to be obtained, and so the matter is left with a decided presumption against the truth of the larger part of the Gospel narrative and an explaining away of the supernatural element even in that portion.

The author evidently considers that he is one of the 'teachers raised up with skill to sift the true from the false,' with the honest conviction (as we fully admit) that by surrendering the miraculous element in the Gospels he shall save the rest. Vain delusion!

We have exhausted our limits, but feel bound to strengthen the position we have taken, by referring to his method of dealing with the conversion of S. Paul in a narrative purporting to be given by the Apostle himself to Onesimus. To us his whole conception of the character of Saul before his conversion—as one struggling against conviction and trying to stifle the voice of conscience—seems utterly inconsistent with the Apostle's account of himself; but, be this as it may, what we chiefly complain of is the evident desire in all the imaginary details to lead up, so to speak, to his conversion, so as to make this but the last of a series of impressions on Saul's mind, and as much as possible get rid of its objective reality.

These are the words which he puts into the mouth of the Apostle after describing his conflicts of mind:—

'We journeyed slowly, for the burden of the Lord was grievous upon me, and my eyes, which were infirm by nature, were now *more than ever dimmed and dazzled, so that I could scarcely endure the light of day*. Likewise by night evil dreams departed not from me. Now also methought I began to hear a strange voice, yet as it were in my heart and not in my ears, accusing me as if some one reasoned with me; accusing me that I had slain Stephanus without cause. . . .

'By this time we were come unawares within sight of Damascus; and I looking afar off upon the pleasant gardens that encompassed the city, rejoiced greatly, because here, I said, I shall have rest from my weariness, and here these voices of Satan will cease from troubling me. But even as I spake thus within my soul, the Voice came to me much louder than before, and not once but many times: "Wilt thou yet continue this course of blood? Wilt thou again shed innocent blood? Wilt thou yet kick against the goad of the truth?" Then I made answer, "Yes, I will continue;" and these words I repeated again and



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again. Then suddenly the hand of the Lord fell on me, my body seeming on fire as well as my soul, and my eyes not knowing whither to turn for pain, and at last I could no longer contain myself for the sore agony of my doubting, but said aloud (yet not so that my companions could hear), "If now that deceiver Stephanus were no deceiver, if"—and behold I looked up to heaven as Stephanus had looked, and lo, a brightness indeed, as of the glory of God; and a voice no longer in my soul but in my ears also penetrating to my soul, and saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Then I fell upon my face, knowing who it was that spoke, yet constrained to ask as though I knew not, and I said, "Who art thou, Lord?" And he said, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest,"' &c., &c.

We may observe that all mention of S. Paul's companions is carefully omitted, and a stress is laid on the state of his eyes *before* he saw the light from heaven. So in the subsequent account of the visit of Ananias, instead of his sight being at once restored, as we are told in the Acts, we read, 'presently I began to see *a little*, and in no very long space I was made whole and received my sight as before.'

The evident animus, as we have said, of the whole, is to minimize the supernatural element without positively denying it.

Here we must take our leave of *Onesimus*, and we can only express our regret that a work so full of interest, so devout in tone, should yet be, rather in the impression which it is calculated to leave, than in its direct teaching, of so dangerous a character as tending to destroy all belief in supernatural religion.

BOOKS ON THE REVISED NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *Should the Revised New Testament be Authorized?* By Sir EDMUND BECKETT, Bart., LL.D., Q.C., F.R.A.S., Chancellor and Vicar-General of York. (London: John Murray, 1882.)
2. *The Quarterly Review*, No. 305. (London: John Murray.)
3. *Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the New Testament, with an Appendix containing the Chief Textual Changes.* By B. H. KENNEDY, D.D., Canon of Ely, and Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882.)
4. *A Word on the Revised Version of the New Testament.* By the Rev. W. G. HUMPHRY, B.D. (London: S.P.C.K., 1881.)
5. *Otium Norvicense.* Pars Tertia. Notes on Select Passages of the Greek Testament, chiefly with reference to Recent English Versions. By FREDERICK FIELD, M.A., LL.D., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Oxford, 1881.)

1. SIR EDMUND BECKETT'S book 'is not meant for a general review of the Revised Version, but only for an examination of its claim to be authorized for public use.' He acknowledges 'its value as a commentary of a particular kind,' but maintains that 'the enormous number of alterations which convict themselves of being unnecessary, since everybody can see that they involve no change of meaning,' and the fact that the Revisers 'have hardly ever changed a sentence without spoiling its English, sometimes by the smallest touch or transposition of a word and still more by the larger alterations,' are entirely fatal

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to its claim to be authorized for public use in our churches. In order to prove his point he selects for detailed criticism S. Matthew's Gospel, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, and goes through them—

'noticing the alterations which seem material enough for special criticism, but necessarily passing by a multitude of others which only fall under the general remark that they are unnecessary on the face of them, as they involve no difference of sense, and spoil the old version for nothing except the abstract satisfaction of construing a few Greek words more literally or more uniformly.'

The fullest criticism of the Revised Version is most desirable, and the method adopted is reasonable. But the criticisms are of the most hasty and shallow description, as we shall proceed to show. Sir Edmund Beckett 'does not pretend to be much of a scholar,' and is 'only furbishing up a rusty old sword for this easy job.' If he had had the decency to treat the 'job' of criticizing the work of a body of the best Greek scholars and divines in the country with common respect, he would at least have deserved a patient hearing. Any individual is entitled to his own opinion as to whether the reasons for change in any given case were adequate or inadequate; but he is not entitled to assert that there is no reason for change when a moment's reflection and the use of a concordance would have shown the reasons which actuated the Revisers.

We proceed to examine a few specimens of his criticism, in order to show their superficial character. First, let us consider one of his examples of 'spoiled rhythm:'—

'Matt. i. 23.—"Which is, being interpreted, God with us," instead of "which being interpreted is, God with us," illustrates the capacity of the Revisers for spoiling sentences with the smallest possible exertion, and for no visible object. Here the mere transposition of that little "is" makes all the difference between a lively, solemn, and harmonious sentence, and one as flat, inharmonious and pedantic as a modern Act of Parliament or the Revisers' preface. It is also a minor defect that it requires attention to the stops on each side of "being interpreted" to avoid reading it as "being in course of interpretation."'

We shall not presume to arbitrate between the relative merits of the two renderings. We merely wish to point out that the Act of Parliament English and obnoxious commas are really due to the translators of 1611, who are generally supposed to have been masters of English style. The phrase occurs in five other passages only (Mark v. 41; xv. 22, 34; John i. 41; Acts iv. 36), and in all of them the rendering of 1611 is, '*which, being interpreted, is.*' The Revisers therefore were merely assimilating the rendering in S. Matthew to the usage of the Authorized Version elsewhere, and if wrong, may be pardoned for having been misled by its authority.

Next let us examine one of Sir Edmund Beckett's instances of 'unnecessary change.'

'S. Matt. iii. 3, 4.—Why is "make ye ready the way of the Lord" any better than "prepare ye the way of the Lord"? Can they pretend that such a change was necessary to correct any plain and clear



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error?' If he had taken the trouble to turn to the parallel passage in S. Mark i. 2, 3, he would have found that the Revisers had to find some way of representing two different Greek words for 'prepare,' a distinction causelessly obliterated by the Authorized Version; and if he had further turned to S. Luke i. 17, he would have found words expressing the distinction already used in the Authorized Version. The change, far from being unnecessary, is absolutely demanded by the most moderate degree of faithfulness to the original, and brings out an interesting coincidence between the words in which the Baptist's mission was described by the angel to Zacharias, and the prophetic language in which his mission was foretold. It is not without interest to notice that the Revisers have here restored the rendering of Wiclif.

We pass on to consider one or two of the cases which are adduced to prove the Revisers' violation of English idiom. The use of the article in '*the* sower went forth to sow' (Matt. xiii. 3, 7) is condemned as un-English. Here, it is true, Sir Edmund Beckett can quote the weighty support of the Bishop of Lincoln. But surely a rendering which stands in Tyndale and in the Great Bible can hardly be condemned as bad English. In English, no less than in Greek, the article may serve to define and individualize the sower who is pictured in the parable, though no doubt an ordinary writer of English would not employ the article in such a case.

Again, on the rendering, 'When Herod's birthday came, the daughter of Herodias danced *in the midst*' (Matt. xiv. 7), his comment is:—

> 'Would any human being say that in English, except a small boy in a school-room? . . . Perhaps the Authorized Version might as well have said "before them *all*," but that is no excuse for substituting such a piece of bald and ugly literalism as "dancing in the midst," not even "of them," which would have been rather more tolerable.'

Perhaps the phrase is a somewhat bald one, but the Revisers can scarcely be severely blamed for using it when it is employed more than once in the Authorized Version as a rendering of the same Greek words (S. John viii. 3, 9, cp. xx. 19, 26).

We must trouble our readers with one more example of this superficial style of criticism. 'S. Matt. xxvii. 50.—They alter "yielded up the ghost" (Authorized Version) to "yielded up his spirit," τὸ πνεῦμα. The words mean absolutely the same (in this sense), but one is good old idiomatic English still in use; the other a thing never said by any human being.' For our own part we cannot see why 'yielded up his spirit' is not at least as good English as 'yielded up the ghost,' an expression which no modern writer would think of using; and the new rendering brings out the striking connexion between the LORD'S cry recorded by S. Luke, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit,' and the language used by S. Matthew and S. John to describe His death. Surely the words employed by these Evangelists (ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα—παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα) were deliberately chosen to express His voluntary yielding up of that spirit which He had just commended to His Father's charge. Yet

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the link of connexion is invisible to the reader of the Authorized Version, and, if the Revisers' change is condemned, must remain so.

These are fair samples of the random and hasty character of the criticisms contained in this work. We should not have thought it worth while to comment on them at length, did we not feel strongly the importance of a fair hearing being given to the Revised Version, and did we not fear that readers who cannot check Sir Edmund Beckett's statements by constant and careful reference to the original Greek, might be misled by the dogmatic tone of authority with which he writes. Some of his criticisms no doubt have strong arguments in their favour; but we wish to make it clear to our readers that his assertions that rhythm is bad, that idiom is un-English, or that alterations are causeless, must never be accepted without careful scrutiny and verification.

2. The Quarterly Reviewer is much at one with Sir Edmund Beckett in his general estimate of the merits of the Revised Version. His critical sword is not so rusty; but he deals his blows wildly, and not a few of them strike the air. The Revisers, he thinks, have ostentatiously set at defiance the principle of introducing as few alterations as possible, and have made a vast multitude of unnecessary changes. He admits 'the duty of rendering identical expressions in *strictly parallel places of the Gospels* by strictly identical language,' but differs from the principle of adopting a uniform rendering for the same word wherever it occurs. We are aware that the principle of variety of rendering has been vigorously defended by able authorities, and it is possible that the opposite principle of uniformity has sometimes been carried to excess in the Revised Version; yet we cannot but think that in the translation of a book, every word of which we desire to study with minute attention, it is of primary importance to preserve the distinctions of the original wherever it can be done. Why, for example—to take one of the changes most strongly objected to, and most justly objected to if rhythm is the paramount consideration—should *Omnipotent* take the place of *Almighty* in one isolated passage (Rev. xix. 6)? Παντοκράτωρ is a word characteristic of the Apocalypse, and in all the other passages where it occurs, as well as in the Nicene Creed, it is translated *Almighty*. Yet this is one of the changes condemned by the Reviewer and Sir Edmund Beckett as unnecessary. Many, perhaps, will sympathize with the Reviewer's charge against the Revisers of 'offensive pedantry' in the rendering of the tenses. Possibly they have been over-bold; but we believe that time and familiarity will reconcile us to many renderings which now seem hopelessly harsh. The question is not solely one of English idiom. The Greek language makes fine distinctions, often of high theological significance, which English is not accustomed to do. Is it impossible for us to learn to make those distinctions? For example, in S. John xvii. 4 *ff*, the aorists are not merely synonymous with perfects. They have a special and forcible meaning. Must we be content to leave this unsuggested to the English reader? Or, to take another case, the Reviewer may call it 'pedantry to thrust in *I have believed*' in S. John xi. 27; but the perfect tense is

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not identical in meaning with the present used in the Lord's question in the previous verse. Martha is unable as yet to answer the Lord's question with a full affirmative, but rests on the faith she had already gained in past days, and still held fast, and therefore says not *I believe* but *I have believed.*

The Reviewer repeatedly returns to the attack on the Revisers' readings, and again lays the blame of misleading the Revisers on Professors Westcott and Hort. 'The new Greek text,' he says, 'is in the main a reproduction of the recent labours of Drs. Westcott and Hort.' The substantial trustworthiness of their results has already been maintained in the pages of this *Review*; but it may be worth while to point out here that by far the majority of the Revisers' readings are those adopted, not by Drs. Westcott and Hort only, but by the best textual critics of the century, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; that the Revisers were certainly not actuated by any slavish adherence to the Professor's text, which contains many readings not recognized at all, and many which are only given as marginal alternatives, in the Revised Version; and that the American Revisers, who discussed the questions independently, rarely differ from the textual decisions of the English company.

3. Dr. Kennedy's volume contains three sermons preached in Ely Cathedral last July, the first of them having been also preached before the University of Cambridge in January 1861, with an introductory letter to Dr. Scrivener, and appendices. One of these, which gives (in English) the chief alterations in the Revised Version, due to textual corrections, will be useful to the English reader. In common with Mr. Humphry's tract, the book possesses the special interest of lifting a corner of the veil, and giving us a glimpse of the Revisers at their work, and the reasons of one of their number for dissenting from the decision of the majority in certain cases. We wish space allowed us to quote the Professor's defence of the Revisers for restoring Tyndale's rendering '*love*' in 1 Cor. xiii., in place of '*charity*,' which the Authorized Version apparently took from the Vulgate, or its daughter, the Rhenish Version. The change has been severely blamed, but the Professor's arguments are very weighty; and when the novelty has worn off, the gain may very probably be felt to overbalance the loss.

4. Of Mr. Humphry's tract we need say no more than heartily to commend it to those of our readers who have not already seen it, as an excellent exposition, in brief compass, of the Revisers' principles, with illustrative comments explaining the reasons for change in a series of selected passages.

5. We have reserved Dr. Field's work to the last, because it is not merely a criticism of the Revised Version, but, in the words of the preface, 'the author's contribution to the common stock of materials for the right understanding of that part of the Word of God to which they relate.' Part of the work is taken up with 'a comparison of the venerable Authorized Version with its more modern competitors;' the remainder is of a more miscellaneous character. Its distinctive feature is the illustration of the language of the New Tes-

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tament from classical sources. The whole deserves careful study. Dr. Field's argument against the marginal alternative '*Moreh*, a Hebrew expression of condemnation,' in S. Matt. v. 22, is conclusive. It ought never to have found a place even in the margin. The exhaustive note on τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, in S. Matt. xvi. 12, is admirable. But it is needless to select instances; the whole book is full of ripe scholarship and sound learning, which command our respect even where we cannot agree with the writer's conclusions. The more we have of such criticism on the Revised Version the better. Octogenarian as he is, the vigour of Dr. Field's mind is unabated.

It will not be out of place to conclude this series of notices by a few words on the position and prospects of the Revised Version generally. Much of the criticism in books and reviews has failed to appreciate the difficulty of the Revisers' task, and fastening upon the blemishes and imperfections of their work, real or imaginary, has ignored its merits. The 'irresponsible reviewer' seems moreover to assume that the majority of the Revisers fold their hands over the completed work in self-satisfied complacency. Mr. Humphry speaks much to the point when he says, in words quoted with hearty approval by Dr. Kennedy :—

'You will readily believe that neither I nor any of my colleagues is able to stand up for the revision as the product of absolute wisdom. Each of us, times without number, has been outvoted by a "tyrant majority." There is no sentence in our preface which had our more hearty approval than that which confesses to the existence of blemishes, imperfections, failures; though if each of us had made out a list of such blots, no two of the lists, probably, would have been found to agree. It cannot be otherwise where many minds are discussing the multifarious details of a long and difficult work, though the advantages arising from their joint counsel greatly outweigh the drawbacks' (p. 21).

But what answer is to be given to Sir Edmund Beckett's question, 'Should the Revised Version be authorized?' We entirely agree with Dr. Field when he says :—

'A new version of the Bible for the use of students who could follow the original tongues might safely be left to the ordinary purveyors of sacred literature, and to private speculation. The solemn acceptance of the completed work by the English-speaking portion of the Church of Christ, its authorized introduction into the reading-desk and pulpit, its ascendency in our schools, families, and closets, is the sole worthy aim, the *dignus vindice nodus*, which should gather so large an assembly of scholars and divines, for ten or fifteen years at stated intervals, round the table of the Jerusalem Chamber, to compare together the results of so many hours of laborious investigation, conducted in their respective studies at home' (p. iii).

But it is quite premature to talk of authorization at present, and not less premature to talk of the absolute impossibility of authorizing such a book as the Revised New Testament. Before the question of authorization can be fairly entertained the Old Testament must be published, and that is not likely to be ready for one, two, or possibly three years. Then the difficult question must be faced, whether any alterations are needed for the sake of uniformity in the complete work.

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'I venture to ask those who are the proper persons,' writes Dr. Kennedy, 'to consider and decide whether, after the interval of a year, within which time criticism at home and abroad may have said its last word, the Revising Company might not usefully be invited to meet again, and while they review their reviewers, to review themselves by such light as would have been gained. To what steps such a review might lead, I do not presume, as a single member, to suggest.'

Whether such a reopening of questions already decided after mature deliberation is possible or desirable may be doubted; but in any case it should not be attempted until the revised Bible is in our hands as a whole. We share Dr. Field's confidence when he says, after mentioning some of the objections brought against the Revised Version: '*Non nostrum est tantas componere lites*; but that they will be *composed*, and that the final result will be, in conjunction with the revised Hebrew Scriptures, a work worthy to take its place as the English Bible of the future, we have no doubt' (p. v.); and we agree with Dr. Kennedy that—

'A heavy responsibility would rest somewhere if the present great opportunity should be frittered away instead of being improved to the utmost; if Bibles and liturgies containing proved corruptions and errors in important passages were long left to circulate among Christian people, as representing the pure Word of God. To many minds this would seem to be a shame and a scandal' (p. xvii.).

Let the Revised New Testament be studied in private, let it be used as the basis of commentaries, let it be freely quoted in the pulpit, for the next few years. Time will show if it can make its way, not by Act of Parliament, but by its own intrinsic excellence. Those who have been familiar with the words of the Authorized Version, if only for a space of fifteen or twenty years—how much more those who have stored them in their memories for half a century and longer—cannot be expected to feel affection for this stranger, with whom they have not yet had twelve months' acquaintance; but its claims to their respect are weighty, and we believe that respect will slowly but surely ripen into affection as they come to recognize its substantial value.

'I repudiate the notion,' wrote the Bishop of Durham, when the work of Revision had only just been commenced, 'that it is the business of a translator, when he is dealing with the Bible, to *improve* the style of his author, having before my eyes the warning examples of the past, and believing that all such attempts will end in discomfiture. Is it not one great merit of our English Version, regarded as a literary work, that it has naturalized in our language the magnificent Hebraisms of the original?'[1]

Is it chimerical to hope that the Revised Version may naturalize among us something of the exacter methods of expression, something of the finer distinctions of thought, in which the Greek language is unrivalled, and which are better appreciated by the scholarship of the nineteenth century than by that of the sixteenth? We cannot agree with the antiquated type of scholarship which assumes that Evangelists and Apostles used tenses and prepositions

[1] *On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament.* Preface to the second edition, p. xiii.

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and articles and conjunctions without regard to their proper meaning; nor can we think that it is impossible, or at any rate not worth while, to reproduce that meaning in English. But that meaning will not always be at once intelligible. Familiar words are sad tyrants; and many readers think the sense which they have been accustomed to attach to the well-known words of the Authorized Version is the true sense, and stigmatize changes as meaningless, when the fault lies with themselves for not appreciating the new and truer meaning brought out by some apparently trivial alteration.

We will conclude by quoting once more the words of the Bishop of Durham, written more than ten years ago. The first part of his anticipation has been realized: we believe that the rest is destined to be realized also:—

'Let us suppose that the revision, which we are about to undertake, is successfully accomplished. How are we to deal with it? If the work commends itself at once to all or to a large majority as superior to the present version, then let it by all means be substituted by some formal authorization. But this is quite too much to expect. Though S. Jerome's Revision was incomparably better than the Old Latin, though the superiority of our received English Version to its predecessors is allowed on all hands, no such instantaneous welcome was afforded to either. They had to run the gauntlet of adverse criticism; they fought their way to acceptance inch by inch. I suppose that no one who takes part in this new revision is so sanguine as to hope that his work will be more tenderly treated. This being so, it does not seem to be necessary, and it is perhaps not even advisable, that the new Revised Version, if successfully completed, should at once authoritatively displace the old. Only let it not be prohibited. Give it a fair field, and a few years will decide the question of superiority. I do not myself consider it to be a great evil that for a time two concurrent versions should be in use. This at least seems a simple practical solution, unless indeed there should be such an immediate convergence of opinion in favour of the Revised Version, as past experience does not encourage us to expect.'[1]

History has begun to repeat itself: we expect to see the parallel completed.

*The Making of England.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. LL.D. (London: Macmillan, 1881.)

'HAPPY is the country,' said Frederick William IV. of Prussia when visiting Eton, 'where the new is ever old, and the old is ever new.' It is this great blessing of social and political continuity, this absence of any such chasm as parts the France that now is from the France that was before 1789, which gives to Mr. Green's subject its inexhaustible interest for all Englishmen: an interest enhanced, so far as enhancement is possible, by the vividness of his style and the animation of his tone. The present volume is indeed to some extent a reproduction or expansion of the first sections of his *Short History of the English People;* but it has a most attractive specialty of its own in the prominence given to physical geography, the care with which the face of the country, as it existed in the fifth and sixth centuries,

[1] *On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, p. 16 (1871).

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is made to 'play its part in the written record of that history to which it gives so much of its shape and form' (Preface, p. vii.): that part being an explanation of the slowness of the English conquest by reference to the local conditions which facilitated the tenacious resistance of the natives, who, 'as each bit of ground was torn away from' them, 'sullenly drew back from it to fight as stubbornly for the next' (p. 133). We are made to see what various barriers crossed the path of Jute, or Saxon, or Angle: to appreciate the importance in this respect of the dim mysterious Andredsweald, the swamps along the Thames near ancient London, the fens of the Trent, the waters out of which the isle of Avalon lifted itself, as Dean Alford's 'Ballad of Glastonbury' has it, 'above the flood of the Severn sea,' the Hambleton Hills, the Cheviots, and the Chilterns, Cannock Chase, and Waltham Chase, the forests of Arden, of Charnwood, and of Sherwood, of Worcestershire, Dorsetshire, and of the Frome valley, not to speak of 'the stormy hills of Wales,' and the Tor district of Dartmoor. We see also the strongholds of man's making which Rome had left at Richborough and Reculver, at Pevensey and Colchester, at Silchester, at Marlborough, and at Old Sarum. We look on while the Jutes leave Durovernum, the predecessor of Canterbury, 'in blackened and solitary ruin;' while the Angles take York and Leicester, and the East Saxons conquer Verulamium and London, and the West Saxons cross the Thames at Wallingford (Welshmen's ford) to subdue Oxfordshire and Bucks, and then 'wheel westward' until they conquer the district of Cirencester and Bath and Gloucester, and reach the goal of their northward advance by burning the great 'white town' at the foot of the Wrekin. And we are reminded of the two great rallyings of British energy which threw back the West Saxons at Badbury or 'Mons Badonicus' in 520, and at Faddiley near Nantwich in 583, and of the 'strife of the conquerors,' in which young King Ethelbert received his check at Wimbledon, and the Hwiccas, with British allies, smote down the mighty Ceawlin on the downs of the White Horse. He assigns their full importance to other great battles, as that of Degsæstan, where Ethelfrid routed the Scots; or the Idle, in which he fell before Redwald; or Heavenfield, where the British 'rally came to an end' and Northumbria was rescued from Paganism; or Winwædfield (the locality of which he does not specify), where Mercia for a while fell with Penda; or the second battle of Wanborough, where Wessex resisted a Mercian attack in 715; or Burford, where it shook off Mercian supremacy in 754.

Famous towns and famous places under Mr. Green's touch stand out in sunshine. We look round from the site of S. Paul's, and see the 'brick houses and red-tiled roofs, pierced with a network of narrow alleys,' with villas stretching out along the 'hollow bourne,' and a cemetery at Shoreditch, and Roman embankments limiting the 'lagoon' at Southwark. We are helped to associate 'the massive walls' that still girdle Chester with the times in which the old Camp of the Legions was a North-Welsh capital until it yielded to Ethelfrid the Fierce. On the 'sovereign hill,' as Wordsworth calls it, which dominates the fen-country we learn to substitute 'the square

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fortress' of Lindum for the glorious minster of Lincoln. Anyone who knows the ruined abbey of Whitby will recognize the truth of an exquisite descriptive passage which aims at reproducing 'the waste in which Hild reared her home, its grey reaches of desolate water, its dark tracts of desolate moor' (p. 368). Again, Mr. Green takes us, as it were, into the Roman country houses, such as have been discovered at Bignor and Woodchester, and points out the heating apparatus, the mosaic floors, the wall frescoes of nymphs or of a 'Roman holiday.' The scene changes, and we see the Yorkshire provincials snatching up weapons and brooches, and driving off their cattle, as they fly to moorland caves for a shelter involving what was little better than slow death. And his Oxford readers will be grateful for the loyal recollections which give Shotover a place in his record in connection with the old British town of Bensington, and resolve St. Aldate Street into the 'Fish Street' which represented the 'fishermen's huts creeping up from the ford' towards S. Frideswide's.

We observe that here and there *The Making of England* corrects the *Short History*. The old mistake, started by Elmham (perhaps from a misapprehension of the sense of 'parochias' in the decrees of Hertford) and followed by other writers, including Hook, to the effect that Theodore created parishes in England, had been followed in the earlier book (p. 30). In the present volume (p. 380) we are rightly told that Theodore 'does not seem to have dealt with the station or revenues of the lower clergy,' and that 'the development of a parish system' naturally followed during the next century on that organization of the episcopate in which, while breaking up the large dioceses which had been co-extensive with kingdoms, Theodore 'only fell back on the tribal demarcations which lay within the limits of each kingdom,' as in Mercia and East Anglia (p. 343).

Mr. Green seems also to have somewhat modified his former view as to the fate of the Britons. In the *Short History* the conquest is described as 'a sheer dispossession *and slaughter*' of the conquered race; he now says 'there is no need to believe that the clearing of the land meant the general slaughter of the men who held it. . . . For the most part the Britons cannot have been slaughtered; they were simply defeated and drew back' (p. 135). Whither? Into the inland 'forests,' into Elmet and Cumbria, into Wales and Devon and Cornwall. He denies, as he did before, that they were 'left as a subject population:' that is, he holds to the view rejected by Mr. Pearson, and by the late Professor Brewer (see the latter's review of the *Short History* in his *English Studies*, p. 68), and he seems to speak more absolutely than Professor Stubbs, who admits that 'in the country, especially towards the west and the debateable border, great numbers of Britons may have survived in servile or half-servile condition' (*Const. Hist.*, i. 70). He also clings to the new fashion of reducing English proper names, however familiar their modern forms may have become, to what he believes to be their primitive spelling. We agree with Mr. Brewer in objecting to this rigorism, to which even the great authority of Mr. Freeman cannot reconcile us, and which Dr. Stubbs significantly ignores. Doubtless the popular form of a proper

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name must be surrendered when it suggests a misleading idea, as 'Charlemagne' suggests the idea of a Frenchman and not of a Teuton. But who is misled by the sounds, so musical to our ears, and so deep-rooted in our memories, of Bede and Edwin, of Alfred and Edward? or who can make household words of Bæda or Eadwine, Ælfred, or Eadward? No intelligent person supposes that the names, as we now commonly write them, are precisely and literally what they were when first written, any more than that the Apostles spoke of 'John' or 'Peter,' or that the correspondents of Hieronymus wrote to 'Jerome.' A historian may reasonably give, in the first instance, the original form of the name, and then, if a later form has become part of our literature or our speech, he had better keep to it, and secure freshness at the cost of minute accuracy. Mr. Green himself is not consistent in this precision. Not only does he give to places the names which they bear at present, after mentioning those which they bore of old, but he feels free to speak of Gregory, of Augustine, of Bertha, of Theodore, and has no scruple in favour of Wilfrith and Cuthberht, although he turns the name of 'Colum' (see Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 5) into 'Colom,' and inflicts on his readers the monstrosity of Colomba. It is curious that Alcuin is in one place (p. 427) written 'Alcwine.' We grant that the beloved father of English history wrote himself Bæda; but it is as Bede that for ages he has had a home in English hearts.

And now we must observe that Mr. Green has in a few cases read his 'Bæda' somewhat hastily. Two of these instances relate to the brief but splendid career of that true saint-king who regained Northumbria for Christ, and who, 'being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time.' Mr. Green says that 'at the *pressure* of Oswald, Penda murdered Eadfrid' (p. 291), and for this statement he cites 'Bæda, H. E., lib. ii. c. 20.' But Bede only says that this murder took place 'regnante Osualdo.' Again (p. 294) we read that whereas 'the first thought of every northern warrior as he fell had till now been a hope that kinsmen would avenge his death upon his slayers,' Oswald's 'last words, as he saw himself girt about with bloodthirsty foes, passed into a proverb: "God have mercy on their souls, as Oswald said ere he fell" (Bæda, H. E. iii. 12, p. 294).'

We have no doubt that so noble a Christian as S. Oswald was wont to pray for his enemies; but it happens that Bede understood his words on that occasion as a prayer 'pro animabus exercitus sui.' The point of the 'proverbium,' Bede tells us, was that his last utterance was a prayer, 'quod etiam inter verba orationis vitam finierit.'

Again, although it is but a small point, it is as well to be right about the place where S. Aidan died. He did not die 'among his brethren at Lindisfarne' (p. 297), but, as Bede takes special care to tell us (iii. 17), under an awning outside the west end of the church of Bamborough.

Again, Mr. Green says that

'Theodore solved the vexed question of their disputed orders by re-consecrating Bisi as bishop over East Anglia, and Ceadda as bishop of Mercia' (p. 332).

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For this he refers to 'Bæda, H. E. lib. iv. 2, 3,' and Florence of Worcester, a. 673. Neither of them say one word about any *re*-consecration of Bisi. How, indeed, should they? Bisi was of the East Anglian line of bishops beginning with S. Felix; he had nothing to do with the Scotic Church, or with the British; he was simply consecrated by Theodore after the death of his predecessor Boniface, or 'Berctgils,' who died in 669 (comp. Bede, iii. 20, iv. 5; and see Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum*, pp. 2, 3).

Again, we cannot understand why Birinus is said to have come from Gaul (p. 293), whereas he came through Gaul from Genoa (Bede, iii. 7). But the most singular of these oversights occurs in p. 223.

'To the eastward of Canterbury rose the abbey of S. Peter and S. Paul, in which Augustine and his successors sat as abbots.'

This monastery was built with a view to a burial-place for Augustine and his successors (Bede, i. 33); but their home was Christ Church, where their 'cathedra' was placed, and where they lived in monastic fashion with their clergy (Bede, i. 27, 33). The custom of interring the archbishops in SS. Peter and Paul's—otherwise S. Augustine's—came to an end in the eighth century (see Dean Hook's lively account of the burial of Archbishop Cuthbert at Christ Church, *Lives of Archbishops*, i. 233). Mr. Green seems also to mistake the sense of 'librarius' in one of Bede's letters. It does not mean 'librarian' (p. 400), but copyist: see the *Præfatio de Retractatione Actuum*, 'an incuriâ librariorum sint depravata,' &c., and Ducange, 'Librorum descriptor.'

Mr. Green dates the establishment of the Irish kingdom of British Dalriada in Argyllshire 'at the close of the Roman rule over Britain' (p. 231). But the received date for the coming of Fergus Mac Erc from Ireland to Argyllshire is at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, about ninety years after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain. It is hardly necessary on such a point to refer to Mr. Skene or Dean Reeves.

The simile of 'the sparrow' has a special charm for Mr. Green, as for all thoughtful and sympathetic readers of the grand story of King Edwin. He says well, in regard to it, that

'To finer minds the charm of Christianity lay then, as now, in the light it threw on the darkness which encompassed men's lives, the darkness of the future as of the past' (p. 263).

We cannot help quoting the lines in which Mr. Palgrave has recently embodied the Northumbrian ealdorman's deduction from his touching parable:—

'But if this pale Paulinus
Have somewhat more to tell,
Some news of whence and whither,
And where the soul may dwell;
If on that outer darkness
The sun of Hope may shine,
He makes life worth the living,—
I take his God for mine!'

(*Visions of England*, p. 27.)

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We give as one sample of Mr. Green's eloquence, and also of his tendency to exaggeration, his estimate of that Irish Christianity which did such great things for Northumbria, but which, happily on the whole (see pp. 317, 324), gave way in 664 to the ordinary European type. Having shown how the old Irish Church, being intensely monastic, was also intensely tribal, and therefore deficient in the spirit of order and unity, he goes on thus:—

'The Celtic passion, like the Celtic anarchy, stamped itself on Irish religion. There was something strangely picturesque in its asceticism, in its terrible penances, its lifelong fasts, its sudden contrasts of wrath and piety, the sweetness and tenderness of its legends and hymns, the awful vindictiveness of its curses. But in good, as in ill, its type of moral conduct was utterly unlike that which Christianity elsewhere developed. It was wanting in moral earnestness, in the sense of human dignity, in self-command; it showed little power over the passions of anger and revenge; it recognized spiritual excellence in a rigid abstinence from sensual excess and the repetition of countless hymns and countless litanies. But on the other hand, Ireland gave to Christianity a force, a passionateness, a restless energy, such as it had never known before. It threw around it something of the grace, the witchery, the romance of the Irish temper. It coloured even its tenderness with the peculiar pathos of the Celt. . . . It is this peculiar tenderness that gives its charm to the love of living things that colours the legends of Celtic saints' (p. 286).

And then he tells us of the great missionary of Hy 'caressing the head which a horse (it was his own old white horse) thrust into his lap,' and of the Apostle of Ireland as setting an example of 'charity to animals' (we thank Mr. Green for that phrase) by gently carrying away a fawn which he had found on the spot chosen for his church at Armagh.

Perhaps the tersest and most energetic passage in the book is that which closes the account of our fathers' heathenism (described as devoid of moral influence), military and civil organization, social distinctions, and law-making. Having exhibited the gradations of 'tun-moot,' (or village-moot), hundred-moot, and folk-moot, Mr. Green says, *à propos* of a paltry gibe at Parliament as a 'talking-shop':

'The "talk" of the village moot, the strife and judgment of men giving freely their own rede, and setting it as freely aside for what they learn to be the wiser rede of other men, is the groundwork of English history' (p. 194).

The maps, it should be added, are a great addition to the usefulness of the volume; but a little colouring would have made them clearer. And the index is far from being complete.

*Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarum.* Printed by McCorquodale & Co., with Thirteen Illustrations. For the Editor, W. G. HENDERSON, D.C.L. (Leeds, 1882.)

When in January, 1880, we had occasion to speak of the *Sarum Processional* as the next *desideratum* among service books to be reprinted, we had no expectation of having our wish gratified so speedily.

We are glad to see it accurately and excellently printed in a comparatively cheap form; and we may add that the illustrations (a dozen from the edition of 1508 (which are similar to those of 1502), the second being copied from the commoner set of 1528, and later

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editions) are to be had separately, on large or small paper, and that they will be suitable for insertion in the Sarum *Missale* (of which the fourth or concluding part is, we hope, nearly ready) or in Mr. A. H. Pearson's *translation* of the same.

Other books of Sarum Use are interesting because they contain much that the compilers of our Book of Common Prayer have preserved. The Processional has its importance rather as the representative of what was swept away. It was perhaps supposed that the constant use of prayers, praises, and readings, in the vulgar tongue, would supply the place of the popular processions.

The *Sarum Processional*, all things considered, is hardly so rare a book as might have been supposed. In 1850, Mr. Dickinson gave a list of fifty-nine copies, representing about fourteen editions. We know of eight or nine other copies. One which has come to our knowledge only this month, has, we regret to say, been generally overlooked. It is earlier than the Rouen edition of 1508, which Dr. Henderson supposes to be the first known.

The copy to which we refer was printed by R. Pynson, in 1502, on vellum. It is now in the library of S. John's College, Oxford. The title is wanting, but the colophon (kindly transcribed for us by the Rev. J. W. Stanbridge) is as follows :—

'Processionalib*us* (diligenti cura ac industria correct: ad usu*m* insignis p*re*clareq*ue* ecclesie Sar*um* impressisq*ue* per Rychardu*m* Pynson: signo georgii in Fletestrete co*m*morante*m*) finis felix adhibit*us* pridie ydus Noue*m*bris anno salut. mil° ccccc.ii.

*Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* The Occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the Old Use of Salisbury, the Prymer in English, and other Prayers and Forms, with Dissertations and Notes. By WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A. 3 vols. Second edition. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882.)

THE first edition of this work, published by Mr. Pickering (1846–7), has done so much for the enlightenment of two generations with respect to the ritual and offices of the Church of England that we need do little more than give a hearty welcome to this new edition, and point out how far it differs from its predecessor.

Volume I. contains, as before, the offices from the Sarum Manual and Pontifical, which correspond with the part of our Prayer-Book from the *Order of Baptism* to that of *Burial of the Dead.* The old form for making a Will, which appeared in the Appendix of 1847, here takes its proper place. The Order of a Synod, preceded by various Benedictions (that for a foundation-stone not having appeared in ed. 1), and the Consecration of a Churchyard, completes the text of the volume; but the Reconciliation of a Church or Churchyard is here very properly appended to the Consecration Service instead of standing as it used to do in the third volume.

The famous dissertation on Service Books heads the volume. It contains these new items: Agonal, Albus liber, Collationum liber, Confessionale, Exultet rolls, Festivalis, Ministerialis (= Pontificale), Obsequiale, Postilla, Responsorium, Tabula, Viola sanctorum.

Volume II. in the new edition contains the ceremonies of Coro-

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nation, Ordination, Enthronization, Pall, Royal and Episcopal Receptions, Banners and Ring; in other words, the contents of vol. iii. in the first edition. Then follow the forms of Degradation and Restoration, Excommunication, Absolution, and Reconciliation. The new matter here is the Litany sung at the coronation of Queen Matilda, pp. 85–88, which (as Mr. Maskell notes) has been already printed by Dr. Henderson in the *York Pontifical*. The *Defensorium Directorii* keeps its old place at the end of vol. ii. It is a pity that there was not room for the *Crede Michi*, which certainly ought to accompany it. But there are 550 pages in the volume as it is.

Volume III. is practically vol. ii. of the old edition. It comprises the Prymer in English with its dissertation slightly enlarged. We observe extracts in the notes from two *Additional MSS.*, a new note on *Antiphona* (p. 66), a reference to the Cornish word to *hele*.[1] Among the miscellanies in the text are a fragment of a metrical calendar, versions of the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, The manner to Make a Nun, from a Cotton MS., Office for King Henry VI., and two Indulgences in the vernacular.

We are happy to say that the work still keeps the form of an aid to the student of our Book of Common Prayer. A close observer may notice the omission of a few passages; or he may see a few criticisms on the reformed Church of England. Mr. Maskell remarks in the Preface on the necessity of ritual appearing as an evidence of a 'claim to teach with certainty what is true and what is not true.' He quotes a passage which we have often thought to be particularly interesting at the present time, as giving either the testimony of a foreigner that copes and chasubles were worn among us early in the eighteenth century, or at least the interpretation put upon the Ornaments Rubric by an eminent Gallican ritualist at that period, *Grancolas*, 'Comment. Hist. in Romanum Breviarium,' lib. i. cap. xii.

We will conclude by thanking Mr. Maskell for his frank apology (i. 113; iii. 107, 124, 403) for the English Book of Common Prayer against certain ignorant criticisms which have been made upon it.

*Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day.* (London: Masters, 1882.)

The Marquess of Bute has done a useful and unpretending piece of liturgical work in this translation. A short preface gives a few words on each of the following subjects: the Offices of the Egyptian Church, certain modern practices, the structure and arrangement of Egyptian churches, and the pronunciation of Coptic. The main book, which is for the most part printed in parallel columns of Coptic or Greek and English, contains first the Prayer of the Morning Incense preparatory to the Liturgy; then the Coptic Liturgy of S. Basil the Great, with a few liturgical notes; and an appendix on the Canonical Hours of the Divine Office. Lord Bute's aim, he tells us, has been to provide a portable handbook for English travellers in Egypt, to enable them to follow intelligently the Sunday morning service of the Coptic Christians.

[1] The old explanation of '*beltidum*,' criticized by Professor Stubbs, *Councils*, III. 585, has not been abandoned, III. liv. *n.* 87.

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THE

# CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº XXVIII. *JULY* 1882.

## ART. I.—THE EARLY MASTERS OF COLOGNE.

1. *A History of Flemish Painting.* By J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. (London.)
2. *Geschichte der Christlichen Malerei.* Dr. HOTHO. (Stuttgart, 1867.)
3. *Nachrichten v. d. Leben u. d. Werken Kölnischer Künstler.* Dr. MERLO. (Cologne, 1850–52.)
4. *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste.* Dr. KARL SCHNAASE. (Düsseldorf, 1845–64.)
5. *Kleine Schriften und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte.* FRANZ KUGLER. (Stuttgart, 1853–54)

WE are so much accustomed to think of early German art as hard and prosaic, purely realistic in tone and devoid of grace and sweetness, that we are apt to overlook the work of those German masters who had a true feeling for beauty, and were prompted by a genuine inspiration.

In the whole range of northern art, perhaps no school is more full of interest than that which flourished at Cologne in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The history of its painters is involved in obscurity; their very names are almost unknown: but in German cities their pictures still gladden the eye and refresh the mind of the traveller wearied with looking at endless specimens of Rubens and Guido. Essentially Teutonic in character, this school is distinguished by an ideal beauty and nobleness of type, a refinement and delicacy, wanting in ordinary German art. All that was fairest and best in the age when it flourished, the graceful and elevated spirit of chivalry, the rare and tender charm that breathes in the lays of the Minnesänger, the quiet joys of burgher life, find reflection in the works of Meister



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Wilhelm and Stephan and the scholars who trod in their steps, while the deeper emotions and more exalted aims which animate the higher forms of art are never absent from their conceptions.

The ancient and historic city of Cologne was the centre where this fair flower of mediæval art blossomed under northern skies. Founded by the legions of Augustus, on the banks of the Rhine, where the fort of the conquered Eburones had stood, illustrious in Roman times as the birthplace of the Empress Agrippina, who gave the infant colony her name, Cologne had already a great past behind her. Above all she was rich in Christian traditions and memories of martyred saints. As early as 94 A.D. her first bishop, Maternus, had raised a church in honour of S. Cecilia. Within her gates—so said the legend—Ursula and her virgins had died for the faith, and Gereon and the Theban legion had laid down their lives rather than give up the Cross at the command of Maximinian. Future generations had vied with each other in paying honours to their memory. The mother of Constantine had herself erected a church to S. Gereon, which was soon followed by the building of another in commemoration of S. Ursula; and under Charles the Great countless pious foundations enriched Cologne. Celebrated as the holy city, the Rome of the North, it became her boast that she counted as many churches as days in the year within her walls, while her archbishops were personages of political importance, and her merchants carried the German name into distant countries. 'Qui non vidit Coloniam,' so the common saying ran, 'non vidit Germaniam.'

All these causes combined to render Cologne a home for art, and from Roman days painting seems to have been cultivated by her sons. As civilization receded before the barbarians, whatever fragments of culture remained in the Rhineland found shelter in convents, and the illumination of missals and choir-books was almost the only form of art which survived the general wreck. With Charles the Great came the first dawn of a better day. The Rhineland was the seat of his court, and the best artists from all parts of the civilized world were summoned to adorn his cathedral at Aachen and hundred-pillared palace at Ingelheim. The warlike expeditions of the Saxon Othos into Italy, and the marriage of Otho II. with the Greek Princess, Theophania, had the effect of introducing that Byzantine influence which is visible in the rude art of the period, but it is not till the fourteenth century that any great advance becomes evident.

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Before that time the Crusades, more perhaps than any other cause, had contributed to mould the national character. Not only was the sight of foreign climes and strange people, and the assembly of men of all nations under the same banner, calculated to break down old barriers and open new realms of thought, but the common enthusiasm which had seized hold of men became the means of developing in a remarkable manner two of the strongest sentiments that ever stirred the German breast—the chivalrous worship of women, and the love of Fatherland.

The same passion swayed the heart of the true knight, whether he looked with reverent eyes on the face of the mistress to whom the service of his sword was pledged, or whether he knelt before the shrine of the Virgin whose protection he sought in the perils of the field. His love for that divine lady might be of a spiritual nature, purified from all earthly motives, but it was still *Das Ewig-weibliche* which attracted him and remained the object of his worship. And when, strong with a courage into which all the intensity of his love had passed, he had gone out to the holy wars, and, amid the tumult and dangers of battle-scenes in that far East, the sweet thought of wife and child came back to him, the yearning for home and kin, for the safe accustomed place and sure welcome awaiting him by his own hearth, sank deep into his soul, and the love of *Vaterland* became a conscious part of the national mind.

Then German life and German language began to move freely; a national poetry, a national style of architecture arose. The minstrel sang his all-absorbing devotion to the '*süss-innigliche Minne*,' the severe solemnity of the Romanesque pillar gave place to the graceful Gothic shaft, and the worn-out remnants of debased classic art dropped off, leaving the young national thought free to express itself in its own rude but vigorous and independent form.

Nowhere are greater facilities afforded us for the study of these first steps of German art than at Cologne, one of the first cities which became renowned for her painters, as early as 1200. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his Rittergedicht of Parsifal, speaks of them as men of well-known repute in Germany.

'Es haette kein Maler zu Koeln oder Maestricht,
So gibt die Aventure bericht,
Eine Kriegergestalt gemalt so schoen
Als der Knap zu Ross war anzusehn.'

Specimens of their work at this time are still to be seen



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both in the city and surrounding country. Chief among these may be mentioned the mosaics and paintings in the crypt of S. Gereon's church, the saints and reposing angel of the baptistery, and the ten life-size figures of Apostles on slate, inscribed with the date 1224, and which, although much repainted, still retain a certain dignity. More important in point of conception are the twenty-four subjects intended to illustrate the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a colossal Christ in the centre, on the vaulted roof of the Abbey of Brauweiler. These also belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the attitude of the hand in the Greek rite of benediction, as here introduced, shows that Byzantine influences were then still prevalent. But in the earliest pictures of the Museum of Cologne, most of which belong to the latter part of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, as well as in the miniatures of the missals and Minnelieder of this period, we find Byzantine types abandoned for the freer conceptions of German artists, graceless and hard enough with their gaudy patches of vermilion and ultramarine, and utter absence of shadow or harmony, yet containing the germs of better things, and here and there showing a perceptible striving after individual expression.

In 1162 a new treasure had been added to the relics which Cologne already possessed, when, after Barbarossa's conquest of Milan, Reinold, Archbishop of Cologne, brought back with him the bones of the Magi, reputed to have been discovered in India by the Empress Helena, and afterwards carried to Italy from S. Sophia.

'Rejoice, O holy city, rich in honours, and thank God who has chosen thee before every other city in the world to be the happy shrine of the Three Kings!' exclaimed the chronicler; and Cologne had good cause to rejoice in this new acquisition, which brought pilgrims from all parts of the world to visit these relics. The old Byzantine cathedral belonging to the eighth century was soon held unworthy to contain these precious treasures; and, after the idea of erecting a new temple had been first entertained by Archbishop Engelbert, the destruction of the old building by fire in 1248 rendered the execution of his design necessary. Accordingly, in the same year, the first stone of a Dom intended to surpass in grandeur and costliness any church that had been hitherto seen was laid by Archbishop Conrad, of Hochsted, in the presence of the Emperor and his whole court, and by 1322 the choir was entirely completed.

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The progress of such a work within the walls of Cologne could not fail to collect skilled artists from all parts of the world, and to exert a powerful influence on the men before whose eyes the beautiful fabric, resting on its giant buttresses, and bristling with pinnacles, with finials and Marien-blumen, rose slowly into being. Before long we hear that native sculptors were employed to carve the statues of the Apostles which still adorn the pillars of the choir, while Cologne goldsmiths worked a tabernacle so exquisite in beauty that it was said to rival Orgagna's shrine of Or San Michele, but which perished in the last century by the vandal hands of the Cathedral Chapter. This latter branch of art especially appears to have reached a high degree of perfection, and the fame of Cologne goldsmiths spread even into Italy. Ghiberti mentions one of them who lived at Naples in the employment of Charles of Anjou, an artist of marvellous skill, whose hard fate it was to see the *tavola d'oro*, which he had worked with exceeding pains and love, melted down to supply his patron's necessities; upon which, overwhelmed with grief and seized with a sense of the vanity of earthly fame, he retired to a hermitage and devoted the remainder of his life to the instruction of young artists and other good works.

Painting in her turn felt the new impulse; and although the wall paintings of the Cathedral choir, representing the Three Kings, and completed before the consecration of the building in 1322, are still rude in character, before the end of the century we discover undoubted signs of a revived feeling for nature and beauty.

The man whose genius raised the Cologne school out of darkness and barbarism, and made further advance possible to his followers, was a painter by name Meister Wilhelm. His history is plunged in obscurity; it is difficult to point out with certainty any of his works; but contemporary writers unite in a general outburst of wonder and admiration at his appearance.

'About this time,' says the Limburgh Chronicler, writing in the year 1380, 'there lived at Cologne a famous painter, called Wilhelm, who was the best master in all the German land, and painted every man as if he were alive.'

In the Annals of the Dominicans at Frankfort we find a notice worded in almost exactly the same terms: 'At that time, 1380, there lived at Cologne a most excellent painter whose like in his art there was not. His name was Wilhelm, and he made pictures of men which almost appeared to live.'

These notices, curiously similar to the rapturous expres-

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sions with which the Florentines of the fourteenth century hailed the advent of Giotto, have been found to agree with the Cologne registers, where frequent mention is made of a painter named Wilhelm, a native of the neighbouring village of Herle, who settled in Cologne in the year 1358. He and his wife Jutta are named as buying a house in the street known as the Schildergasse, and exclusively inhabited at that time by painters and sculptors, or workers in stained glass and tapestry. Wilhelm was then evidently already in the enjoyment of considerable reputation, and by his talents and industry seems to have acquired some fortune, for in the following years he constantly appears before the public assessor to provide for annuities to be paid to himself and his wife, and in 1371 bought two other houses. In 1372 he is again mentioned, this time as receiving payment for a miniature he had painted; after which no other record of him remains until his death in 1378, when he left half his property to his widow and the other half to his sister Christina, the wife of a tax collector. Jutta afterwards married Heinrich Wynrich von Wesel, the best of Wilhelm's scholars, and during many years a prosperous and distinguished burgher of Cologne.

From the remnants of the wall-paintings in the *Rathhaus* there can be little doubt that Meister Wilhelm was the nameless artist who received 220 marks for his works there between 1370 and 1380; and the loss of these is the more to be deplored since, unlike Giotto, this seems to have been the only occasion on which he devoted his talents to the decoration of any large space. Enough, however, of his work is left to show us his real greatness, and give us some idea of the new power which drew that cry of wondering admiration from the lips of his countrymen.

The picture known as the 'Klarenaltar' now in the Cathedral, is the largest work of his that remains in tolerable preservation, and may be taken as a fair example of his style. It consists of an altar-piece with folding panels and a central tabernacle of richly carved Gothic work, intended to receive the reserved Host for the adoration of the nuns in the Convent of S. Clare, for which it was originally executed. The life of Christ is here represented in twenty-four compartments. The upper series, illustrating the Passion, is very inferior to the rest, and has a good deal of the affected grace and exaggerated action that we find in Wilhelm's scholars; but in the twelve lower compartments, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin and the childhood of Christ, we at once recog-

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nize the master-hand, the like of which, in the words of the old chronicler, had never yet been known in German art. The old stiffness and hardness are gone; in the place of broad patches of red and gold we have a soft, broken colouring, delicately fused tints, and clear, transparent shadows. The figures which stand out in bold relief on the gold background are slender and youthful, with a drooping grace and slight inclination that give them a certain spiritual air—'the soul is quite alive, the body scarcely so'—and feeble and incorrect as much of the drawing still remains, the draperies fall in graceful easy folds which no other painter of that day could have approached. In all Wilhelm's forms we notice a decided tendency to length; the figures are tall and slight, while the heads are generally oval in shape, with long delicate features and eyes of dove-like sweetness. Those of the women in the lower scenes of the 'Klarenaltar' are especially winning in the gentle yet animated expression and innocent joy of their faces. All the gestures are marked by the same child-like naïveté; and the simplicity of the domestic incidents, where the Child bends from the manger to embrace His Mother, or attending maidens kneel round the bath which Joseph pours out, is truly German in character. There is even greater charm in the 'Conception of the Virgin:' a fair young girl, with deep thoughtfulness resting on her features as she sits apart pondering the words in her heart. Again in the 'Flight into Egypt' she presses the Child to her breast with all a mother's anxious tenderness. The same simple yet reverent action is observable in the priest celebrating mass who is represented on the door of the tabernacle, and in the child-angels with curly heads and gay-coloured wings who appear in many of the scenes, crowding the skies where the vision comes to the shepherds, and gazing with infinite love, infinite wonder, in their faces, on the cradle of Bethlehem:—'Which things the angels desire to look into.' Again and again in the works of the Cologne painters these angels recur, always remarkable for their beauty and richness of colour and the intent expression of their countenance, whether they wait in reverent attitudes of adoring love around the cradle or the cross, whether they pick roses and play their harps and viols before the crowned Madonna, or, fluttering to and fro above her throne, fill the air with the light and joy of their presence.

Many of these characteristics appear in another series of the life of Christ preserved in the Berlin Gallery, and consisting of thirty-four compartments, among which the scenes of the birth and childhood, especially one where a group

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of children at play are introduced, are again the most noteworthy.

Closely related to these altar-pieces is the 'Madonna' of the Cologne Museum, in which we find, with greater power and elegance, the same blended colouring and tender flesh-modelling, which from Wilhelm had become the peculiar distinction of the Cologne school. The Virgin stands in a flowery meadow, with a drapery of brownish violet thrown over her golden-haired head, holding the Child, who with one hand caresses her fondly, while in the other He holds a golden wreath. On the side-panels are two of those women-saints that Wilhelm loved to paint, with slender forms and oval faces: Katherine between the sword and wheel of her martyrdom, and Barbara holding a little model of a tower in her hands. The idyllic grace that has made this picture one of the painter's most popular works lends its charm to his Berlin 'Madonna,' who appears sitting on the grass between four saints, one of whom, S. Dorothy, offers the Child a basket of flowers, while S. Agnes is seen playing with her lamb, and Elizabeth of Hungary distributes clothes to the poor.

Different in character, but similar to the last-named paintings in the manner of its treatment, is the 'Veronica' of the Munich Pinacothek, which tradition has long ascribed to Meister Wilhelm, and which was probably one of his later works, painted in the full maturity of his powers. In this picture, which Strixner's fine engraving has rendered familiar to many, a small 'Veronica' wearing a red mantle holds the sudarium on which a noble head of Christ is represented, and at either corner of which tiny bright-winged angels appear, singing and playing, or gazing in earnest contemplation on the mystery before their eyes. Their joy and radiance form a fine contrast to the dark tones and suffering expression of the head, which supplies the central thought, and the touching grief on Veronica's delicate features. They have seen beyond this vision of agony and death, and, catching a glimpse of its hidden meaning, can pour out their glad songs and rejoice in the glory that breaks from behind the veil.

Another 'Veronica'—inferior, indeed, but a good specimen of Wilhelm's work, and originally painted for the Lorenzkirche of Cologne—is now in the National Gallery, and, like the Munich picture, is surrounded by lovely little angels, although the fine expression of the head is wanting. The same noble simplicity of conception and skill in the management of draperies is evident in a crucifixion painted on the wall of the sacristy in the church of S. Severin at Cologne, where

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life-sized saints stand beneath the cross and angels hover around, giving vent to their sorrow in gestures full of anguish. Another wall-painting, formerly attributed to Meister Wilhelm, is to be seen over the tomb of Archbishop Kuno von Falkenstein, in the church of S. Castor, at Coblenz, among the figures of which a striking portrait of Kuno himself is introduced. But as the archbishop only died in 1388, several years after the death of Wilhelm, the work must have been executed by one of his immediate followers, perhaps that very Heinrich Wynrich who married his widow.

Of the other pictures which have been attributed at one time or another to Wilhelm, the beautiful painting in the Archbishop's Museum at Cologne, known as the 'Madonna of the Violet or the Seminary,' deserves especial mention. It was long held to be his finest work, until the ruthless criticism of German writers discovered the arms on the shield of the kneeling donor to be those of Elizabeth von Reichenstein, abbess of the convent of S. Cecilia of Cologne in the year 1452. On the strength of this evidence the picture is now generally accepted as an early work of Meister Stephan, but at the same time it must be owned that it retains more of Wilhelm's characteristics than are seen in any other of the later master's creations.

Whoever the painter may have been to whom we owe this 'Madonna,' it is the work of a thorough artist, and may fairly take its place side by side with the best productions of early Italian art. The Virgin, tall in stature, and mildly benignant, stands alone in a meadow carpeted with flowers. No crown adorns her pure maiden brow, but her hair is circled by a string of blue stones, and falls in long tresses on her shoulders. A red robe drapes her form in light and graceful folds, one hand clasps the Child with gentle pressure, while the other holds two violets. In the background, two angels with brown wings peep playfully over a gold-brocaded curtain; above, the Father, the Dove, and a choir of child-angels look down out of blue skies; and at the feet of the Virgin kneels a nun in black habit, the Abbess Elizabeth, with a scroll and coat of arms beside her. The slender shoulders, oval face, and tall, drooping figure all remind us of Wilhelm; but, on the other hand, there is more vigour and health in the form than is usual with him, and the rich embroidered hangings, the pearl and gold ornaments, approach nearer to Stephan's manner; in a word, the best qualities of both masters seem here combined.

Such were the works, whether painted by his hand, or

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inspired by his genius, which have made the name of Wilhelm of Cologne a living reality for us. They are sufficient to fill us with the deepest interest in the man. We long to know more of his life and character, to hear the circumstances which developed his talent, and to learn the secret of his power. But nothing, or next to nothing, transpires to satisfy our curiosity. History and tradition are both strangely silent concerning him. There was no Vasari to collect the gossiping details and numerous anecdotes of Cologne artists; no Boccaccio, in a few graphic touches, to fix the personality of the man for ever on our mind. Little we know, and probably there was little to tell. His days glided calmly by, as the waters of the Rhine flow under the bridges of his own Cologne, clear, deep, tranquil. The noise of war and tumult, the unrest of modern times, never came to mar his work, or break the tenor of his way. He did not travel from court to court, to become the guest of popes and princes, and cover their palaces with frescoes; the churches and convents of Cologne, the burgher-homes of his fellow-citizens, supplied him with all the work he needed, and satisfied his highest aspirations. For him this was enough; and we never find that he sought for more, well content with the quiet life of the old Rhenish city, where the builders each day added a stone to the great Cathedral, and morning after morning he could open his eyes on that wondrous choir, and feel its beauty sink deep into his soul.

And his works are the reflection of this quiet, simple life. Common every-day scenes and homely incidents are the subjects he chooses. The embrace of mother and child, the lovely purity of maidenhood, the peace of angel-guarded homes, are what he excels in painting; where he fails, it is when energy of action and dramatic representation are required. His saints are not ecstatic beings, transfigured with celestial glories, or rapt in a trance of passionate devotion; but youthful knights or burghers full of dignity, fair-faced maidens and noble matrons bending in reverent worship before the lowly shrine of Bethlehem, or scattering flowers at the feet of the Child-King. The angels, which, as we have seen, play so large a part in his conceptions, have all the happy innocence and joy of childhood, and the Madonna herself is less the Queen of Heaven than the Maid-Mother, whose gentle brows are crowned with the highest graces of perfect womanhood.

The same spirit pervades the works of Wilhelm's scholars, who, during the close of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, painted most of the altar-pieces which

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crowd the churches and museums of Cologne, or adorn the collections of other German cities. Following in his steps they copied his types, and used the same pale water-colour, mixed with wax and honey, which for clearness and polish surpasses all other tempera painting: but like all other imitators, they lost his grace and exaggerated his defects. Their histories are unknown to us, and their names have for the most part perished. Members of a guild in which their separate individuality was merged, they did not even follow the Italian practice of signing their pictures, and it is only by a fortunate chance that the name of the second great Cologne master has been preserved.

While Meister Wilhelm's fame had been handed down to succeeding generations by other German writers, the name of the painter of the 'Dombild,' like that of the architect of the cathedral, remained unknown, until a few years ago the discovery of a passage in Albert Dürer's diary revealed the secret. On his journey to the Netherlands he paid a visit to Cologne, and, during his stay there, makes the following entry in his journal: 'Item: I paid two silver pennies for unlocking the picture painted at Cologne by Meister Stephan;' the very fee which is paid to this day by all who visit the 'Dombild.'

On examining the city registers mention was made of a certain Stephen Lothener or Lochner, originally a native of Constance, who was a painter of great consideration in Cologne, where he bought a house in 1452, and married a wife by name Lysbeth. Although evidently an artist of high repute, and twice elected senator by the guild of painters, Meister Stephan seems to have been less prosperous or less wise than Wilhelm, and in his last years was much hampered by money difficulties. In 1444 he sold his first house, and bought two others near the church of S. Alban, but mortgaged a part of these in order to raise money for the purchase. Four years later, at the very time when he sat in the Council as representative of his craft, he proceeded to mortgage the remainder of his house property to a creditor named Everhard von Egmont. In 1451 he was again elected senator; but this time a cross is set against his name, indicating that he died before the year of his office had expired. Further light is thrown on his end by Mathias Quaden, who in his *Teutscher Nation Herligkeit*, published at Cologne in 1609, tells us that Albert Dürer paid a visit to Cologne, and was there shown a beautiful altar-piece before which he stood in speechless wonder. The senators who accompanied him observed, 'not,' says the chronicler, 'without a malicious

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pleasure in showing him what poor men these proud artists were,' that the master who painted that picture had died in a hospital; upon which Albert Dürer returned—'That is an honour of which you do well to be proud! It is indeed a fine matter of praise for you, that such a man, and one through whom your city might have obtained such a glorious name, should have been allowed to die in miserable poverty.'

This statement, when compared with the entry in Dürer's diary, and especially the mention of the senators for whose chapel the 'Dombild' was painted, leaves little doubt that the master whose melancholy end is here mentioned was Stephan Lochner. Probably his houses, already as we know deeply mortgaged, were seized by his creditors; his wife seems to have been no longer living; and thus widowed and childless, reduced to beggary, and without a friend to whom he could turn for help, the great painter was turned out of his home and forced to seek refuge in the hospital, where, in a short time, he died. The sad, brief record forms a mournful contrast to the brightness and harmony, the atmosphere of sunshine and spring beauty, which breathes in every picture that we have from the hand of the master of the 'Dombild.' We hear nothing of Stephan's early training; but his style was evidently formed from that of Meister Wilhelm, whose works, the parish records of S. Alban's Church inform us, the young Constance painter beheld with enthusiastic admiration, and endeavoured with all his power to follow.

Many of the paintings attributed to him probably belong to his early days; but his largest work, and that which must ever form his chief title to fame, is the triptych of the 'Adoration of the Three Kings,' long known as the Cologne 'Dombild.' This great altar-piece, however, was not originally intended for the Cathedral, but for the Rathhauskapelle, erected by the Town Council after the expulsion of the Jews in 1426 on the place where the synagogue had formerly stood. A curious record, dated the Feast of S. John, 1426, still exists in Cologne Museum, by which the burgomaster and council order the erection of a chapel and altar where mass shall be said daily, 'out of love and honour to Almighty God and his worthy Mother, the royal Virgin, in reparation for the manifold dishonour done by the Jews to our dear Lady and her holy Child.' In the course of the next few years the chapel was built; and soon afterwards, probably about 1840, Meister Stephan, then the best artist in Cologne, was chosen to execute a painting for the decoration of its altar. From its original place in the Rathhauskapelle, the

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triptych was removed in modern times to the Agneskapelle of the Cathedral, whence it acquired the name of Dombild, and where it remains to this day. For long its very existence seems to have been forgotten; and from the time when Albert Dürer stood in speechless admiration before it, we hear no mention of the 'Dombild' until Goethe, struck by its high merit, pronounced that the work made an epoch in the history of art. Since then every German traveller and German critic has in turn paid homage at the feet of Stephan's masterpiece, and the best connoisseurs have discovered in his work the combined excellences of the three great Teutonic painters, Van Eyck, Holbein, and Dürer.

The famous altar-piece consists of a large central composition, representing the Adoration of the Kings, with folding doors, on the outside of which we see the Annunciation, while within S. Gereon and S. Ursula appear surrounded by a train of knights and virgins, all the patron saints of Cologne being thus brought together in one painting. Exactly in the centre of the picture the Virgin is royally throned, with a splendid diadem on her brow and a mantle of ultramarine blue, lined with ermine, reaching down to her feet. She is still the pure and gentle maiden of German dreams; her eyes are bent on the ground in virgin modesty, while two angels hold up the corners of a rich hanging behind her, and others, blue winged, hover in the air and look down with tender interest on the scene before them. The Child sits on His Mother's knee, and raises His hand in blessing as the three kings advance in full knightly array, with golden spurs on their heels. The end of the journey is reached, the star which had risen for them in the east rests above the Virgin and Child, and the great moment has arrived. Caspar, distinguished by his noble bearded head and jewel-sewn crimson robe, presents a richly-chased casket of gold; Melchior, in a velvet mantle patterned over with large golden flowers, offers the myrrh; and the youthful Balthasar stands on the right behind him, his head bent forward in eager love, one hand holding an egg-shaped vial, which contains the frankincense, the other laid on his breast with the timid, reverent gesture of one who feels unworthy to advance. Every detail is full of significance: the topstone of the Virgin's crown is a dove with outspread wings; the brooch which fastens her mantle is made in the shape of a flying angel; and the costumes of the kings are all exactly borrowed from the description of the popular legend, as given by the old Cologne chronicler, John of Hildersheim.

All that is joyous and brilliant has been brought together

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to swell the triumph and add splendour to the scene: the pride of worldly pomp, the gleam of armour and jewels, the flutter of banners on the breeze. Close on the footsteps of the kings follow a troop of squires and men-at-arms, bearing their crowns and standards. And then to join in the triumphal procession come the youthful saints who guard the towers of Cologne: Gereon, in shining armour, wearing the cross on his breast, the type of Christian knighthood, surrounded by his soldier youths; Ursula, fair as a bride on her way to meet the bridegroom, with white roses in her hair, and a foretaste of martyrdom in her pale cheeks and drooping form. Her virgins bear her company, and her lover, the beautiful youth Ætherius, stands by her, gazing tenderly on his martyr-bride, who forgets even him as she advances in silent expectation to meet her Lord. For them, too, the end of the journey has come, and the weariness of the way is forgotten as the light breaks upon their faces from the radiant Child. The bitterness of death is past, and they go in hand in hand to the joy of the marriage feast.

The quiet simplicity of the 'Annunciation' on the doors of the triptych offers a striking contrast to the splendour of the great pageant that has passed before our eyes. Yet in conception it rivals the principal subject; and although these panels have suffered most from the effects of exposure, they are, in Kugler's opinion, the finest part of the picture. On one panel the angel, a youthful figure with wide-spread wings, bearing a silver staff and the scroll of salutation in his hands, bends reverently before the maiden purity of Mary, who is represented on the opposite panel as kneeling at a carved wooden desk in a chamber hung with embroidered curtains. Her attire is of the simplest description, without ornament or jewel of any kind; her long hair, smoothly braided on her forehead, rests carelessly on her shoulder, and a large white mantle falls in loose folds to her feet. Beside her is a flowering lily, and above her head floats the heavenly Dove. The message of Gabriel has filled her with awe and wonder; but the habit of dutiful obedience comes to restrain her deep sense of unworthiness, and 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord' breathes in every line of the sweet face and delicately raised hand. Here the childlike simplicity of the mediæval master has approached nearest to the classic type; and as we look at the winning grace of this lowly Virgin we understand the enthusiastic expression of the German critic who cried, as he stood before this panel, '*Meine Wonne!*' We see at once in studying the 'Dombild' that, although most of Wilhelm's

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leading features are retained, art has made a great step since his time. The drawing, still imperfect in some respects, is much improved. The drooping form is retained for the most part; but the figures are more healthy and manly in appearance, marked throughout by a noble and dignified bearing, and natural and vigorous movement. Instead of Wilhelm's tendency to length, we have a decided preference for short forms and round full faces. Those of the women are still distinguished by the same tender beauty, but have more individual character, and the hair is twisted with greater elegance round the head. The feet, on the other hand, are curiously pointed, and drawn downwards in a way that gives all Stephan's figures the appearance of standing on tiptoe. The colouring is still remarkable for its soft-blended tints and clearness of polish; only the tones are deeper and stronger, and reach a richness and brilliancy which have caused this master's oil-varnished tempera to be mistaken for oil-painting. A strong element of the Flemish realism which, even in Stephan's days, was fast gaining ground in German art is visible in the costumes of the principal personages, and in the gorgeous display of fur, and velvet, and jewellery which has taken the place of Wilhelm's mystic, dimly-defined folds of drapery. But the violets and strawberries which start up in the grass under the Virgin's feet, the presence of the hovering angels, the simple grouping, and above all the tender reverence of the saints' heads, remain to show how much Stephan had learnt from the earlier master.

We stand, as it were, on the border land of two epochs, and the new world advances to meet the old. The ideal tendency of early days is still there, only strengthened and developed into fresh power and hardihood. The painter has gained in knowledge, and has not lost the faith and simplicity of his fathers. This, then, is Stephan's greatness, this the title which gives him a claim to be placed side by side with the founder of the Cologne school, as the man who expanded and perfected the art of Cologne without sacrificing anything of its first purity. And not only in his 'Dombild,' but in the smaller altar-pieces we owe to his brush, there is the same happy union of spiritual beauty and realistic vigour. We find it, under its tenderest and most graceful aspect, in those poetic subjects known as '*Paradies Garten*' by the Germans, which, in their spring freshness and joyousness of heart, remind us of the sweetest love-songs of the Minnesänger. The beautiful little painting of the '*Madonna im Rosenhag*' will recur at once to the memory of all who have visited the Cologne Museum.

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Originally intended, like many other pictures of the Cologne school for the decoration of private altars in dwelling houses, this little 'Madonna' is marked by the utmost perfection and delicacy of workmanship; and nothing can exceed the charm of the pearly *Schimmer* which floats over the polished surface. Serene in their heavenly beatitude, Mother and Child smile down upon us from a world on whose fadeless flowers sin and sorrow have never breathed. A bower of roses surrounds them, and angels in whose wings the brightest hues of rose-red, violet, pale blue, and saffron are delicately blended, pluck blossoms from the bush, and offer them to the Child. Others, sitting on a grassy bank, play the harp, organ, and violin; while, above, two more draw back a golden curtain, and reveal the Father gazing lovingly on the happy group.

Another work of this class is the '*Paradies Garten*' belonging to the Prehn collection, and now in the Frankfort library. Here the graceful fancy of the painter has had full play. The Virgin sits in a garden before a table decked with fruit and flowers, and the Child plays on a zither, while maiden saints pick cherries from the boughs or draw water from a well at the side; and S. Michael and S. George stand by under the trees. We hear the rush of waters, the twittering of birds in the branches; leaves are rustling in the breeze, and dewdrops sparkling in the grass. We feel ourselves borne away into the poetic world of the German minstrels, and walking once more in those forest shades through which Siegfrid rode, or resting in the court of some ancient feudal castle where Walther von der Vogelweide poured out his song to the lady of his heart.

Many other paintings of this class, in which saints read out of jewelled books or listen to angelic concerts on the flowery meads of Paradise, are to be found both at Munich and Berlin among the works of the Cologne school, and in their style and subject often resemble fairy legends more than the creations of sacred art.

On a larger scale and graver in character was the altar-piece of the 'Life of Christ' which Stephan executed for the Abbey of Heisterbach, near Bonn; scattered panels of which are still preserved at Cologne and Munich, where some fine single figures of Apostles and Saints are worthy of notice. Three Saints in our National Gallery, small, full-length figures on a gold ground, are good although not highly finished specimens of his manner, and in style of colouring and type of head nearly related to the 'Dombild.' One other work

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undoubtedly by his hand is the 'Presentation of Christ in the Temple,' now at Darmstadt; in which we notice the prevalence of the realistic element which marks his later productions, together with the same fusion of soft grey, and violet, and sea-green hues. The aged Simeon holds the Child in his arms; Mary kneels on the altar-steps offering her pair of doves; and Joseph presents the pence, while above we have the usual appearance of the Father between blue-winged angels. The altar is very elaborate, being draped in cloth of pale blue with embossed metal plates, on which are reliefs representing the history of Moses, Abraham, and Joseph. Boughs of holly strew the floor, and on either side stand a choir of men and children, with round faces and blue eyes, holding wax-lights in their hands. In the group on the right our attention is attracted by a man in a long white mantle, probably the donor, for he wears a cross on his breast, and holds a scroll on which we read the following lines in old German characters:

'Jesu Maria geit uns Loon,
Mit dem rechtferdigen Simeon,
Des Heiltum ich hie zeigen schoen.'

Below is the date 1447, showing us that the picture was painted near the close of Stephan's life, and probably not till after he had completed the 'Dombild.'

The well-known painting of the 'Last Judgment' in the Cologne Museum has also been often ascribed to Stephan; but the nature of the subject was beyond his range, and, although not wanting in power, there is a coarseness in the forms and utter absence of the charm so conspicuous in his heads which prove it to be the work of an inferior hand, probably of some scholar at a time when the Van Eyck influence was fast gaining ground.

From the time of Stephan's death we trace a rapid decline in the Cologne school. The works of his followers extend all through the fifteenth century, and testify to a high degree of energy and productiveness; but evince a gradual loss of that spiritual beauty which had been the peculiar gift of the earlier masters. Flemish realism advanced with ever-hastening steps to invade the guarded precincts of Cologne, and before its onward march the purer life of German art gradually died out.

Nowhere is this foreign influence more apparent than in the famous 'Passion' long in the possession of M. Lyversberg, a series full of vigour and originality, but wanting in all the higher



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qualities for which the Cologne school had been remarkable. A certain John of Cologne is mentioned in the *Memorials of Zwolle* as an excellent painter and goldsmith, living in 1478; but none of his works are known to exist, and in the pictures of the Master of the Passion's followers, in those of the Master of Calcar, and the italianized Bartolomaus de Bruyn, we trace the expiring efforts of old German art through the last years of the fifteenth century. After this the Cologne school, as such, may be said to exist no longer, and the few artists who prolonged the life of painting within her gates were rather Flemish than German. Even then the best masters came to seek inspiration from the works of Wilhelm and Stephan. We see John van Eyck in his 'Antwerp Madonna' closely following the 'Madonna of the Violet,' without, however, being able to approach the Cologne painter in the skill and grace with which he managed draperies, and Wilhelm's 'Madonna' of the Museum becomes in the same manner a model for Hans Memling. This last-named painter especially learnt much from a patient study of the Cologne masters during the years he spent in their city; and the famous shrine of S. Ursula, which he executed for the hospital of Bruges after his return home, bears evident marks of the deep impression they had left on his mind. To them again Holbein is indebted for much of the nobleness and elegance of his figures, and it was at Cologne that he learnt the modelling of flesh-tints and Rhenish style of colouring that he first introduced at Augsburg. Great as these masters were, we find in all of them a want of that true perception of beauty which had belonged to Wilhelm and Stephan, who, however far short of perfection their efforts might fall, always seem to have held a distinct ideal before their eyes. From the first there was in Teutonic painters an inclination to take pleasure in the fantastic, and to feed on what is repulsive rather than what is beautiful. This tendency naturally resulted in vulgarity and caricature, and in its exaggerated form proved fatal to German art. The sunny *Heiterkeit* which shone in the conceptions of those early painters seems to have disappeared in a fog of sombre thought, and although here and there a clear spirit might wrestle his way through cloud and darkness into the light of day, although an Albert Dürer might find expression for his thought, or a Holbein embody a whole world of philosophy in some grand touching humour, without this high serenity the nobler forms of art could not flourish.

Again, the backwardness of civilization and the poverty of German princes were unfavourable to the culture of art, and

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exercised a cramping effect on its development. There were no splendid patrons, no wealthy popes or republics, to supply artists with work on a large scale, and encourage others to follow in their steps. Only one German prince ever gave Dürer a commission; and Holbein had to seek England in order to obtain employment. 'Ah! how I shall freeze for this sunshine!' wrote poor Albert Dürer from Venice; Dürer who never received as much as one hundred florins for all the work he had executed for his native city of Nürnberg, and who, unable to make a livelihood by painting, had recourse to engraving to keep himself from actual starvation.

Then came the Reformation; and, in the wars of religion and the long struggle which ensued for liberty of conscience, art was forgotten. There was no time to paint then; every one must think for himself—think, and examine, and proselytize. Saints and Madonnas were no longer needed when there were no more altars, and painting, forced out of the old paths and confined to narrow limits, sank into a merely mechanical process.

Even Cologne, the Catholic city, Cologne of the many churches, could not resist Protestant influences; the Dom stood still, and the last remnants of the school of painting, which had sprung up under its shadow, died out completely. A change had passed over men's ideas; life was too busy, and they had grown too wise to sit down and dream of paradises where happy saints pluck roses from the bowers, and birds and angels pour out their glad carols round a laughing Child-Christ.

The day had worn too far on; the freshness of morning had for ever passed away; they had '*thought* themselves weary;' and, even in their sleep, such dreams came to them no longer. The old masters of Cologne were forgotten; but their works remained to see the light of another day, and to become precious in the eyes of a later generation as the loveliest flowers of an age rich in poetic fancies, in awakening powers, in high and tender imaginations.



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## ART. II.—THE LITURGY AND RITUAL OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

1. *Missale Antiquissimum* a Leofrico primo Episcopo Exoniensi Ecclesiæ S. Petri datum. (Bodleian MS., No. 579, x.–xi. cent.)
2. *Missale Roberti Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.* (In the Public Library at Rouen. MS., Y. 6, xi. cent.)
3. *Missale Antiquum, or 'the Red Book of Derby.'* (In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. MS., No. 422, xi. cent.)
4. *The Anglo-Saxon Church.* By H. SOAMES. (London, 1844.)
5. *The Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times.* By H. SOAMES. (London, 1848.)
6. *The Church of our Fathers.* By D. ROCK. (London, 1849.)
7. *Origines Anglicanæ.* By J. INETT. (Oxford, 1854.)
8. *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* By J. LINGARD. (London, 1858.)

A VERY considerable number of the Service Books in use in the Church of England in Anglo-Saxon times survive in the larger, chiefly public, libraries of England and France. They consist of Sacramentaries or Missals, Troparies, Passionals, Hymnaries, Collectaria, Pontificals, and Benedictionals, besides numerous Psalters and Books of the Gospels written both in Latin and in the vernacular language of the country. We do not present the reader here with a complete catalogue of such MSS., nor do we propose to discuss the exact meaning of the technical terms, some of them nearly obsolete, by which they are designated. This task has been admirably performed by Mr. Maskell in the introduction to his *Monumenta Ritualia*, of which an enlarged and revised edition has recently appeared. The preservation of so many MSS. of such great antiquity is a remarkable fact. It is due not to a literary, but to a controversial, reason. Learned men and antiquarians, both ecclesiastical and lay, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, entertained a notion that the Anglo-Saxon Church was Protestant in its teaching and doctrine, and that polemical capital against Rome might be made out of its books of devotion as well as out of the

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writings of its divines. Had they read or published these theological remains as well as collected them, they would have discovered how baseless such a theory was. It rests almost entirely upon a single paschal homily of Abbot Elfric, who is generally identified with the Archbishop of Canterbury of that name (995–1005). This homily was translated and printed in 1567 by order of Archbishop Parker, and subscribed to by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by thirteen English bishops, as containing the true Eucharistic doctrine of the Church. Since that time it has been frequently reprinted. It certainly contains some exceptionally strong expressions as to the spiritual nature of the Eucharist, and the absence of any material change of the substances of bread and wine. But these passages cannot fairly be isolated. They must be read in connection with other passages penned by Elfric himself, and by other prominent ecclesiastical authors of the same period, and above all by the authorized formularies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. To insist on isolated utterances has always been, and always will be, a popular and successful controversial manœuvre. It is constantly adopted by Protestants with reference to their favourite texts in the Bible; it is constantly adopted by Romanists, who in their controversy with Anglicanism are fond of quoting the statements made by this or that Anglican bishop, past or present, and arguing as if the whole Anglican Communion was committed to or compromised by them. Many of Mr. Soames' and Dr. Inett's ingenious attempts to prove that the Anglo-Saxon Church was in any sense a Protestant Church would have been impossible, and many of Dr. Rock's and Dr. Lingard's pages of laborious proof to the contrary would have been unnecessary, if the texts of the Anglo-Saxon Office Books had been published. It is better to get your materials before you argue upon them. Unfortunately with few and not very important exceptions[1] this has not been done. The labours of the Surtees Society have been mainly confined to reproducing the service books of the Province of York, belonging to the period between the Conquest and the Reformation. There is no similar society in the Province of Canterbury.

[1] *E.g.* an Anglo-Saxon Collectarium at Durham, published by the Surtees Society in 1840, under the misleading title of *Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*; an eleventh-century Hymnarium at Durham in 1851 (Surt. Soc. vol. xxiii.); the *Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert*, now at Paris, in 1853 (ibid. vol. xxvii.); the *Benedictional of S. Æthelwold*, at Chatsworth, edited by Mr. Gage, in 1832.

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Individual editors, such as Dr. Henderson,[1] Mr. Dickinson and his colleagues,[2] Mr. Pearson,[3] Messrs. Procter and Wordsworth,[4] have mainly confined their attention to the southern and later uses of Hereford and Sarum. The earlier and in that sense more important service books of the English Church have not yet excited the same interest, or met with the same treatment, in part, possibly, owing to the greater difficulty attending their publication, in part owing to their connection being more remote with present controversies and with the structure of the Book of Common Prayer. We propose, accordingly, here to give our readers some account of the Service Books, and through them of certain features of the Service, Liturgy, and Ritual, of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Among such books our attention must be chiefly confined to missals, as being the most important of the various volumes mentioned at the commencement of this article.

It must be borne in mind at starting that, unlike the ancient national Churches of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the Anglo-Saxon Church had no distinctive type of Liturgy of her own. Roman in origin, owing her existence to the forethought of one of the greatest of Roman bishops, planted and fostered in the first instance by Roman missionaries, the Church of England was consistently and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her first liturgical codices, as well as her vestments and church ornaments, came direct from Rome, whence they were sent by Gregory the Great to S. Augustine.[5]

When, therefore, we speak of an Anglo-Saxon missal, we mean a Roman missal with certain additions and modifications, which differentiate and distinguish it from any Continental missal of the same date. Such additions and modifications are chiefly the following:—

(*a*) The introduction into the Kalendar of local festivals, dedications of churches, commemorations of local or national saints, obits of bishops, abbots, or other clergy, or of lay benefactors of the church in which the missal was used. The names of local saints, especially of the patron saint, were also

[1] *Missale Herfordense*, Leeds, 1874.
[2] *Missale Sarisburiense*, Burntisland, 1861.
[3] *The Sarum Missal done into English*, 1868.
[4] *Breviarium ad Usum Sarum*, Cambridge, 1879.
[5] 'Papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo misit . . . quæ ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiæ necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra, et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices plurimos.'—Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 29.

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introduced in three places within the Canon, in the Commemoratio pro Vivis, the Commemoratio pro Defunctis, and in the Embolismus after the Pater Noster; and at the ends of the lists of martyrs, confessors, and virgins invoked in the Litanies forming part of the offices in the Benediction of a Font and the Unction of the Sick.

(*b*) The presence of masses composed in honour of English saints, or for special occasions, or for local church festivals, in the exercise of an independent diocesan power for such purposes, the use of which has only in comparatively recent times passed away.

(*c*) The presence of Anglo-Saxon passages either in the rubrics, which were frequently but not invariably written in the vernacular, or in entries of important events on fly-leaves, or blank leaves, or parts of leaves. Manumissions of slaves are frequently so entered. The act of enfranchisement took place commonly before the high altar of the most important neighbouring church, and the event was chronicled in one of the service books in use there.

(*d*) The presence of local peculiarities of ritual, in such points as the position of the priest, the employment of festal and ferial colours, &c. Ceremonial variations are especially numerous in the offices peculiar to Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and the different days of Holy Week; and in the offices for baptism, marriage, &c., which were included in the ancient Sacramentary, but have been separated from the modern Missal, and are now to be found in the volume known as the Ritual, Manual, or Agenda.

(*e*) The presence of ancient portions of the Eucharistic Service which have long become obsolete, as the triple episcopal benedictions after the Prayer of Consecration, numerous proper Prefaces, &c.

Three MS. missals are in existence written before the Conquest, and actually in use in the English Church before that date. Their names have been prefixed to this article. None of them have been published *in extenso*, though extracts have appeared in print, and considerable use of them has been made by various liturgical writers, especially in modern times.[1] A more detailed account of them than has yet appeared in print will, it is hoped, not be without interest to others besides experts in Liturgiology.

1. The Leofric Missal was bequeathed to the Cathedral of

[1] As by Dr. Rock, Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Maskell. Dr. Henderson has published certain offices from them in recent volumes of the Surtees Society.

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Exeter by Leofric the first bishop of that see (1050–1072), and has long been known under its donor's name. In its present condition it is a stout quarto volume, consisting of 378 leaves of vellum in a brown leather binding, which it received from some Oxford bookbinder about a century ago. It is a very complex volume, consisting of three main and distinct divisions, which, for convenience sake, may be designated as Leofric A, B, C.

Leofric A is a Gregorian Sacramentary written in Lotharingia early in the tenth century.

Leofric B is an Anglo-Saxon Kalendar, with Paschal Tables, &c., written in England about 970.

Leofric C is a heterogeneous collection of masses, manumissions, historical statements, &c., written in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The complexity of the MS. is increased by the confused arrangement of the leaves belonging to these separate parts, and to the occupation of blank pages or portions of earlier pages by later handwritings. It is impossible to say where this dislocation began, or how far it is due to the Oxford binder, nor is it possible to reproduce exactly their original arrangement, a leaf here and there having been entirely lost.

There can be little doubt that Leofric brought (A) with him from the Continent, when, as seems probable, he accompanied Edward the Confessor to England in 1042. He then procured a somewhat more recent Anglo-Saxon Kalendar (B), to which was added a large quantity of material (C), chiefly liturgical, including several masses, one of which at least was composed by himself.[1] He then presented the compound volume to his new cathedral in his own lifetime, or bequeathed it at his death, accordingly as we interpret the colophon on the first page. This MS. is almost certainly one of the '11 fulle mæsse bec' enumerated in a contemporaneous handwriting among Leofric's gifts to his cathedral.[2] We need not hesitate to interpret the term 'full mass book,' still less the term 'missalis,'[3] of the Leofric MS. taken as a whole, although those terms would not apply to its parts regarded singly. A is simply an old-fashioned Sacramentary; B is only a Kalendar; C includes a miscellaneous collection of separate masses with all their component parts, sometimes exhibited at length as in a modern missal, but too fragmentary in their number and character to deserve the name of missal by themselves.

[1] *Missa Propria pro Episcopo*, f. 35*b*.
[2] Bodl. MS. Auct. D. ii. 16, ad init.
[3] It occurs on f. 1*a*.

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The whole MS. remained the property of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter till 1602, when through the influence of their fellow-countryman Sir Thomas Bodley, then engaged in founding the library which bears his name, it was presented along with eighty other MSS. to the University of Oxford. A complete list of those MSS. is written in the *Registrum Benefactorum* in the Bodleian Library,[1] where this missal is entered simply as *Missale Antiquissimum.* It will not surely be thought uncomplimentary or ill-natured to express a regret that both Bishop Leofric's missals were not given to the Bodleian Library in 1602, for its companion book, the other of the 'II fulle mæsse bec' previously mentioned, is temporarily if not irrecoverably lost.[2]

Some of the illuminations of this volume have been described with facsimiles by Professor Westwood,[3] and some extracts have been printed by Dr. Henderson.[4]

2. The Rouen Missal is a magnificent folio Anglo-Saxon Service Book, consisting of 228 leaves of fine white vellum, and with the exception of the loss of a few ornamental leaves is in a most complete state of preservation. It is in a substantial modern binding of brown leather, with the title *Missale Roberti Cantuar. Archiepiscopi* impressed on the back. It was once the property of Robert, Prior of the Benedictine Monastery of S. Ouen at Rouen, afterwards, in 1037, made Abbot of Jumièges in the neighbourhood of that city, then advanced by Edward the Confessor, firstly to the See of London in 1044, and secondly to that of Canterbury in 1051.

According to the colophon on the recto of the last leaf, which was written by Robert himself, the volume, having been acquired in England, was given by him as a present to the Abbey of Jumièges while he was still Bishop of London. It runs as follows:—

'Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris per succedentia tempora fidelibus, quod ego Rotbertus abba gemete[n]sium prius, postmodum vero sancte Londoniorum sedis presul factus, dederim librum hunc SANCTE MARIE[5] in hoc michi comisso monachorum SANCTI

[1] Page 42.

[2] What has become of it? In the beginning of the last century it was believed to be in the possession of Mr. Bourscough, Vicar of Totnes and Archdeacon of Barnstaple, ob. 1709 (Bernard's *Catalogue*, A.D. 1697, p. 238; Wanley's *Thesaurus*, p. 82). But there are reasons for believing that both Bernard and Wanley were mistaken. It is too intricate and subsidiary a point to be discussed at length here.

[3] *Miniatures of A.S. and Irish MSS.* p. 99, plate 33.

[4] Surtees Soc. vol. lxi. p. 301, &c.

[5] The chapel in S. Peter's Monastery at Jumièges had been built by Robert, and dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin.

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PETRI cenobio, ad honorem sanctorum quorum hic mentio agitur, et ob memoriale mei, ut hic in perpetuum habeatur. Quem si qui ui, vel dolo, seu quoquo modo subtraxerit, anime sue propter quod fecerit detrimentum patiatur, atque de libro uiuentium deleatur, et cum iustis non scribatur.'

To which is added by the same hand, but at a later time, and with a different pen and ink:—

'Et seuerissima excommunicatione dampnetur qui vel unum de palliis que dedi isti loco subtraxerit, siue illa ornamenta, candelabra argentea, seu aurum de tabula. Amen.'

The monks at Jumièges probably considered the missal more ornamental than useful. With its many commemorations of Anglo-Saxon saints, and its English rubrics, it was a 'Missale secundum usum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' not 'Gallicanæ,' and it bears no traces of having been in actual use. Treasured firstly in the library of the Abbey of Jumièges, and after the dissolution of that monastery in 1791 in the public library at Rouen, it has escaped the wear and tear which usually mark Service Books of so great antiquity. This missal has been somewhat hastily and unreasonably christened *The Book of S. Guthlac*,[1] because a mass for that saint is written on the first page, but S. Guthlac's name is not ornamented in any way in the Kalendar (April 11), nor is there any exceptional ornamentation in his mass.

There are no rubrics in the Canon of the Mass, nor in that part of the volume which may be described as the missal proper, but there are frequent rubrical directions in the Manual and Pontifical offices at the close of the volume, those for the Visitation and Unction of the Sick being in Anglo-Saxon, the rest in Latin. It differs from the Leofric Missal in containing no episcopal benedictions,[2] and in not having the Roman Stations marked throughout, but only for the three masses on Christmas Day.[3]

The illuminations in this volume have been described in detail in Professor Westwood's work on *The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*,[4] to which

[1] Dr. Dibdin is responsible for this name.—*Bibliog. Tour.* ed. 1821, vol. i. p. 165.

[2] These benedictions are contained in an English Benedictional of the same date, and executed by the same artist as the missal, also preserved in the Public Library at Rouen.

[3] Statio (1) Ad S. Mariam Majorem; (2) Ad S. Anastasiam; (3) Ad S. Petrum.

[4] Page 136.

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the reader is referred for fuller information. A comparison of them, with the illuminations of the Benedictionals of Æthelgar, at Rouen, and of S. Æthelwold, at Chatsworth, proves that they must have been executed at about the same time and in the same monastery, that of New Minster, at Winchester. That abbey was founded by Edward the Elder in 903, and dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin and S. Peter, who was accounted its patron, and whose name and festivals are treated in this missal with the highest possible embellishment. There are three festivals of S. Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, marked in the Kalendar: his Deposition on July 2, his Translation on July 15, his Ordination on October 3. There are masses for two festivals of S. Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester: for his Deposition on August 1, and his Translation on September 13. There are two commemorations in the Kalendar of S. Birinus, first Bishop of Dorchester: his Translation to Winchester on September 4, and his Deposition on December 3, all of which facts, in addition to the style of illumination, point to Winchester as the home of this missal.

The date of the MS. may be inferred from the Paschal Tables, which are arranged in periods of sixteen years, and not in the usual Dionysian circles of nineteen years. They range from A.D. 1000 to 1095, and it is reasonably inferred that the missal was written during the earlier portion of that period. The latest saint commemorated in the volume is S. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 988. There is no mention of S. Alphege, who was martyred in 1012, and whose name became very speedily inserted in the Church Kalendar. The missal was, therefore, probably written before or very soon after that saint's death, and necessarily before its presentation to the Abbey of Jumièges by Robert, while he was Bishop of London, 1044–1051. The character of the handwriting, illumination, &c., is consonant with the assignment of the first half of the eleventh century as the period within which this missal must have been written.

3. The missal known as the 'Red Book of Derby' derives its name from the colophon on its last page, which runs as follows:—

'The rede boke of darbye in the peake of darbyshire.'

'This booke was sumtime had in such reverence in darbieshire, that it was comonlie beleved that whosoever should sweare untruelie uppon this booke should run madd.'

Another entry in Archbishop Parker's handwriting says:—

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'This booke was given by Richard Hendesley esquier to M. Cant.'

It now forms part of the Parker collection of MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 422, olim S. 16).

It is written on 293 leaves of dark vellum, 7½ by 5 inches, in a fair state of preservation, with the exception that many of the titles and almost all the vernacular rubrics are illegible from the decomposition and decolorization of the red paint in which they were written. As a missal this MS. loses much of its interest from not containing any 'Proprium de Tempore' or 'Proprium de Sanctis.'[1] The Kalendar and Canon are immediately followed by a voluminous 'Commune Sanctorum,' Missæ Votivæ, certain Manual offices, and a limited 'Commune Sanctorum' of the Breviary offices. Ornamentation is confined to the opening pages of the Canon. The stem of the initial 'P' of the 'Per omnia sæcula' extends down the full length of the page, with a double zoomorphic termination at the top of its stem, and a single beast's head at the end of its loop. On the next page two angels, holding ornamental wands, support a 'Vesica Piscis,' within which is a representation of our Lord with a book in His left hand, and the right hand elevated in the attitude of blessing, surrounded by the words 'Vere dignum et iustum est.' It is probably meant as a picture of the Ascension, as in the case of a very similar drawing in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter in the Cambridge University Library. On the next page there is a representation of the Crucifixion. The feet of our Lord have been obliterated by kissing. A weeping female figure, S. Mary the Virgin, stands on the left hand, pointing to the figure on the cross. Above it, on the right, the hand of the Father is pointing from the clouds. On the left a dove, as representing the Third Person of the Trinity, is flying downwards with a circular chaplet in its beak. Both drawings are roughly executed in green with red outlines. The folded and fluttering drapery and the pointed feet and fingers are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Paschal Tables range from 1061 to 1098, and the execution of this volume may be attributed to the earlier part of this period. The latest saint commemorated in the Kalendar is S. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, martyred in 1012. The numerous commemorations of Bishops of

[1] The Drummond Missal, one of the few early Irish missals, is likewise destitute of a 'Proper of Saints.'

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Winchester, and the special honour paid to the name of S. Grimbald, which is written in capital letters, both in the Kalendar and in one of the later litanies, lead us to place the first home of the MS. within the limits of that see.

We have now described briefly the only three known extant missals which have any claim to the epithet of Anglo-Saxon. The chances are very great against any addition being made to their numbers by future discoveries. A small number of missals exist, written in the late eleventh century, before the introduction by S. Osmund of those modifications in language and ritual which constitute the famous Use of Sarum; but although these MSS. exhibit some interesting features, it would not be within our province to describe them here at length.

We pass on to a subject which will be of more interest to the general reader. Taking these early missals and a few other contemporaneous Service Books as our sole evidence and authority, we discover the following points in the ritual, discipline, and form of liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which are almost or quite obsolete in the Roman, and with one exception [1] in the Anglican, Church of the present.

1. There is an entry in the Kalendar of the 'Red Book of Derby,' against April 8, of 'Pascha Annotina,' and a 'Missa in Pascha Annotina' is inserted in the Leofric Missal between Low Sunday and the Second Sunday after Easter. This 'Pascha Annotinum' denoted a solemn and public renewal of their baptismal vows on the part of those who had been baptized, or probably also confirmed, at Easter-Tide in the preceding year. The ceremony seems to have taken place sometimes on a fixed date which might fall in Lent, sometimes on a day which fell after, and varied with the fall of Easter Day. The collect for this service ran thus:—

'Deus, per cuius providentiam nec preteritorum momenta deficiunt, nec ulla superest expectatio futurorum, tribue permanentem peractæ, quem recolimus, sollempnitatis effectum, ut quod recordatione percurrimus semper in opere teneamus. Per.' [2]

Clergy who complain of the difficulty of retaining the allegiance of the newly confirmed or of young communicants might revive with advantage a service in use in the parishes of England a thousand years ago.

2. These missals contain an 'Order of Public Penance' [3]

[1] Communion in both kinds.

[2] Leofric Missal, f. 123*b*.

[3] 'Ordo agentibus publicam pœnitentiam.'—Leofric Missal, f. 79*b*; Rouen Missal, 195*a*.

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of notorious sinners on Ash Wednesday, and an 'Order of Public Reconciliation' on Maundy Thursday.[1] The ceremonial which accompanied this formal exercise of ecclesiastical discipline has been so fully described by Dr. Rock,[2] that it is unnecessary to do more than to refer readers to his pages. Its restoration is alluded to as a thing much to be wished in the Commination Service in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

3. The practice of communicating the people in both kinds is evidenced by the language in which the act of communion is referred to in various collects. It is in the plural number, and refers to the body of communicants, and would never have been used had communion in one kind been the original rule. Some of these passages have been abandoned or modified in the present Roman missal, to fit in better with the modern practice of that Church, e.g. :—

'Ipsi qui sumimus communionem huius sancti panis et calicis . . . . Cuius carne dum pascimur roboramur, et sanguine dum potamur abluimur.'[3]

'Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri ihesu christi fiat *omnibus sumentibus* salus mentis et corporis, atque ad uitam æternam promerendam preparatio salutaris.'[4]

For the italicized words the Sarum Missal substitutes 'mihi et omnibus sumentibus;' the Roman Missal 'accipientibus nobis.'[5]

'Repleti alimonia cælesti et spiritali poculo recreati.'[6]

The consecrated contents of the chalice were generally administered to the people through a metal reed or pipe. The silver pipe mentioned among the donations of Bishop Leofric to Exeter Cathedral[7] was probably used for this purpose. Sick and dying people were likewise communicated in both kinds, not separately but conjointly, by intinction. In the Leofric Missal the priest is ordered to dip the host in wine or water, and to administer it with a formula which im-

[1] 'Ordo ad Reconciliandum.'—Leofric Missal, f. 104*b*, f. 195*b*.
[2] *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pp. 62, 75.
[3] Leofric Missal, Dom. v. post Epiph.; Fer. iii. in init. xl.
[4] Rouen Missal.
[5] So the Coll. at the close of the present Roman Canon: 'Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi,' &c., has been borrowed from the ancient Gothic missal, in which it runs: 'Corpus tuum, Domine, quod accepimus, et sanguis quem potavimus,' &c.
[6] Leofric Missal, f. 170*b*.
[7] Silfren Pipe, Bodl. MS. Auct. D. 11, 16, f. 2*a*.

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plied the presence of both kinds.[1] The permission to substitute water for wine is one of a class of objectionable permissions sometimes found in mediæval offices, and was a preparatory step for the Canon of the Council of Constance in 1415 expressly ordering Communion in one kind only.[2] An exception to the general rule of communion in both kinds occurred on Good Friday, when all were bidden to receive the Communion under one kind only from the consecrated Host, which had been reserved from Maundy Thursday.[3]

4. There was the solemn rite of Episcopal Benediction pronounced by the bishop in the course of the Canon, immediately after the fraction of the Host, and before the Kiss of Peace. These benedictions consisted of three variable clauses, having reference to the festival for which they were provided, and of two invariable clauses, of which the catchwords only are usually written. They were in use on every Sunday and greater festival, and were either written in separate volumes, hence called Benedictionals, to be handed to the bishop when the proper time arrived, or they were accumulated together at the commencement or close of the sacramentary, or they were dispersed throughout the missal under the heads of the various masses to which they belonged.

This Episcopal Benediction occupied a similar position in the old Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, and was perpetuated in England by the Sarum Use[4] up to 1549, and in various mediæval French Uses.[5] It never formed part of the Roman Liturgy, except where it was borrowed from one of these sources.

The Benediction for the Festival of the Holy Innocents is appended as a sample :—

'Omnipotens Deus pro cuius unigeniti ueneranda infantia infantum Innocentum cateruas Herodes funesti peremit seuitia, suæ uobis benedictionis tribuat dona gratissima. Amen.

'Et qui eis concessit ut unicum Deum Filium eius Dominum nostrum non loquendo sed moriendo confiterentur, concedat uobis ut

[1] The Rubrics are very curious. '*Hic communicetur infirmus, et ponat (sacerdos) sacrificium in uino siue aqua dicens:* Fiat commixtio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri ihesu Christi nobis et omnibus accipientibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum, et uitam æternam. Amen.' '*Et sic faciant illi per septem dies, si necessitas fuerit, tam de communione quam de alio officio. Debent etiam ex ministris sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ infirmis cum summa reuerentia per singulos dies decantare Uesperos et Matutinas*' (f. 324*a*).

[2] Mansi, *Concilia*, xxvii. 728.

[3] 'Corpus Domini, sine vino consecrato, quod altera die remansit.'—Leofric Missal, f. 110*a*.

[4] Sarum Missal, Burntisland, 1861, p. 622.

[5] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, pp. 59, 76, &c.

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fidem ueram, quam lingua uestra fatetur, etiam mores probi, et uita inculpabilis fateatur. Amen.

'Quique eos primitiuum fructum sanctæ suæ suscepit ecclesiæ, cum fructu bonorum operum uos faciat peruenire ad gaudia æterne patriæ. Amen.

'Quod ipse prestare dignetur, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen.

'Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini sit semper uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum Spiritu tuo.' [1]

5. Every Sunday and festival, and almost every common or votive mass, had its proper preface. There are several hundred such prefaces in the Leofric and Rouen Missals, a number which has been reduced to ten in the present Roman, and to five in the present Anglican Rite. These prefaces vary in length. They are sometimes of great beauty, sometimes adorned with well-balanced antithesis, or with quaint conceits of thought, sometimes couched in language which expands the facts recorded in the Gospel for the day, or which perpetuates and enlarges upon the life and character of some well-known saint.

What could be more beautiful than the following preface for the Friday after the Third Sunday in Lent, embodying our Lord's interview with the woman at the well of Samaria? [2]—

'Vere dignum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui ad insinuandum humilitatis suæ mysterium fatigatus resedit ad puteum, qui a muliere Samaritana aquæ sibi petiit porrigi potum, qui in ea creauerat fidei donum, et ita eius sitire dignatus est fidem, ut dum ab ea aquam peteret in ea ignem diuini amoris accenderet. Inploramus itaque tuam inmensam clementiam, ut contempnentes tenebrosam profunditatem uitiorum, et relinquentes noxiarum hydriam cupiditatum, et te qui fons uitæ et origo bonitatis es semper sitiamus, et ieiuniorum nostrorum obseruatione tibi placeamus. Per quem, etc.'

Or take the following preface for St. Cuthbert's Day, which throws sidelights upon the life and character of one of the most popular northern saints.

'Vere dignum, æterne Deus. Cuius misericordia inestimabilis, sapientia inmarcessibilis mirabiliter erit in Sanctorum meritis; quibus igitur diffusis in fide Saluatoris Ihesu Christi coruscantibus, diuine religionis plebs æpulis doctrine uariis depasta ad sinum matris confluit æcclesiæ. Licet enim alii supplicio coronati, alii studio pie conuersationis munerati, ceteri quoque adquisitione talentorum a familias ditati, tamen parilem gerentes militiam unico filio tuo domino cum glorie triumpho adsistunt. Quorum numero beati Cuthberhti

[1] Leofric Missal, f. 160*b*.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 93*b*.

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presulis decorem sanctitatis festa recolentes tibi, domine, fauore uirtutum magnifico iocundemur. Eius, itaque, facibus genuine caritatis mentem sic dignatus es inflammare, et facundiam sermonis nectare superno mellire, ut diuersarum terminos gentium exemplis et documentis ui tui famulatus obsequium prepararet, ubique copiam adquisiti talenti fidelis seruus adferret. In pueritia quidem spirituali uaticinio ad presulatus officium meruit inuitari, qui postmodum multimodis miraculorum indiciis sinu oceani Anglos fidei dominicę cultu roborauit. Et ideo cum Angelis.'[1]

There is much beauty and fancy in other parts of these early masses besides the benedictions and prefaces. There is a tendency sometimes to play upon the words, of which a striking example is found in the following early Collect for the Festival of S. Mellitus, third Archbishop of Canterbury :—

'Lætificet nos, quesumus, *mellita* beati Melliti pontificis oratio, cuius festa celebrantes *melliflua* tue gratiæ repleat dulcedo. Per Dominum.'[2]

But while exhibiting the gems of these ancient Service Books, we must not close our eyes to their defects. An objectionable element exists in the presence of many and lengthy exorcisms of persons and things which have been wisely removed in part from Roman, and entirely from Anglican offices. These exorcisms sometimes include a minute enumeration of the various parts of the body, as in the following prayer to be said over a baptized Energumen :—

'Domine, Sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, per impositionem scripture huius et gustum aquæ, expelle diabolum ab homine isto, de caput, de capillis, de uertice, de cerebro, de fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus, de ore, de lingua, de sublingua, de gutture, de collo, de corpore toto, de omnibus membris, de compaginibus membrorum suorum intus et foris, de operibus, de uenis, de neruis, de sanguine, de sensu, de cogitationibus, de omni conuersatione, ut operetur in te uirtus Christi in eo qui pro te passus est, ut uitam eternam merearis. Per.[3]

or a comprehensive list of ailments, as in the following extract from a 'Benedictio Olei' for use in anointing the sick :—

'Prosit, Pater misericordiarum, febriles et dissenteria laborantibus. Prosit paraliticis, cecis, et claudis, simulque uexaticiis. Quartana, tertiana, et cotidiana excutiat frigora ; mutorum ora resoluat ; areniat membra reficiat ; dementiam mentis ad scientiam reuocet ; dolorem

[1] Leofric Missal, f. 258*b*.
[2] This is taken from an eleventh-century Canterbury missal in C. C. C. C. No. 270 f. 86*a*.
[3] Leofric Missal, f. 312*a*.



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capitis, oculorum infirmitatem, manuum, pedum, brachiorum, pectorum, simulque et intestinorum atque omnium membrorum tam extrinsecus quam intrinsecus et medullarum dolorem expellat.'[1]

or allusions to the attacks of monsters, and to the powers of necromancy :—

'Morsus uero bestiarum, canum rabiem, scorpiorum, serpentum, uiperarum, atque omnium monstruosorum leniat dolores, et superinducta sanitate plagarum sopiat cicatrices. Impetum quoque demonum, uel incursiones inmundorum spirituum, atque legionum malignarum uexationes, umbras et inpugnationes, et infestationes. Artes quoque maleficorum, chaldeorum, augurum et diuinorum incantationes et uenena promiscua, que spirituum inmundorum uirtute nefanda et exercitatione diabolica conficiuntur iubeas, domine, per hanc inuocationem tuam ab imis uisceribus eorum omnia expelli.'[2]

Another objectionable element exists in the frequent invocations of and prayers to the saints, which are found provided for use in all the service books of this date. Such appeals for the assistance of the saints assume three different shapes. Firstly, the indirect, to which no objection can be taken; the prayer being directly addressed to God, that the petitions of such and such a saint or saints may be accepted on the worshipper's behalf. Instances of this kind abound in all the early Sacramentaries, Roman and other. The doctrine is thus stated in a preface for S. Tyburtius :—

'Vere dignum æterne Deus. Qui dum beati Tyburtii martyris merita gloriosa ueneramur, auxilium nobis tuæ propitiationis adfore deprecamur, quoniam credimus nos per eorum intercessionem, qui tibi placuere, peccatorum nostrorum ueniam impetrare. Per.'[3]

This belief in the efficacy of the prayers of departed saints finds endless variety of expression, of which one more sample must suffice :—

'Concede, quesumus, omnipotens deus, ut intercessio nos sanctæ dei genetricis Mariæ, sanctorumque omnium Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, ac Virginum, et omnium electorum tuorum ubique lætificet, ut dum eorum merita recolimus patrocinia sentiamus. Per.'[4]

Secondly, there is the direct form of address to saints, confining itself to a request for their prayers in the well-known formula 'Ora pro nobis.' For this purpose saint after saint is invoked in a certain order of classification, and in the form of a litany. Such litanies are found in all the previously described Anglo-Saxon Missals. They are sometimes of great length. The litany in the Leofric Missal invokes,

[1] Leofric Missal, f. 350*a*.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 351*b*.
[3] *Ibid.* f. 185*a*.
[4] *Ibid.* f. 216*b*.

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after the Blessed Virgin Mary, angels and apostles, fifty-four martyrs, fifty-one confessors, twenty-nine virgins and widows.[1]

Thirdly, there are direct prayers to the saints, not only requesting their intercession, but their succour in danger, defence in life's temptation, consolation in trouble, and so forth. The following specimen is taken from a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Book of Devotions. It is a prayer to S. Benedict, written for the use of a monastic community which observed his rule :—

'Clarissime pater et dux monachorum, Benedicte, deo dilecte, nulli Sanctorum in orbe terrarum uirtutibus inferior, qui dum Christo iuxta nominis presagium meruisti placere, legem sanctam et benedictam monachis instituisti, adiuua me remissionem consequi peccatorum. Eripe me, pie pastor sancti ouilis tui, ouem infirmam ab infernalium fame luporum ; neglegentias meas cotidianis sanctis precibus tuis absterge ; mentem meam ad amorem tuorum conuerte preceptorum ; uitam meam iustifica ; actus meos guberna ; cogitationes purifica ; animam custodi ; corpus tuere, et adiuua me cotidie in preceptis tuis proficere, teque patrem piissimum toto corde diligere, et omne quod contrarium Deo est despicere, sicque in presenti uiuere, ut tormenta eterna euadere, et illuc ualeam pertingere ubi tu sine fine cum Christo regnas. Amen.'[2]

But the saint most frequently and passionately invoked, and to whom the most extravagant epithets were applied, trenching upon the Divine prerogatives, was the Blessed Virgin. Mariolatry is no very modern development of Romanism. There was a mass in her honour[3] every Saturday, in accordance with the hebdomadal arrangement of votive masses drawn up by Alcuin. She was then, as now, invoked next after God in all litanies, before archangels, and angels and apostles ; and whereas other saints were invoked once, her invocation, as now, was generally triple.[4] She was not only 'Dei genitrix' and 'Virgo Virginum,' but in a tenth-century English litany she is addressed thus :—

'Sancta Regina mundi, ora pro nobis.
Sancta Saluatrix mundi, ora pro nobis.
Sancta Redemptrix mundi, ora pro nobis.'[5]

In another Service Book of the same date[6] there is a

[1] Leofric Missal, f. 266*a*.
[2] Cott. MSS. Tit. D. xxvii. f. 89*b*.
[3] It is entitled 'In Honorem Sanctæ Mariæ.'—Leofric Missal, f. 215*a*.
[4] As in the Litany 'In Sabbato Sancto' in the present Roman Missal.
[5] Psalter at Salisbury, MS. 180, f. 171*b*.
[6] Tit. D. xxvii.



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drawing of the Trinity, in which the Father and the Son are represented as aged men, somewhat alike, each with a cruciferous nimbus, and each with the right hand extended, and holding a book in the left. The place of the third Person is occupied by Our Lady with the Child in her lap holding a book, and with the dove, as an emblem of the Holy Ghost, resting upon her crowned head. Satan bound in chains under the feet of the central figure is being thrust into the open jaw of a monster representing hell, and Arius and Judas Iscariot, with ankles manacled, occupy the two lower corners of the design. This picture is followed by prayers to the Blessed Virgin, some of the expressions in which are quite in keeping with her elevation into a throne of equality with the Blessed Trinity. They are somewhat lengthy; but as they have never been published, perhaps their length will be pardoned on the score of their importance towards gaining a true estimate of the doctrines in vogue in the English Church before the Conquest :—

'Singularis gratia, sola sine exemplo mater et virgo Maria, quam Dominus ita mente et corpore castam inuiolatamque custodiuit, ut digna existeres ex qua sibi nostre redemptionis pretium Dei Filius corpus aptaret, obsecro te, misericordissima, per cuius partum totus saluatus est mundus, intercede pro me misero, spurcissimo, cunctis iniquitatibus fedo, ut qui ex meis actibus nihil aliud dignus sum quam eternum subire supplicium, sed tuis, Virgo splendidissima, saluatus meritis et intercessionibus perenne celorum consequar regnum, annuente Ihesu Christo Filio tuo Domino nostro. Qui cum Patre, &c.'[1]

'O Virgo Virginum, Dei genitrix Maria, mater Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, regina Angelorum et totius mundi, oraculum eternæ uitæ, claritatis[2] celorum, que nec primam similem uisa est habere sequentem, per pretiosum sanguinem filii tui Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, quem in pretium nostræ salutis effudit, et per sanctam, et venerabilem, et salubrem crucem eius, in qua adfixus stare dignatus es[t] pro salute generis humani, qui est fabricator mundi, et inter mortis supplicium, quod ipse Dei Filius sponte pro nobis in cruce pati uoluit, se[3] suo discipulo sancto Iohanni commendauit dicens "Ecce mater tua," adiuua nos, et per gloriosam resurrectionem eius adiuua me miserum peccatorem sanctis meritis tuis et precibus tuis infirmitate corporis mei et animæ meæ nunc laborantem, et in hora exitus mei ex hac presenti uita, et in omnibus tribulationibus et angustiis meis, et in omnibus necessitatibus meis in hoc seculo et in futuro, illi ad laudem et gloriam et honorem, qui, &c.'[4]

The following prayer to the Blessed Virgin is taken from

[1] f. 82*a*. [2] *Sic* for claritas. [3] For te. [4] *Ibid.* f. 84*b*.

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the Book of Cerne, written a century earlier than the MS. from which the previous extracts have been made.[1]

'Sancta Dei genitrix, semper uirgo, beata, benedicta, gloriosa et generosa, intacta et intemerata, casta et incontaminata, Maria immaculata, electa, et a Deo dilecta, singulari sanctitate predita, atque omni laude digna, que es interpellatrix pro totius mundi discrimine, exaudi, exaudi, exaudi nos, sancta Maria. Ora pro nobis, et intercede, et auxiliare(i) ne dedigneris. Confidimus enim et pro certo scimus quia omne quod uis potes impetrare a Filio tuo Domino nostro Ihesu Christo, Deo omnipotenti, omnium sæculorum rege, qui uiuit cum Patre, &c.'[2]

Although prayer of this description was most frequently addressed to the Blessed Virgin, it was by no means confined to her. Angels were directly appealed to. Other saints, especially patron saints, were frequently objects of devotion, such prayer being especially addressed to S. Peter among the Apostles, and to S. Michael among the Angels, who were both believed to be endowed with exceptional powers. One example of a Collect to each of them is subjoined, with its heading, taken from the Book of Cerne.

'Oratio ad Sanctum Petrum.

'Rogo te, beate Petre, Princeps Apostolorum, et Clavicularius regni cælestis, qui (habes) potestatem a Domino nostro Ihesu Christo animas ligandi atque soluendi, cœlum claudendi et aperiendi (uirtutem) suscepisti; subveni mihi, pius intercessor, ut per tuæ protectionis auxilium absoluar, et inferni tenebras euadere, et portam regni cælestis, te aperiente, merear intrare, per summum Pastorem et sanctissimum obsecro te, cui dixisti, "Tu es Christus filius Dei uiui," cui gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'[3]

'Oratio ad Sanctum Archangelum Michahelem.

'Sanctus Michahel, Archangelus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui uenisti in adiutorium populo Dei, subueni mihi apud altissimum iudicem, ut mihi peccatori donet remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum. Propter magnam miserationum tuarum clementiam exaudi me, sancte Michahel, inuocantem te. Adiuua me maiestatem (tuam) adorantem. Interpelle pro me gemiscentem, et fac me castum ab omnibus peccatis. Insuper obsecro te preclarum atque decorum summe diuinitatis ministrum, ut in nouissimo die benigne suscipias animam meam in sinu tuo sanctissimo, et perducas eam in loco refrigerii, pacis, et quietis, ubi sanctorum animæ cum lætitia et innumerabili gaudio futurum iudicium et gloriam beatæ resurrectionis expectant, per eum qui uiuit, &c.'[4]

Enough of original material has, it is hoped, now been

[1] Now in Cambridge University Library, 4*b*, i. 10.
[2] Fol. 77*b*. [3] *Ibid.* fol. 80*b*. [4] *Ibid.* fol. 76*b*.

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brought before the reader to substantiate our two assertions: firstly, that these ancient Service Books of the English Church are replete with collects and other devotional formulæ of great delicacy of thought and beauty of expression, differing as widely from modern compositions of the same character as fine old specimens of Venetian glass or Dresden china are superior to the wares exposed in a nineteenth-century shop window; secondly, that although the language is beautiful, the matter is often most objectionable. It is curious to think that a Church which tolerated the above prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints should have been looked upon by the leading bishops at the time of the Reformation, and should be described by recent Anglican historians, as a model of primitive and orthodox simplicity. As we read them we wonder that the reformation of our formularies did not take place in the tenth instead of in the sixteenth century. Their perusal leaves us more satisfied with what we have got, and less inclined to grumble at what we have lost, in our own Book of Common Prayer. It is hoped, too, that the taste afforded here of the contents of ancient MSS. may whet the public appetite to demand further publication of these documents. On purely literary grounds, we may appeal to the various learned societies in London, and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to unlock the treasures of our large public libraries. On ecclesiastical grounds we desire to have published these repertories of beautiful prayers, applicable for every festival, and in almost every emergency, which it is hoped may be borrowed for use, or at least may serve for models of composition, whenever from time to time devotions for special occasions are put forth by authority in the Church of England.

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## ART. III.—PRINCIPAL SHAIRP'S WRITINGS.

1. *Culture and Religion.* By J. C. SHAIRP, Principal of the United College, St. Andrews. Fifth edition. (Edinburgh, 1875.)
2. *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy.* By J. C. SHAIRP. Second edition. (Edinburgh, 1872.)
3. *Robert Burns.* By Principal SHAIRP, &c. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879.)

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4. *Aspects of Poetry*: being Lectures delivered at Oxford. By JOHN CAMPBELL SHAIRP, LL.D., Professor of Poetry, Oxford, and Principal of the United College, St. Andrews. (Oxford, 1881.)

WE hope that the first and second of these volumes are already well known to many of our readers. They are, indeed, books to be kept at hand: books eminently helpful and suggestive. It is something to get from one who is neither a clergyman, nor even, we believe, a professing Churchman—or, to use the Scotch phrase, an Episcopalian—so impressive a testimony in favour of the religious view of life as we find in Dr. Shairp's pages. In the five lectures on 'Culture,' for instance, to which it was the privilege of the students of St. Andrews to listen, he shows that culture cannot supply the place of religion, but must at once 'embrace' it and 'end in' it, unless the whole existence of a spiritual element in humanity can be first disproved; on the other hand, that religion must recognize culture on the ground of the Divine origin of all those manifold capacities which are to be fostered and developed in the spirit of that Apostle who set the seal of Christian sanction on whatever was true, venerable, loveable, and of good report. He urges that the purely 'scientific theory of culture' takes no adequate account of man as a moral being, and ignores facts which are as real and momentous as any facts in the world; while the 'literary theory' degrades to a secondary place 'that which should be supreme,' and thereby in effect annuls it. For religion must be supreme if it is to exist; and if it is recognized merely as a constituent in the polishing and informing of self, instead of being accepted as the means of living for God as the chief end of man, it becomes a thinly-disguised æstheticism. We wish that all students in our English Universities would ponder the considerations laid before their Northern brethren in the fourth and fifth of these lectures. The Principal of St. Andrews has a clear view of the attractions, for instance, which the scientist and positivist systems have for many energetic minds. But against the idolizing of system, against the dislike of mystery, against the exaggeration of the logical faculty as a criterion of truth, he warns his hearers and readers 'that the root-truths on which our being rests are apprehended, not logically at all, but mystically;' that although to say this is not to resolve religion into 'a vague religiosity' or sentimentalism, although religion appeals to 'facts of consciousness,' and tells us of 'other facts,

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revealed that they may fit into and be taken up by those needs of which we are conscious,' yet in the process of apprehending these facts 'the mere understanding' must be subordinate: the primary agent is the opening of 'the spiritual ear;' that beyond all evidential arguments there lies 'a reserve fund of conviction arising from' Christian 'experience,' and 'that when all is said and done, it is trust, not criticism, that the soul lives by.' As means of spiritual growth he insists on prayer, meditation, study of great Christian lives, intercourse with true Christians: above all, 'Try to bring understanding, imagination, heart, conscience, under the power of that master-vision,' 'the Life portrayed by the four Evangelists.' The noble passage of which these words are a fragment [1] might be compared with Cardinal Newman's magnificent illustration from early Christian history of the fact that our Divine King 'imprinted the image or idea of Himself on the minds of His subjects individually,' and that as 'the thought of God is the stay of the soul,' the thought of Christ was 'the principle of conversion and fellowship,' of faith and zeal and joyous hope, of a martyr's 'obstinate resolve.' [2] Perhaps we have quoted too much, already, from this *aureus libellus*; but we must quote a few words more from the end of the last lecture, reminding our readers that they were not uttered from S. Mary's pulpit, but in a non-ecclesiastical academic lecture-room within Scotland's old ecclesiastical metropolis, which can never, from the days of S. Regulus, have heard more deeply religious words:—

'When we are young, if we are of an aspiring nature, we are apt to make much of our ideals. . . . And then that universal kingdom, which embraces in itself all these ideals, if not wholly disbelieved, is yet thought of as remote. But as life goes on, the ideals we set before us, even if attained, dwindle in importance, and that kingdom grows. We come to feel that it is indeed the substance, those the shadows. Were it not well, then, to begin with the substance, to learn to apprehend the reality of that kingdom, which is all around us now, whether we recognize it or not . . . to surrender ourselves to it, that our lives may do something towards its advancement, and that so we may become fellow-workers, however humble, with all the wise and good who have gone before us, and with Him who made them what they were? Only they who early thus begin

'Through the world's long day of strife
Still chant their morning song' (p. 132).

Those who know *Culture and Religion* will know how brief and meagre a notice of it we have given here. But we have no

[1] *Culture and Religion*, p. 105.
[2] *Grammar of Assent*, pp. 458–472.

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space for more. We can but urge our readers who do not as yet know it, to make acquaintance with it, and let its spirit sink into their minds. We shall seem equally inadequate in our remarks on the *Studies*, one chapter of which—at first, we believe, published separately—will be familiar to many as a beautifully sympathetic 'study' of that beloved English Church poet with whose words, as we have seen, the lectures on 'Culture and Religion' conclude. Principal Shairp does not in the least conceal his non-adherence to the 'High Church' or Tractarian theology. But how graphic is his picture of Oxford in the earlier days of the movement, when 'in Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, "There's Newman!" when, head thrust forward, and gaze fixed as on some vision seen only by himself, with swift noiseless step he glided by,' and 'awe fell on them for a moment;' when 'as the afternoon service of S. Mary's interfered with the dinner-hour of the colleges' (in this, as in other respects, *tempora mutantur*), 'the audience was not crowded,' and 'about the service the most remarkable thing was the beauty, the silver intonation, of Mr. Newman's voice as he read the Lessons,' and 'still lingers in memory the tone with which he read, *But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all*;' when in his preaching, 'how gentle yet how strong, how simple yet how suggestive, how homely yet how refined, how penetrating yet how tender-hearted!—through the stillness of that high Gothic building the words fell on the ear like the measured drippings of water in some vast dim cave.' And 'how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause, which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. . . . To many, no doubt, the pause was not of long continuance. . . . But there were those,' he adds tenderly, 'who could not so lightly forget,' who spent part of their Sunday leisure over 'the printed words of those marvellous sermons, till they wept' (it is a phrase of Dr. Newman's, referring to his Anglican ordination in 'that old church of S. Frideswide') 'abundant and most sweet tears.' He speaks of the *Christian Year* as 'evidently flowing from a native spring of inspiration: as far as it goes it is genuine poetry.' He naturally describes its more 'ecclesiastical' poems as less spontaneous and less universal in interest; 'but in all its finer, more vital poems, the Catholic Faith has become personal,' and among its most religious characteristics is the love which is blended with reverence for our Lord as 'a living Friend.' And if any would draw from the more universal

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notes of the book 'an argument for Christian morality disjoined from Christian doctrine,' it may be as well to ask whether 'it would have been so charged with devout Christian feeling if its author had not held with all his heart those doctrinal truths which were in him the roots out of which that sentiment grew, but which many now wish to get rid of? *If we love the consummate flower, it might be as well not to begin by cutting away the root*' (p. 299, and compare a similar sentence in p. 385).

Besides religious feeling, Principal Shairp remarks on the presence in Keble's poetry of deep 'home feeling,' of a 'tenderness' in which 'there is no trace of effeminacy,' of a 'fine reserve' (illustrated, e.g., by the poem for Mid-Lent Sunday), of interest in the quiet beauty of nature, but not in her 'mysterious silence, inhuman indifference, inexorable deafness,' which 'has impressed the imagination of the greatest poets with a vague yet sublime awe.'

The essay on Wordsworth is the loving yet not undiscriminating tribute of one who obviously includes himself among those who 'look back to the time . . . when Wordsworth first *found* them, as a marked era in their existence' (p. 6). He traces the cause by which the future poet, embittered by the disappointment of his hopes as to the French Revolution, for a time 'abandoned moral questions in despair,' and then gradually regained 'clear convictions' as to those 'moral and spiritual truths' which, says our author, 'if they once reach a man, are their own sufficient evidence,' yet reach the intuitive class of minds by means of an experience incommunicable (p. 31). He admits that Wordsworth somewhat exaggerated 'the sanative powers of nature' (p. 78), but points out that his later poems contain less of 'that mystical feeling about nature . . . but more recognition of those truths by which conscience lives, and which Christianity reveals;' and that, if he 'has not fully harmonized the earlier with the later feeling,' he has yet done that work which Keble described in the dedication of his *Prælectiones*, 'ut animos ad sanctiora erigeret' (p. 101).

Again, in the essay on Coleridge we are reminded that he 'laboured to remove religion from a merely mechanical or intellectual, and to place it on a moral and spiritual, foundation' (p. 213). But it is frankly admitted that his mode of thought was 'pre-eminently subjective,' that his view of the relation of internal to external evidences was 'a recoil' from another extreme, and that it is a question whether in his zeal for inward truths he gave sufficient importance to those 'miraculous facts which always must be, to the great mass of

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men, the main objective basis on which the spiritual truths repose,'—a momentous admission.

But we must pass on to the most helpful portion of this book, the essay on the 'Moral Motive Power.' In it the author states the problem, How to attain a right character? One must begin by observing the primary facts of moral nature. Following 'what we may conceive to be the historical growth' of man, one sees, first, mere impulses, then a consciousness of will, then a reflective appreciation of personal good, then the sense of a universal order, and of moral obligation towards it. But what is to 'impel a man to persevere in aiming at' a moral ideal? What truth or truths urge the will onwards to that goal? After considering the answers, or quasi-answers, given to that question by ancient and modern philosophers, ending with the Utilitarians, Principal Shairp finds them all unsatisfactory. Men want 'a rock higher than' themselves, a 'moral dynamic' exterior to their own resources. *Fecisti nos ad Te.* And thus the author is led to bring together (p. 367) the various lines of the Theistic argument, 'the sense of a thoughtful plan' in nature, the 'craving for a power, beyond all phenomena, of which they are but manifestations, the longing for an ideal perfection and beauty, the need of a satisfying object for the affections, the imperious question of "Whence," and, "chief of all," the inwardly felt law of obligation. That which our inner self, our personality, feels to have rightful supremacy over us, must be either a personality or something more excellent than personality, if that is possible. Lower than a personality it cannot be, and lower all mere laws and abstractions undoubtedly are' (p. 370: compare a similar thought drawn out in Prebendary Wace's valuable lectures on *Christianity and Morality*, and in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 45). But Professor Shairp holds that

'The existence of God is incapable of scientific demonstration. The notion of God is essential to the human mind, not derived from reasonings, but as a matter of fact actually called forth into distinct consciousness mainly by the conscience. When, however, we come to reflect on that belief afterwards, we find hints and confirmations of it, mainly in the existence of our moral nature and of the law of duty, and secondarily in those other lines of thought which, as we have seen, converge towards the same centre.'

Principal Shairp knows Dr. Newman's sermons as well as any man, and better than most; and his words remind us of the discourse for S. Thomas's Day in the second volume. But it will be felt by many that in this essay he exaggerates Dean

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Mansel's theory as to Divine morality, when he speaks of it as 'denying' that the word 'righteous' is used in the same sense of man and of God; and he would himself admit, or rather contend, that since God must be infinite and incomprehensible—since, as he says in the preface to *Culture and Religion*, 'our best notions of right and wrong are as inadequate to explain the facts of God's providence as to measure the greatest mysteries of revelation,'—we cannot see all round His righteousness, cannot fully explain *how* every act of His represents the one immutable idea of goodness.[1] But how does Principal Shairp provide us with the conception of an adequate moral leverage? By pointing to Christ. Apart from Him, he contends, God is not manifested as a satisfying object for the affections. Christ was what had never before His coming been possessed by men, 'a dynamic power of virtue,' which touched not the mere reason, but 'the whole man, by His words, by His deeds, above all, by contact with Himself' (p. 374). It did indeed. Perhaps it would have been well to recognize explicitly the extent to which, before the Advent, as Dean Church has shown in a noble passage, the Psalmists' hearts went forth to God with an affection 'so exulting yet so reverent, so tender yet so strong,' with 'all-surrendering trust in His infinite and all-sufficing goodness.'[2] Yet, all this allowed for, it was the Incarnation that raised love for God to the height of a world-renewing energy. And our author has shown, in a passage of singular richness and beauty, that this new force includes the *doctrines* of the Gospel. 'They are a large part of what makes Christ's character.' The Atonement, the Resurrection, the gift of the Holy Spirit, are mighty to awaken, to stimulate, to encourage, to propel, to uphold the human will in its struggles after goodness. Take them away, and Christianity ceases to be Christianity; and it ceases at the same moment to be 'the moral motive power for man.'

But, then, it is asked, is not morality 'of reason,' are not these doctrines 'of faith?' He answers by a counter question. Has morality no concern with faith? Do we not need faith to realize moral truth? And do not these religious truths, when apprehended vitally, and not received passively, 'require but an expansion of that same principle of faith?' So apprehended, one feels that they are morally life-giving; that to take the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount and ignore the personal claims of the Speaker, and the truths which grow

[1] See, on this point, the first article in volume v. of this Review.

[2] *Sacred Poetry of Early Religions*, p. 67 *ff.*

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out of His personality, is a hopeless business; and that 'the dream of a Christian morality without a true Christian theology supporting and inspiring it from beneath' is essentially and absolutely 'vain.' He proceeds to contend that the Christian idea of virtue has been not merely negative but also positive; that it has succeeded where humanitarian enthusiasm has failed; that culture (as he says in the other book) can never be the end and religion the means; that artistic 'love of beauty' may be a mere worship of a 'golden calf,' by which no soul of man can be made noble, or kind, or pure. He concludes by recognizing as a fact, without discussing in detail, the existence in man of certain moral sentiments by which the truth of a revelation may be judged; a fact on which he had dwelt in an earlier essay, suggesting 'that both in the things of natural and revealed religion, the test that lies in man's moral judgment seems more a negative than a positive one,' and has to be applied with great caution and patient faith, such application being likely to result in a growing perception of previously unobserved harmonies, and a readiness to wait for a fuller solution of what may still 'remain inexplicable in the world, in man, and in Holy Writ' (p. 221 *ff.*). Readers of Butler will remember his teaching on the subject, in the third chapter of the second part of the *Analogy*; and there is a somewhat similar passage in Cardinal Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, p. 414. The essay on the 'moral motive power,' which we commend to the special consideration of our clerical readers, who might well study it when they have to preach at the sacred seasons, concludes by exhorting Christian teachers never to set forth Christian duty or Christian dogma with their eyes, so to speak, turned away from the moral needs and instincts of man. 'In the old words, the old truths, the old facts, more vitally and spiritually apprehended, because brought closer to the moral heart of man, they will find all they need;' and on the other hand, 'there is no moral truth which is not deepened when seen in the light of God.'

We shall say but very little of the volume on Burns which Principal Shairp has contributed to the series of *English Men of Letters*—'English' being used in a large sense, which perhaps may displease a sensitive Northern patriotism. He gently rebukes those of his countrymen who so idolize their poet, 'are so captivated with his brilliant gifts and his genial temperament, that they will not listen to any hint of the deep defects which marred them . . . . Those who . . . try to canonize Burns are no true friends to his

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memory. They do but challenge the counter-verdict' (p. 189).

For our own part, we can never forget the impressions produced by the Principal's account of Burns's last days and of his death, when read, as we read it, at Dumfries on a certain 21st of July. He died on that day in 1796.

We now come to the lectures delivered by Principal Shairp from the chair of Poetry, in which he is the successor of Keble and of Matthew Arnold. They cannot be appreciated, in that point of view to which we shall confine ourselves, without some reference to two of the preceding volumes. For there is a unity in the writer's teaching, which meets us in the Oxford lectures as elsewhere; he is always and conspicuously a witness for the spiritual, as contrasted with the material and mechanical, view of man and of life. In the *Studies* he laments that the 'sensationalist' or non-spiritual philosophy is now again dominant, 'all but paramount in the most ancient seats of learning,' and there is no 'living voice' to speak with 'counteracting authority on the spiritual side of philosophy' (p. 236); so that now many, 'baffled for lack of a consistent spiritual theory, . . . are fain to fill their hunger with the husks of a philosophy which would confine all men's thoughts within the phenomenal world' (p. 317). In *Culture and Religion* (p. 30), he says that 'the spiritual flood-tide' in English thought was at its highest about 1840, and that 'we seem to have come in during the last twenty years' (from about 1850) 'for that ebb of the spiritual wave.' 'Great material prosperity,' and a great increase, through physical sciences, of 'physical conveniences,' have provoked the spread of materialistic and secularistic reaction. 'Man is' again made 'the measure of all things,' that is, man viewed from a non-spiritual stand-point, and, so far, dehumanized. The present world is regarded as a 'satisfying abode;' the material order jostles out the moral; the idea of God is impoverished and attenuated; and, as Dr. Liddon has said, many an educated man of our day is simply prevented by dominant habits of thought from treating God as the centre of his own and of all men's being.[1] With many, as we know too well, this sovereign idea has become non-existent. So in these *Aspects of Poetry*, the Professor insists that 'true poetry cannot dwell with a materialistic philosophy which disbelieves in all knowledge unverifiable by the senses,' that its function is rather to witness 'for the ideal and spiritual side of things' (p. 15); and he formally contradicts the

[1] *University Sermons*, i. 8.

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'non-moral' theory of poetry, which holds that 'the great poet must be free from all moral prepossessions,' must 'aim at a purely artistic effect, . . . delineate goodness and vice impartially, and let no shade of preference intrude' (p. 30). He contends that this will not do even in drama, and far less in other forms of poetry, 'epic, lyric, meditative.' They must aim at expressing the highest side of life. Great poetic geniuses who have ignored or abjured religion could not escape altogether from its influence, and were less great than they would have been if they had owned its sway.[1] Professor Shairp here feels it necessary to disclaim 'sectarian views' as to the function of poetry; but, he says, poetry cannot have any fellowship with the sense-philosophy,

'which refuses to believe anything which scalpel, or crucible, or microscope cannot verify . . . and empties man of a soul and the universe of a God. Such a philosophy would leave to poetry only one function—to deck with tinsel the coffin of universal humanity. This is a function which she declines to perform. But we need have no fear that it will come to this. Poetry will not succumb before materialism, or agnosticism, or any other cobweb of the sophisticated brain. It is an older, stronger birth than these, and will survive them' (p. 34).

Again, in a later lecture:

'Poetry has this in common with religion, that it lives by that which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. Deny it this and it dies; confine it to mere appearances, whether phenomena of the outward sense, or of the inner consciousness, and it is dried up at its very source' (p. 68).

He shows how the beauty of nature is something more profound and subtle than a mere sum of 'forms, motions, colours;' and how, the more we contemplate it, the more are we led, so to speak, into an inner presence-chamber, where the spirit dwells that constitutes the charm. The emotion, when examined, is moral in its basis. The thing seen speaks of the unseen, of a vast inexpressible magnificence or loveliness; the mind says unconsciously, 'this is a parable.' Thus, to some natures, the sight of certain flowers touches the spring of old home-tenderness; to others, the odour of incense is like an unfolding of the supernatural. It is like the power of music over susceptible temperaments, working in them (to quote the marvellous passage cited in the closing lecture from Dr. Newman's *University Sermons*, as a specimen of high unmetrical poetry), 'mysterious stirrings of heart . . . and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impres-

[1] Compare Keble's *Occasional Papers*, p. 153.

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sions from we know not whence.' And then, a few pages further on, Professor Shairp again recurs to his favourite topic. He affirms that those who

'can in no sense be called exclusively religious poets, if they grasp life with a strong hand, are constrained to take in the sense of a something beyond this life. To say this would, a few years ago, have sounded a truism: to-day it is necessary once more to reassert it. For there have arisen among us teachers of great power, who would have us believe that, for artistic purposes at least, human life . . . is a thing complete in itself, that it can maintain its interest and its dignity, even if confined within this visible horizon. . . In lieu of the old faith, both religious and poetic, which reached beyond the confines of earth, a new illuminating power has been sought, and is assumed to have been found, in duty to our fellow-men. Duty is not allowed to have an unearthly origin, to strike its root in any celestial soil. A piety without God is now, it would seem, to be the sole light vouchsafed to poor mortals yearning for light. It is to supply to sensitive hearts all "high endeavour, pure morality, strong enthusiasm," and whatever consolation may be possible for them. In opposition to this teaching, it is maintained that no poet ever yet has made, or ever can make, the most of human life, even poetically, who has not regarded it as standing on the threshold of an invisible world, as supported by divine foundations' (p. 79).

This, he says, is true not only of 'devout singers,' but of Shakspeare. He takes a view somewhat different, it will be observed, from that of Mr. Gladstone, who, while regarding Shakspeare as 'an undoubting believer,' considers that but a 'small portion' of his vast and varied 'exhibition of human nature' is 'seen on the side lying heavenward;'[1] still more so from that of Professor Dowden, who, in his volume on our great poet, praises him for leaving great riddles of life unsolved, instead of having recourse to 'theological rushlights,' which avail not against 'the great night overhead.' Professor Shairp says that there is in Shakspeare 'no pitch of passion, no depth of pathos, where the thought of the other world is not present' (p. 80).

Again, speaking of definitely religious poetry:

'The system of thought which confines all knowledge to mere appearances, and all belief to things which can be verified by physical methods, leaves no place for it. . . . The Experience philosophy . . . whether it call itself Phenomenalism, or Positivism, or Agnosticism, or Secularism, in all its phases is alike chilling to the soul, and to soul-like poetry. No doubt it offers to imagination an ideal, but it is an ideal which has no root in reality. Without an ideal, imagination, which is an organ of the true, not of the false . . . can

[1] *Gleanings*, iii. 247.

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never be satisfied. . . . Negative philosophies may for a time prevail; but they cannot ultimately suppress the soul, or stifle vivid intuitions which flash up from its depth and witness to its celestial origin' (pp. 87, 90*f*).

He asks whether Wordsworth's poetry 'would have been possible if he had not apprehended behind the natural and moral universe the ever-during power' of a Divine presence (p. 89). Once more, after referring to types of poetry which represent inadequate ideals, he says that no devotion 'to friendship, to country, to humanity, can by itself withstand the shock of circumstance, unless it is secured on a spiritual anchorage.' But 'the poet who has himself laid hold on the spiritual world' can 'set before men . . . an ideal which is real, an object . . . for the affections, the conscience, the spirit, for the whole of man. . . . His voice is a continual reminder that, whether we think of it or not, the celestial mountains are before us, and thither lies our true destiny. And he is the highest poet who keeps this view most steadily before himself, and by the beauty of his singing, wakens others to a sense of it' (p. 92).

The same moral estimate of his subject appears in the lecture on Shelley:—

'Was Shelley's revolt only against the conventional morality of his own time, and not rather against the fundamental morality of all time? . . . Shelley may be the prophet of a new morality; but it is one which never can be realized till moral law has been obliterated from the universe, and conscience from the heart of man. . . . It has been said' (by Arnold) 'that before an insoluble mystery clearly seen to be insoluble, the soul bows down and is at rest . . . Shelley knew nothing of this. . . . Before nothing would his soul bow down. . . . There is in him a profane audacity, an utter awelessness. . . . While a soul owns no law, is without awe, lives wholly by impulse, what rest, what central peace, is possible for it? when the ardours of emotion have died down, what remains for it, but weakness, exhaustion, despair? The feeling of his weakness awoke in Shelley no brokenness of spirit, no self-abasement, no reverence . . . Such a belief, or rather no belief, as his can engender only infinite sadness, infinite despair; and this is the deep undertone of all Shelley's poetry' (pp. 231, 234, 254).

It is characteristic of Professor Shairp to dwell affectionately and sympathizingly on Virgil as a man of tender and devout soul, retaining his faith in a supernatural world amid surroundings and influences which made other men worldlings or atheists. We are made to see him clinging, for his soul's sake, to old religious traditions, making the best use he



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could of them, although he felt that their strength was dying out; softening the roughness of the old mythology, stretching out his hands to whatever varied forms of religious language might give him a little support, or witness at all for the one supreme 'Pronoia;' humbly accepting the severer aspect of life as disciplinary in its intention; content to let his hero seem vapid and spiritless if he can make him represent a many-sided 'piety;' sternly enforcing the awful idea of judgment in the next world for deeds done in the present; singularly pure in feeling when society was steeped in foulness; loathing 'the guilty madness of battle;' exceptionally indifferent to pomps and vanities; mournfully sensitive as to what another great rural poet calls 'man's inhumanity to man;' unique among ancient singers in his 'tender expression' of the pathos of human life, 'and of the most humane sentiment of the old world which Christianity took up and carried on into the new.'

'Taking all these qualities of Virgil together, . . . in him it may be said that the ancient civilization reached its moral culmination. Here was at least one spirit who lived and died in faith, and kept himself unspotted from the world' (p. 191).

In this lecture, also, a passage on the natural and the human mediums for approaching the idea of God is a condensation of about six magnificent pages in Dr. Mozley's essay on Blanco White,[1] a few words of which are quoted, as the Professor's manner is, within inverted commas, but without reference (p. 174).

Although Scott cannot be called, as Principal Shairp in the *Studies* calls Wordsworth, a 'native champion of spiritual truth,' he is claimed by Mr. Keble as exhibiting tendencies, which were never fully developed, towards Church religion,[2] and by Mr. Keble's present successor as having 'turned the tide' against the Illuminism of the eighteenth century, and 'poured in full flood on the heart of European society' the reviving sentiment of 'affection for the past' (p. 105). A whole lecture is devoted to 'the Homeric spirit' in Scott; Wordsworth's beautiful description of him as 'the whole world's darling' is twice quoted (p. 108, 325), and his 'wonderful human-heartedness' and 'winsome naturalness' are touched upon with the warmth of such love as few poets have so widely inspired (pp. 108, 127).

We must pass by several interesting chapters as furnishing

[1] Mozley's *Essays*, ii. 112 *ff.*
[2] Keble's *Occasional Papers*, p. 68.

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less illustration of those characteristics of Principal Shairp's writings on which we have thought it opportune to dwell. He devotes two lectures to two 'prose poets,' Thomas Carlyle and Cardinal Newman; and in regard to the former, he shows how that idolatry of 'strong men,' apart from all questions as to their moral standing, which is the moral blot of Carlylism, resulted from the pantheism which scorned to associate character, in the full sense, with the 'unnameable centre of things,' conceived as an inscrutable, inexorable Power. One who had given up, if he ever deliberately held, the faith in a living, personal, and all-good God, and practically substituted for Him a mere Will or Force, would naturally take a one-sided estimate of 'the heroic' in man, and dispense with goodness where he could admire intensity. On this view, 'the strong intellect and the strong will are an emanation from the central force of the universe, and as such have a right to rule' (p. 430). Yet, withal, Carlyle was

> 'a prophet of the soul in man. He asserted, with all the strength that was in him, and in every variety of form, the reality of man's spiritual nature in opposition to all the materialisms that threatened to crush it. . . . He maintained the spiritual and dynamic forces in man as against the mechanical. While so many, listening to the host of materializing teachers, are always succumbing to the visible, and selling their birthright for the mess of pottage which this world offers, Carlyle's voice appealed from these to a higher tribunal' (p. 422).

We have already quoted one of several passages in which Professor Shairp draws out and interprets the deep sweet force of Dr. Newman's sermons. In the fifteenth chapter he speaks of the Cardinal as 'still remaining among us, in beautiful and revered old age.' He refers to some of the poems in the *Lyra Apostolica, e.g.* the 'few impressive lines on the "Call of David," rendering in a brief page of verse the whole outline of that wonderful life;' and points out the 'condensed severity of the lines entitled "Deeds, not Words."' We can well suppose that he would agree with us in regard to the high poetic power of 'Chastisement,' 'Hidden Saints,' 'the Course of Truth,' and 'Patriarchal Faith.' He just alludes to the 'Dream of Gerontius,' but hastens on to the Parochial Sermons in which their author 'spoke out the truths which were within him with the fervour of a prophet and the severe beauty of a poet;' even as he had said in his *Studies*, 'High poems they were, as of an inspired singer, or outpourings of a prophet, rapt yet self-possessed.' He describes Newman as 'laying the most gentle yet penetrating finger on the very core of things, reading to men their own



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most secret thoughts better than they knew them themselves' (p. 444), as he had said before that 'the sermons and other writings of Dr. Newman have shown what capacities the English language possesses of insinuating its tendrils into the deepest and most recondite veins of thought, as well as into the tenderest sentiment by which any spirit of man is visited' (p. 143). He notices the 'intense idealism' which persisted in looking beyond the visible to the invisible, and believed that in the latter was truest reality; the sense of a mystery brooding over human life, and over the life of dumb animals; the resolution to 'introduce some iron into the blood' of a popular and easy-going religion; the momentary pathetic glimpses of a 'very tender heart that had a burden of its own;' and in connection with them he says most truly that the passages which thus hint or indicate such secrets are 'what all high poetry is said to be, at once a revelation and a veil' (p. 455).

This is enough, and more than enough, to illustrate what we said at the beginning as to the stores of timely teaching which the reader will find in the writings of Professor Shairp. We hope that he will give us more of the same kind. The age wants all that it can get from teachers like him. Well would it be if many of the young minds to which he has spoken at Oxford or at St. Andrews would retain unimpaired, through the strife of tongues and the stress of engrossing occupation, and amid all the materializing influences which are in the air that they must breathe, an impression of that grave, gentle, yet urgent testimony for the reality of man's spiritual being, for the supremacy of the moral over the material order, for 'the belief,' as he himself words it, 'that this world is but the vestibule of an eternal state,' for 'the thought of Him in whom man lives here, and shall live for ever.'[1] Probably some of his hearers may for a time become agnostics, or mere culturists, or mere scientists; and yet this may not be the end. The Eternal Lover of souls is mercifully active in 'devising means whereby His banished be not expelled from Him.' Life is a great teacher, and some of its lessons may, all unexpectedly, make dreams and realities change places. Old lights may be rekindled, old truths reassert their vitality; and a learner in this school, having found what this world can do for him and what it cannot, may bethink himself of what he heard, long years before, from one who was no 'clerical zealot,' no 'hard dogmatist,' no 'conventional moralizer,' but knew how to speak from largeness of heart

[1] *Aspects of Poetry*, p. 78.

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a word in season to him that was weary, and help him to recognize the heights and depths, the needs and the capacities, of his own mysterious being, to believe effectively in man, and so to believe adoringly in God.

## ART. IV.—DR. CYRIACUS' ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

*Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. Ἐκ διαφόρων πηγῶν ἐρανισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Α. Διομήδους Κυριακοῦ, Δ. Φ. καὶ καθηγητοῦ τῆς Θεολογίας ἐν τῷ ἐθνικῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ.* [*Ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου* X. N. *Φιλαδελφέως*, 1881. *τόμος πρῶτος*, pp. 400; *τόμος δεύτερος*, pp. 584].

THIS is the most important book that has appeared in the Oriental Church for the last thousand years. It is important as a sign and as a means: as a sign because it indicates that life—literary life, ecclesiastical life, theological life, religious life—has come back to the Church which was so nearly crushed to death under the pitiless heel of Mohammedan oppression; as a means, because it is the historical method above all others that is needed by Oriental Churchmen in order to show them what was, and what was not, the doctrine taught and held, and the discipline exercised, in those primitive ages to which they, as we, look back as the best guide and interpreter of revelation when revelation requires interpretation.

The vast gap which intervenes between the early Greek historians and Professor Cyriacus is most significant. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Theodore, Evagrius are household names with us. They lived in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; and even in the sixth century Theodore had begun the system of epitomizing the works of his predecessors. After Evagrius twelve hundred years pass away without the appearance of one Greek ecclesiastical historian worthy of the name, unless we should except Nicephorus Callistus, whose probable date is the fourteenth century. It is true that ecclesiastical history may be gathered from the Byzantine historians, who wrote from the year 500 to 1500; but their works are primarily political or civil, and only touch on Church matters because the Church was so closely bound up with the later Byzantine Empire. From Nicephorus Callistus to the

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eighteenth century not one name of a Church historian appears, and then we only find such names as Dositheus, who wrote on the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; Meletius, who composed a history in the old form of annals; Eugenius Bulgaris, who confined himself to the first century after Christ; Kometas, who epitomized Meletius; Constantine Œconomus, who narrated the history of the Church of Greece proper from 1821 to about 1850; Constantine Contogones, who began writing a history, of which he published only one volume at Athens; Lascaris, who compiled a very brief epitome, issued in 1863 at Constantinople. Our present author gave to the world a short historical analysis, which he had prepared for his pupils in 1872; and now, as we see, he has published an extended *Ecclesiastical History* worthy to be placed side by side with the best products of the genius of the West in the same sphere.

It is not only in the department of ecclesiastical history, but in all theological literature, that the magnificent outburst of Greek genius and learning which was witnessed in the fourth and fifth centuries was succeeded by barrenness. From the middle of the fifth century independence, originality, genius disappear. After an Athanasius, a Basil, a Nazianzen, a Chrysostom, a Cyril, we sink down, as it were in a moment, to a pseudo-Dionysius (who, however, as the author of Mysticism, has had a very powerful influence over the Church), a Hadrian, a Procopius, an Andrew of Cæsarea, a Kosmas Indicopleustes, a John Scholasticus, a Maximus, a John Damascene, with whom, in the eighth century, the list of Oriental theologians ceases. After this period the only theological names that history lingers over for a moment are Photius (A.D. 891), who was a learned and courageous man; Simeon Metaphrastes, the legend-writer (A.D. 900); Œcumenius the commentator (A.D. 990); Michael Cerularius, the patriarch (A.D. 1058); Peter of Antioch, the controversialist (A.D. 1053); Theophylact (A.D. 1074). The last-named throws a certain halo over an age for which he reproduced the teaching of Chrysostom. After him not one Oriental theologian is to be met with down to the capture of Constantinople in the fifteenth century.[1] After the fall of Constanti-

[1] The following is a fairly full list of the remaining theological writers in the period between John Damascene and the fall of Constantinople :— Theodore Studita (790), Nicetas Paphlago (890), Peter of Sicily (890), Leo the Philosopher (911), Eutychius of Alexandria (940), Michael Psellus (1106), Nicetas of Serræ (1106), Euthymius Zygadenus (called Zigabenus by Tollius, Cave, Schmitz, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, but wrongly : see Annæ Comnenæ *Alexiad*, lib. xv. p. 490) (1106), Nicetas of Nico-

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nople we cannot reasonably expect any literary excellence in the Greeks of the Turkish Empire; nor do we find any except in Cyril Lucar. Liberated Greece produced at once Pharmacides and Œconomus; and she may boast at the present moment as having for Professors in her University Cyriacus, Damalas, and Rhossis.

Dr. Cyriacus has brought before his countrymen the results of years of study directed to the works of ancient Greek and Latin historians and theologians, and to modern German writers on ecclesiastical history, dogmas, and antiquities. We do not find evidence of the same familiarity on his part with English authors. In the list of the works of ecclesiastical historians that is given in the preface we find no English books named except, in a modern Greek translation, Ἐπιτομαὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ BAPΘ (ἐν Σμύρνῃ, 1848), καὶ τοῦ ΠΑΛΜΕΡ (ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1877), the last a publication of the Anglo-Continental Society. In the headings of the chapters, indeed, we find a few more English names, as Routh, Lardner, Gibbon, Bingham, Soames, Stanley, Neale, Finlay; but these are not sufficient to have prevented the account of English Church matters from being both meagre and occasionally inexact.

The history is divided into four periods: the first from the commencement of Christianity to the reign of Constantine and the year 313; the second from the reign of Constantine to the Patriarchate of Photius, that is, from A.D. 313 to A.D. 860; the third from the schism of the ninth century to the capture of Constantinople, that is, from A.D. 860 to A.D. 1453; the fourth from the taking of Constantinople down to our own days, that is, from A.D. 1453 to 1880. Naturally, the largest space is devoted to the history of the Eastern Church, and this gives its special interest to the work; for in England and Germany, as well as in Roman Catholic countries, the greater proximity of the Latin community, and the gigantic figures of an Augustine and an Ambrose, or a Gregory VII. and an Innocent III., have intercepted our view of the East, and led us almost to confound

media (1110), Theodore Prodromus (1110), Nilus Doxipatres (1140), Nicolas of Methone (1180), Eustathius of Thessalonica (known better as a commentator on Homer) (1185), John Zonaras (1185), Nicetas Acominatus or Choniates (1206), Nicephorus Blemmides (1255), John Cantacuzenus (1255), Gregory of Cyprus (1280), Andronicus Comnenus (1327), Constantine Armenopulos (1340), Gregory of Thessalonica (1340), Nilus Cabasilas of Thessalonica (1350), Nicolas Cabasilas of Thessalonica (1360), Philotheus (1371), Theophanes of Nicæa (1371), Symeon of Thessalonica (1429), George Scholarius, or Gennadius (1438).

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the history of the Latin Patriarchate with the history of the Catholic Church. For the history of the Church of the later Byzantine Empire, and of the Church of Greece proper since its liberation from Turkish misrule, and of the Church Catholic in our own days, we know of no book to which we can refer better than that which is before us.

In the first period, that is, down to the time of Constantine, there is little to distinguish the historian of the Eastern Church from that of the Western; but even here we cannot but see how simply, naturally, and in accordance with ancient documents, a member of the Eastern Church tells his tale without any of the spasmodic efforts which are made by Ultramontane writers to represent the relation of any one of the great bishoprics to the others as different from that which it really was. The comparison of heathen religions with Christianity, the severance of Christianity and Judaism, the spread of the Christian Faith, the persecutions, the Gnostic and other heresies, are treated with clearness and precision; and attached to the narrative are chapters on Christian theological literature, on the constitution of the Church, and on the religious life of the period. As to Church government in the first period, the Professor recognizes the threefold ministry of the Church, consisting in Apostolic times of apostles, presbyters or bishops, and deacons; in the next generation, of bishops, priests, and deacons. The marriage of the clergy is allowed to be the rule in the first, second, and third centuries. The origin of metropolitical power is traced to the fact that the Metropolitans were the Bishops of the chief city of the civil province. Of these Metropolitans the chief were the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch: the Bishop of Rome holding metropolitan rights over the centre and the south of Italy, the Bishop of Alexandria over the whole of Egypt, and the Bishop of Antioch over the whole of Syria; and the Bishop of Rome being distinguished above the other two because Rome was the Imperial city. The Professor points out that the idea of S. Peter having established the Church in Rome is first met with in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, and that Leo I. was the first Pope who justified the primacy of the Papal See by appealing to the text 'Thou art Peter.' He recounts the struggles between Polycrates and Victor, Cyprian and Stephen, in the manner in which they are ordinarily related by Anglican historians, and explains the well-known passage of Irenæus as to the *Potentiorem Principalitatem*[1] as follows:—

[1] 'Ad hanc propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem

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'The meaning of this difficult passage, which we only have in this unfortunate Latin translation, is that the conflux of the faithful, drawn from all sides to Rome by the necessities of their business, because that city was the first and most distinguished city of the Empire, tended to the preservation in it of the apostolic tradition, because these men carried to it the report of the faith of the Churches to which they belonged' (p. 163).

The unity of the Church during the three first centuries is described as follows:—

'The inward unity of faith and love effectuates the external unity of the Church, which the political unity of the Roman Empire made the more easy; and this external unity was not shown by submission to any one bishop. All the particular Churches—those of Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, the East, Egypt, Africa, Italy, Gaul, &c.—were autocephalous and independent of one another, but bound together by the inter-communion in love of Bishops and Churches, by their mutually sending help in time of need, by letters, and above all by Synods. The name of Catholic was given to the Church spread throughout the whole world in opposition to the different heresies and schisms which were only found in special places' (p. 164).

The following is an honest statement of the views entertained in the Church at the end of the third century on the subject of Invocation of Saints:—

'The Christians honoured and loved the martyrs as likenesses of Christ; and already some traces of a belief are found that they might be able to give help either now or in the future judgment. Great significance was awarded to the prayers of the martyrs for the Church; but we do not meet with any example of their invocation. Only the martyrs were besought before they died to pray for the Church after their death' (p. 177).

He allows also that during these three first centuries images or likenesses of Christ were not admitted into churches. On the subject of marriage we observe that he falls into the not uncommon mistake of understanding Tertullian's words, 'confirmat oblatio,' to mean that the Holy Eucharist was celebrated at them.

The part of ecclesiastical history which succeeds to that of the first three centuries is far more trying to the historian than the first part. There is a unity in the history of Christianity, as it develops from the Day of Pentecost to the conversion of Constantine, which no one can miss, and which the

convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab eis, qui sunt undique, conservata est, quæ est ab apostolis traditio' (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3).

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historian has only to follow; but after Constantine the stream soon becomes the ocean, and there is need of a good pilot to prevent our being lost in the various currents which, if their general direction be the same, appear at times to be flowing from every quarter of the compass. The difficulty is considerably increased when the period beginning A.D. 313 is not made to end till A.D. 860. In the selection of the latter date we see the Eastern Churchman, in whose eyes Photius stands out as a far greater personage than he appears to most Westerns. It is, however, from any point of view, a sufficiently reasonable date to have selected, inasmuch as it brings us in view of the great schism which, commencing then, was brought to its completion two hundred years later.

The author finds his way securely, and guides the reader safely, through the intricacies of the Arian, Semi-Arian, Photinian, Macedonian, Apollinarian, Pelagian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Monothelite, and other minor heresies, and gives a short account of the Donatist schism. The last controversy of the period was that on the subject of images. On this point Dr. Cyriacus defends, as in duty bound, the official teaching of his Church; but he makes allowances which are creditable to his candour. He allows that in the eighth century the worship of Icons had in many cases turned into actual idolatry, owing to the ignorance of the masses, and that it encouraged their superstitions. He can recognize the purity of motives which led Leo the Isaurian to forbid honour being paid to Icons, in order to put a stop to the superstitions which resulted from their worship, and he can sympathize with the Emperor's desire to smooth the way for the Jews to embrace Christianity by taking away a stumbling-block from their path. The following passage is written with greater impartiality and breadth of view than might have been expected in an Oriental theologian; greater, too, than is often displayed by Western and English writers:—

'The friends of the Icons agreed with their adversaries in this, that all *latria* of the Icons ought to be cast out of the Church; but whilst the Iconoclasts thought that this could only be done by entirely forbidding the use of Icons, their defenders, who thought that the abuse should not hinder the use, and wished the Icons to be preserved in the churches as ornaments, and as the books of the people, and as the means of calling to mind the history of the Christian religion, thought that the excessive honour paid to them, which proceeded as far as idolatry, could be removed by the dissemination of knowledge among the people. When the Iconoclasts protested that the people made gods of the Icons, their friends replied: "You ought to enlighten the ignorance of the multitude." And then dis-

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turbances followed. Owing to this partizanship there arose on one side an excessive and superstitious regard of the Icons, and on the other an unreasoning hatred for them. At length it became a struggle between the army and the hierarchy. . . . Some attribute to the Iconoclasts the purpose, not only of doing away with the worship of the Icons, but also of bringing about a reformation of the ecclesiastical, political, and social constitution of the times. Wishing to put down superstition, which was doing a deadly injury to the empire, they were for circumscribing the monasteries and lessening the number of the monks. They wished to laicize education, which was in the hands of the monks, and to do away with eunuchs, tortures, and other mischiefs; but the fact is, that whether the objects of the Iconoclasts were useful reformations which could not then be effected, because they were before their age, and the age was not ready for them, or whether they were not, they did more harm than good, because by persecuting the monks and breaking up their schools they contributed to the destruction of such education as there was, without being able to establish any new system of education. The result was greater ignorance, and multiplied superstitions' (p. 266).

The historian proceeds to narrate the meeting of the synod of 338 bishops in the year 754, intended to be œcumenical, which condemned the adoration of images; and that of the year 787, consisting of 350 bishops, in the reign of Irene, accepted by the Greek Church as the seventh Œcumenical Council, which, under the Patriarch Tarasius, restored their worship. Professor Cyriacus does not tell us, and perhaps we can hardly expect that he should do so, that that Second Council of Nicæa was not duly summoned, and that its deliberations were not free. That it was not accepted in the West, and was protested against by Charles the Great's *Libri Carolini* and by the Council of Frankfort and the English Church, is stated by him, but stated so briefly as not to make much impression on the reader. He also too briefly notices that it was not the so-called seventh Council, but the action of the weak woman Theodora, which fifty-five years after the Second Council of Nicæa established finally the adoration of images in the East.

Attached to the historical narrative of the second period of Church history is an elaborate investigation of the growth of the power of the Sees of Constantinople and of Rome. Originally the Bishop of the chief city of each of the (civil) diœceses into which Constantine divided the Empire was theoretically independent of and equal to each of the rest. But this could not last. In the Thracian diœcese Constantinople took the place of Heraclea, and in the Illyrian diœcese Rome took the place of Thessalonica. By degrees Rome, Constan-

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tinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Cæsarea emerged from the other metropolitan sees as superior in power. Soon Ephesus and Cæsarea disappeared from the higher rank, an appeal from all the diœceses having been granted by the Fourth Œcumenical Council to Constantinople, and Jerusalem being elevated above Cæsarea by a decree of the same council and by an ordinance of Theodosius II. Antioch, according to our author, never recovered its prestige lost by its support of Nestorius, condemned at the Council of Ephesus A.D. 431. The condemnation of Eutyches and Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon gave a deadly blow to the power of the Alexandrian throne. Soon, too, the three southern patriarchates were ravaged by the Arabian invaders. Thus there remained only the two rivals, Old and New Rome, representing, one the West, the other the East. The presence of the Emperor in Constantinople was a source both of strength and weakness to the Patriarch, while his political independence gave both courage and power to the Roman Bishop:—

'The decree of the usurper Phocas, A.D. 606, by which the superiority of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church was recognized, proceeded from political and personal motives, for Cyriacus, Patriarch of Constantinople, was a follower of Maurice, whom Phocas murdered, in order to mount the imperial throne. Anastasius says that Boniface III., Pope of Rome, obtained from Phocas, the Emperor, "that the apostolic see of the blessed Peter the Apostle should be declared the head of all the Churches, because the Church of Constantinople had called herself the first of all the churches." But Phocas's decree was not fully carried out even in the West. Both these patriarchs were victorious within the range of their own jurisdiction; but owing to political circumstances this range became in one case curtailed, in the other extended' (p. 358).

Dr. Cyriacus finds two stages in the development of the Papal power: the first beginning with Leo the Great, who formulated the idea that Papal authority arose from the Bishop of Rome being a successor of S. Peter, and extending to the time of Gregory the Great; the second commencing when Pepin gave temporal power to the Popes in the year 754:—

'Thus we see the Bishop of Rome in apostolic times simply the bishop of that city; from the second century onward a powerful metropolitan; then gradually raised by different historical circumstances to great influence, and claiming the full government of the Church. These insolent claims of the Popes, which were from the beginning rejected by the East, we shall see to have been in the ninth century the chief reason of the schism between the Eastern and Western Church' (p. 366).

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The third section of the history, from A.D. 860 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, contains an account of the origin and consummation of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, written with calmness and fairness from an Eastern Churchman's point of view; and this is indeed the first historical narrative which we have of that great event written from the Eastern side, though the Eastern cause has been more or less defended from a sense of justice by Anglican and foreign Protestant historians. Cyriacus begins by laying down, with Neander, the causes of the schism as being the doctrine of the *Filioque* (of which he gives an impartial history), a difference in Eastern and Western teaching on the subject of human liberty, the differences in discipline which were brought to the surface by the condemnation of Roman practices in the Council of Trullo; but, above all, the overbearingness of the Popes in their attempts to subject the Eastern Church to themselves. These being the reasons of the schism, an occasion was found in the deposition of Ignatius from the patriarchal throne of Constantinople and the elevation of Photius. Nicholas I. was at that time the Pope, and acting upon the principles of the decretals of Isidore, which had a short time before been forged, he claimed the right of settling the dispute between the two claimants for the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, and declared Photius deposed. The relations of the two great sees were further embittered by a quarrel as to their rights of jurisdiction in Bulgaria. In the year 867 Photius published an encyclic letter, in which he put together all the grievances which the Easterns had against the Westerns, and at the head of a thousand bishops excommunicated Nicholas just as Nicholas had excommunicated him. Thus the schism was more than begun. It did not, however, reach its final and, we may say, its official completion till two centuries later, in the time of Michael Cerularius. We need hardly say that Photius holds a very different position in the eyes of an historian of the Eastern Church from that which he occupies in the pages of Latin writers. With our present author Photius is 'the wisest man of his age,' 'a man of great political skill,' 'a man who summed up in himself all the learning of the day,' an author of '297 works in theology, history, geography, philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, and medicine,' besides his famous Nomocanon. On account of his learning and his struggles for the independence and for the doctrines of the Eastern Church, he takes his place among 'the chief fathers of that Church':—

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'Photius is the man who saved the Eastern Church from the tyranny of the Pope. Without him the Eastern Church was in danger of submitting to popery, and if this had taken place it would soon have been destroyed, losing its traditions, and receiving Latinism. All the evils into which the Western Churches fell in the middle ages, the disgraceful Church courts, and the abuses of letters of Indulgence, would have defiled her too. With the Greek Church the Greek people would perhaps have lost its Hellenism. Divine Providence saved the Greek Oriental Church and Hellenism by the means of Photius' (vol. ii. p. 21).

In like manner Cerularius, whom one of ourselves lately termed 'the vain Cerularius,' has more justice done to him than he could have received from a Latin writer. Cyriacus first tells the story of his closing the Latin monasteries and churches, and of his encyclic letter, in which he adds to the charges of Photius the complaint that unleavened bread was used by the Westerns in the Eucharist; of the mission of Cardinal Humbert to Constantinople, and his insolent laying of the Bull of Excommunication upon the altar of S. Sophia, and the consequent excommunication of the Papal party by the Patriarch. He then adds:—

'Cerularius finished the work of Photius, and he may be regarded as with him the saviour of the independence of the faith of the Eastern Church. Michael had not the wisdom nor the learning of Photius, but he showed firmness of character and great zeal for the rights of the Eastern Church' (p. 27).

Schism is always an evil; but that schism is sometimes necessary, in order to preserve what is true and right, is indisputable. Dr. Cyriacus thus describes the good which he sees in the division which took place between the Eastern and the Western Churches:—

'The schism, besides saving the independence of the Churches of the East, delivered them also from the frightful errors into which the Papal Church fell in the middle ages, and on account of which at a later time there sprang up the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland. All the attempts made since that time for uniting the two Churches have been vain. The schism remains and will remain until the Pope gives up all illegal and unreasonable despotical claims over the Eastern Churches, and until the Roman Church has been purified from the corruptions into which from that time forward it has fallen' (p. 28).

In this division of his work Dr. Cyriacus describes the later religious life in Byzantium in a manner which shows that he has made a study of it, and he gives a sketch of the Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Maro-

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nites, and of the conversion of the Slaves to Christianity, for which we must refer the reader to the volume itself.

The fourth part of the history, beginning with the fall of Constantinople and extending to the year 1880, contains the history of the Church in modern times. As usual our author begins from the Eastern Church, and from its centre Constantinople; but he has not only to tell the tale of the enslaved Church of the Turkish dominion. He has the history also of the liberated Church of Greece proper to narrate, and that of the great Russian Church. From the Eastern Church he proceeds according to his method to the history of the Eastern Communions separated from the orthodox Church. Next he gives a history of the Protestant Churches, and ends with that of the Western or Papal Communion.

The account of the Church under the Turkish empire begins naturally enough with a wail of mourning. The historian pauses and points to his beloved Greek Church as having been the most flourishing of all Churches, as having surpassed all others in the number and wisdom of its writers, in its pursuit of science, and in its influence on the world. 'But,' he continues sadly, 'from the fifteenth century, after the capture of Constantinople, in consequence of its enslavement by the barbarous Turks it fell so far that only a few weak remnants were left of that hitherto beautiful building.' In modern times he allows that the other Churches of Europe are far in advance of her. Yet, that fall did not first begin in the fifteenth century: the inner life had been fading out of her long before; the Mohammedan sword finished what internal decay had commenced.

'Fortunately, however, we see that in these two last centuries, and especially in the present century, in which orthodox Russia has been raised to a great European power and entered into the order of civilized powers, and in which the kingdom of Greece has been established, and many other orthodox nations have been rendered politically independent, and the civil and social state of the East has been generally improved, the Greek Church has begun again to raise her head, and she may securely hope from the renewal of theological studies which has already commenced within her that in the future she shall see again the glorious days of her ancient renown' (p. 233).

We heartily say, So be it, to the Professor's aspirations. May Greek theological literature once more recall the days of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century!

Dr. Cyriacus recognizes the mercy, if not the fairness, with which the conqueror Mohammed at first treated his Christian

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subjects. He allowed them to elect George Scholarius, or Gennadius, as their Patriarch, and he recognized him, not only as patriarch, but as ethnarch, over all his orthodox subjects. The constitution of the synod was not interfered with, nor was its jurisdiction suppressed. Existing churches were recognized as the property of Christians, and the Church was allowed to hold property herself. Bishops were acknowledged as judges between Christians, and could only themselves be accused before the Divan. The strange result followed that the Patriarch and the higher clergy thus obtained greater power personally than that which they had before enjoyed. Nevertheless, the Church soon found that it was subject to hard taskmasters. Churches were taken possession of or pulled down, Santa Sophia was turned into a mosque, and at last the Patriarch felt himself obliged to resign his office. The next Patriarch was made short work with, because he would not acknowledge a marriage between a Mohammedan pasha and a Christian lady. The third was deposed for the same reason, having his head cut off after undergoing other insults. The Sultans set up and pulled down the Patriarchs as they pleased, and demanded rich presents of each new Patriarch. In the seventeenth century there were no less than fifty changes of Patriarch in seventy-five years. Every new Patriarch was obliged to give money, and this he obtained from the bishops under him, and the bishops from the inferior clergy. The result was that the leaven of demoralization and simony spread throughout the whole Church. The self-respect of the Christians was destroyed by their being forbidden to enter the army, and by their witness being refused in courts of justice, and by a poll-tax being laid upon them. They were not compelled to apostatize, but anyone who accepted Mohammedanism and then reverted to Christianity was put to death, as well as every Mohammedan who rejected Islamism. Crosses were removed from the churches. Bells were not permitted except in Mount Athos. Selim I., in 1520, having learnt from the Chief Mufti that it was a good thing to convert his Christian subjects to Islamism, decreed that all the churches should be turned into mosques, Christian worship suppressed, and all Christians who did not accept Islamism put to death. He was, however, induced to withdraw this decree, substituting for it an order that all the churches in Constantinople should be turned into mosques, and that Christians should build new churches of wood. Some of the churches having been preserved by the gift of large sums of money, the decree

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was repeated by Murad III. in 1577, and it was only prevented from being carried out by the energetic intervention of the French ambassador. Meantime the youth of Greece was being draughted into the body of Janissaries. The consequences of these various oppressions were many conversions to Mohammedanism. Half the inhabitants of Albania and seven-tenths of the inhabitants of Herzegovina and Bosnia became Mohammedans. In Albania 300,000 were driven to embrace Islamism in thirty years. Cyriacus accepts Finlay's calculation that no less than a million Christians reinforced Islamism, and he considers that the majority of the present Turks are the descendants of these renegades.

After a time European intervention, and the sympathy of the Russians for their fellow-religionists, made some improvement in the treatment of the Christians: but it is surprising that under such a system there was found even one Patriarch willing to die the death of a martyr, and another who exhibited the courage, piety, and learning of Cyril Lucar. It was the Greek insurrection which led to the martyrdom of Gregory V. On Easter Day, April 23, 1821, he was seized immediately after the Christian service and strangled in front of the patriarchal residence. After his body had remained hanging for three days, it was delivered up to the Jews, who dragged it through the streets and then cast it into the sea. At night the Greeks drew it to shore, placed it on an Ionian boat, and carried it to a place where it could receive Christian burial. Gregory did not stand alone in giving his life for the liberties of Greece. At the same time, the Archbishops of Ephesus and Nicomedia, the Metropolitan of Adrianople, and the Archbishop of Cyprus, with three other bishops of that island, were beheaded; while the Archbishop of Crete and five of his bishops were murdered upon the altar, and a sixth strangled. Gregory V. was not a learned man, but he was a patron of learning, and he edited a volume of S. Basil's homilies and S. Chrysostom's treatise *De Sacerdotio*, and he re-established the Greek printing press which Cyril Lucar had founded at Constantinople.

Cyril Lucar had been Patriarch of Constantinople just two hundred years before Gregory V. No English Churchman can have other than a feeling of affection and admiration for him, owing to the relations into which he entered with the English Church, and the persecutions which he underwent at the hands of the Jesuits. From him, as is well known, we received as a present the Alexandrian Codex, and had he



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fallen on better times than those of Abbot's primacy, a better understanding might have been arrived at by his means between the Oriental Church and our own. Four times he was deposed from the patriarchate by the intrigues of the Jesuits, who did not shrink from accusing him before the Sultan of insulting the worship of Mohammed, and of persuading the Greek islanders to revolt from Turkey. At length he was strangled, and his body was thrown into the Euxine Sea, while the Jesuits offered a vast sum of money to the Porte in order to purchase the appointment of the next patriarch. Dr. Cyriacus says :—

'Cyril was an able, active, and learned man; being a friend of letters he exerted himself for their dissemination, having himself been the first man who established a printing-press in Constantinople. He thought that by the education of the clergy, and by their moral transformation, the Eastern Church might be again elevated, and might be able to resist the dangers which were at that time so formidable on the side of Rome. This struggle with the Jesuits does him great honour. To him we owe it that at that time Popery was thrust back from the East; and the circumstances then were such as to invite an alliance with the Protestants on the part of the Eastern Church against the common enemy' (p. 293).

The Greek Church did its part nobly in the liberation of Greece proper from the Turkish yoke, and it was at once recognized as the established Church of the country. In the reign of Otho a commission was appointed, with Pharmacides at its head, which declared the independence of the Church of Greece on the See of Constantinople, and proposed for it a constitution similar to that of the Church of Russia. The declaration of independence was confirmed by the bishops of Greece in the same year. The Episcopal Synod was pronounced the highest ecclesiastical authority in the realm. Christ was proclaimed the Head of the Church, and the King its chief governor in external matters. At the same time all the monasteries which had fewer members than three were dissolved, leaving eighty-three for men, and three for women. Such measures as these could not pass without opposition. It was argued that the Church of Greece had not the right of declaring its own independence, and that the dissolution of the monasteries was profane. But this excitement passed away. A convention in 1844 sanctioned the arrangement made in 1833, only omitting the King's title of supreme governor. At it the following resolution was passed :—

'The orthodox Church of Greece, recognizing our Lord Jesus Christ as its head, is indissolubly united in dogma with the great

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Church in Constantinople and every other Church of Christ which holds the same doctrine, observing unchangeably, as they do, the sacred Apostolical and Synodical Canons; it is autocephalous, exercising its jurisdiction independently of every other Church, and it is governed by a sacred synod of prelates.'

It was not, however, until 1849 that the declaration of independence was communicated to Constantinople. The Patriarch at once issued a document known as the 'Synodical Volume,' in which he ignored what had been done by the National Church, and appointed the course which they ought to follow. Pharmacides replied in a book which he entitled *The Synodical Volume; or, On Truth*, in which he protested that, as Greece was free, her Church must be free too. His views were adopted by the nation, and after a while the opposition of Constantinople gave way before the logic of accomplished facts.

In 1866 the Church of the Ionian Islands was united to that of the mainland.

'The clergy of Greece,' says our author, 'were found after the insurrection to be in a state of deep ignorance, in which the rest of the clergy of the East were also sunk;' and yet this ignorant clergy had been the only teachers that the people had had. One of the first efforts to remedy the evil was that of Dr. Hill, who established a school in Athens which has been the means of educating a large number of women of the upper class. 'It was thankfully received by Greece,' says Cyriacus, 'which was then without schools and thirsting for education.' We could have wished that the Athenian professor had added a few more words in honour of Dr. Hill and his wife, who have devoted more than half a century to the education of their adopted country, and are still living at Athens in an honoured old age. To the necessity of education and of an educated clergy our author is quite alive.

'Only by an educated clergy can the Church fulfil its great mission, which is to teach the religious and moral truths of Christianity, and to frame upon them the lives and characters of the people. Otherwise the people, remaining without teaching, either sink into superstition, which always accompanies ignorance, or fall into religious indifference to the destruction of good morals. In order to be useful to the Greek people, the clergy must not be behind the leaders of the nation, but must proceed with it; otherwise it will not be able to understand the religious needs of the people, nor be able to exercise any good influence upon them' (p. 360).

We pass over the sections relating to the separated Eastern Communions, the history of the Russian Church, and



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the history of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, in order to come to a part which, in one sense, is more interesting to us than any other, because it concerns ourselves: the history of the later Church of England. Here, as we have already noted, some mistakes are made, and it would be very strange were this not to be the case. We will mention some which the author may easily correct in a second edition.

1. There is a not uncommon confusion between the two words *Καντaβριγία* and *Καντaουαρία*, Cambridge and Canterbury. In the early part of the work, our Archbishops are called Archbishops of Cambridge. In the later sections they are properly termed Archbishops of Canterbury. Thus, Augustine is called *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντaβριγίας*, and Theodore of Tarsus receives the same title (p. 205).

2. Thomas Cromwell cannot be classed with Cranmer as a 'theologian' of the English Church (p. 429).

3. Barlow, the consecrator of Parker (whose consecration is freely admitted), could not be said to have become a 'Calvinist' (p. 430).

4. It is too much to expect any foreigner to understand the real meaning of 'High Church' and 'Low Church.' Dr. Cyriacus seems on the right track when he describes the first as representing the old Catholic element of the Anglican Church; and the second, the Calvinist or Evangelical element. But he is led astray by a misunderstanding of the words 'High' and 'Low,' when he says that to the first party belong 'the bishops, the well-born, and the rich, who, by their position, attach great credit to the Anglican priesthood,' and that the latter is made up of 'men of the people' (p. 481).

5. He states that Rationalism is represented in England by Bishop Colenso, without stating that Dr. Colenso lives in South Africa, and has been deposed from his episcopal office in the Anglican Church (*ibid.*).

6. He says that 'the Puseyites place tradition on a level with Scripture' (*ibid.*).

7. He says that the Old Catholic movement was warmly supported by the English Government (p. 506).

8. He says that union between the Anglicans and Orthodox meets with great difficulties, because the propositions which the English theologians assented to at Bonn in the years 1874–75 were not accepted by the greater part of the Anglican bishops and theologians in England (p. 508). Whereas, the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury reported favourably of those propositions, without exception, and unanimously.

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9. He says that 'Overbeck is working for the amity of the Churches' (p. 392).

These are but slight inaccuracies, and sometimes we are inclined to wonder that the Athenian professor knows so much, rather than so little, about us; but still they indicate a want of familiarity with English theological affairs which in so learned an historian we would fain see removed.

Dr. Cyriacus gives a fair, if short, sketch of the introduction of Christianity and of the establishment of the English Church in England, recognizing the great work done by the Scoto-Irish missionaries established in the northern island that in Greek takes the curious form of Χῦ, which our readers will see is the other name of Iona. He describes the British Church as being driven back into Wales and Northumberland (Βαλεσία καὶ Νορτουμβερλάνδη), and the heathen Anglo-Saxons converted by Augustine, who was received by the King of Kent, whom he calls Adelbert. He has no doubt that the old British Church was founded either mediately through Gaul, or immediately from the East, in consequence of the differences in discipline, doctrine, and ritual, between it and the Roman Churches, in respect to the form of baptism, its relation to the Pope (whom the ancient Britons did not acknowledge as their head), the tonsure of the clergy, the Paschal Cycle, the marriage of the clergy, and some forms of worship. The divorce of Henry VIII. he considers the occasion of the introduction of the Reformation into England, which he regards as accomplished in the reign of Edward VI., and restored after Mary's reign by Elizabeth and James. Of Parker's consecration he has no doubt, and he notes that the English are the only Protestants who preserved the Episcopate and the Hierarchy as it is understood in the Catholic and Oriental Churches. He inaccurately describes the Thirty-nine Articles as 'the symbolical book' of the Anglican Church, and says that they contain 'a certain moderate Calvinism,' but retain the consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons as essential and necessary in the Church. He adds:—

'The Anglican Liturgy is for the most part a literal translation of the old liturgies, in which the Eucharist is represented as a sacrifice; and the sign of the cross in baptism, the form of absolution, and many other things, were preserved from the Catholic Church. Thus, the Anglican or Episcopal Church exhibited a third form of Protestantism of a new type' (p. 431).

The following testimony from a foreigner and a learned man is worth having and recording:—

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'In many Protestant countries, especially in England and America, not only work, but also all sorts of amusements, are given up on the Lord's day, which is regarded as especially sacred to God. Reading the Scripture is the chief occupation in it. To this observation of the Lord's day, the reading of the Scriptures, and the abundant preaching of the Gospel in the Protestant Churches, it is due that *the morals of Protestant nations are without question higher and purer than those of the other Christians, specially of the Roman Catholics*' (p. 442).

Dr. Cyriacus readily acknowledges the life and energy which have exhibited themselves in England during the present century, and the zeal with which theology has been studied, especially at Oxford.

The following is a description of two of our more modern parties as seen from the distance:—

'The most direct opponents of Rationalism are the followers of Puseyism and Ritualism; the Puseyites, so named from Pusey (Πουσεϋ), Professor of Theology in Oxford, show great love for the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Church, which were assailed by the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, highly commending the zeal of the old Fathers of the Church, and elevating tradition to an equality with Scripture. The Puseyites reject the old Calvinistic doctrines of Justification and of the Eucharist, and incline rather to the Orthodox and Catholics. Ritualism is akin to Puseyism. The name Ritualist is given in England to those who wish to enrich the Protestant worship with rites similar to those of the Eastern and Catholic Church' (p. 481).

It is interesting to see the way in which Pius IX. was regarded by an Oriental Churchman. Dr. Cyriacus describes his early desire for political reformation and the liberty of Italy under his own temporal and spiritual sway, his change of views, and his flight from Rome to Gaëta in 1849, his restoration by the French in 1850, and his recovery of power. The decree of the Immaculate Conception, published in December, 1854, 'although its truth had been most warmly denied by great Roman Catholic theologians, such as S. Bernard and Thomas Aquinas,' is described as an anachronism in the nineteenth century. The Encyclic and the Syllabus of 1864 were documents in which 'he anathematized as heretical the ideas of Liberty, Faith, Religion, Knowledge, Independence, and Political Equality between clergy and laity, which have happily prevailed in modern European societies, and in fine all the principles of modern social and political life.' In 1869 met the Vatican Council, attended by 700 bishops, in which 'propositions, previously prepared by the Jesuits of the Papal household, were submitted to the blind vote of the bishops.

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The principles of the Encyclic and the Syllabus were confirmed, and the dogma of Infallibility was proclaimed,' in spite of the opposition of Rauscher, Strossmayer, Dupanloup, Gratry, Döllinger, and others.

'In this manner the coping stone was placed by Roman Catholic fanaticism on the colossal building which the insolent ambition of the Bishops of Rome raised in the midst of the Christian Church. As though God would avenge this unheard-of daring of a man who claimed the divine attributes as his own, Rome was captured by the armies of the Italian Government in September, 1870, a few months after the decree of Infallibility. The temporal power of the Pope was thus entirely demolished, and Rome was proclaimed the capital of united Italy in the midst of the indescribable enthusiasm of the whole Italian people. In July 1871 the Italian Government established itself definitively in Rome, and from that time the Pope was reduced almost to the position of a simple subject, as he was before the seventh century, in the time of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors' (p. 504).

The historian goes on to notice the death of Pius IX. in 1878, and the succession of Leo XIII., 'a learned and prudent man, who, by his first proclamation, showed that he was actuated by the same principles as Pius, aiming at the same objects as those which Pius pursued; but, owing to the circumstances of the times, seeking to attain them by milder measures than those of his predecessor' (p. 505).

The mention of the Vatican Council naturally leads the historian to the recital of the last great event in the history of the Church, the Old Catholic movement. The principles of this movement were proclaimed in the Congress of Munich (1871), Cologne (1872), Constance (1873), Freiburg (1874), and afterwards at Breslau (1876), and Baden (1880).

'At first they proclaimed the rejection only of the Vatican decrees, but they soon after proceeded to a more radical reformation in Church matters: the rejection of the Immaculate Conception, the introduction of the language of the country for worship, the election of the clergy by the people, the reception under both kinds, and other improvements. Some of them desired at once to do away with the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, but the definition of that point was deferred. In 1873, Reinkens was consecrated the first bishop of the Old Catholics by the Bishop of the Jansenists, at Utrecht, in Holland. They at once established their theological school. The theologians at the head of this movement were, Germans, Döllinger, Reinkens, Von Schulte, Michelis, Friedrich, Anton; French, Hyacinthe and Michaud; and the Italian Passaglia' (p. 506).

We could wish the statement with regard to Passaglia were true; but since his vigorous effort in opposition to the

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Temporal Power, and his defence of Cardinal Andrea, he has made no sign, his theological standing ground being rather that of Curci than of Döllinger.

The proceedings of the two Conferences of Bonn are recounted at some length, the Greek Professor being both surprised and gratified at the amount of concession made by the Anglican and the Old Catholic theologians by way of meeting the doctrines of the Orthodox Church. 'Never,' he says, 'did theologians of different Churches enter upon the discussion of the differences between them with so much good will towards each other, and with so much sincerity of purpose' (p. 507); 'and the opinions of the theologians of the three Churches drew very near to one another' (p. 506). Having enumerated the points of agreement that were come to in 1874, and the formula accepted in 1875 on the doctrine of the Procession, he adds, 'Everyone in the Conference expressed the prayer that the efforts for the union of the Old Catholics, Anglicans, and Orthodox might be successful, and strong hopes were entertained of effecting this desired union.' He thinks that the opposition offered in England to the Bonn propositions by 'even some of the Puseyites and Ritualists' has thrown great obstacles in the way of the union of the Anglican and Orthodox, but he does not perceive the same difficulties in the way of the union of the Orthodox and the Old Catholics, and eagerly desires to see it accomplished for the good of both parties.

'If the Old Catholics remain isolated, it is a question whether they can succeed and extend their movement. Fears are reasonably entertained lest this movement, too, be at last crushed under the colossal power of the Papacy, as Gallicanism was destroyed by it in the seventeenth century, and Febronianism in the eighteenth, as well as the reformations of Joseph II. As long as the Papacy exercises any great power in the Catholic Church, it is difficult for reformation to make way. The Roman is the Church of the *status quo*' (p. 509).

And on the other side:—

'The theological learning, which is in so flourishing a state among the German Old Catholics, would by the union beneficially affect us' (*ibid.*).

While seeing greater difficulties in the way of the union of Anglican and Orthodox Churchmen, he by no means rejects the idea as chimerical, and speaks of the effort with sympathy:—

'While the proselytizing efforts of Protestants are irritating the minds of Oriental Churchmen against Protestantism in general, there

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has sprung up among the Episcopalians of England and America a very friendly disposition towards the Eastern Church, and the desire of a reconciliation and of amity between the two Churches has been exhibited. This was shown in the synods of the English Church in 1866, 1867, 1868, and their conclusions were communicated to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory VII., by Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1869, together with a translation of the Thirty-nine Articles. This feeling on the part of the Anglican Church is natural, for that Church preserved, after its reformation in the sixteenth century, the priesthood and many Catholic elements of worship, which bring it nearer than any other Protestant Church to the Oriental, and indeed to the Roman Church, standing, as it were, midway between those Churches and the other Protestant Churches. And for several decades affection has been shown by Anglican theologians (followers of Dr. Pusey) for the ancient tradition of the Church, and others have tried to introduce into the worship of the Church of England ancient ceremonies, rejected by the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. But the great majority of those English who desire union with the Orientals have no idea of leaving the principles and traditions of the English Church. On the contrary, they hope that by this union the Eastern Church will purify herself, making her teaching and worship to be in accordance with Holy Scripture. And while the two Churches retain their own doctrines, they desire only the bond of Christian love between them. There are only very few Englishmen, easily counted, such as the Ritualists, who go further, and are ready to sacrifice the teaching and the laws of their Church for the sake of union. These philo-Oriental dispositions of the English have been strengthened by two events: the Encyclic of the Patriarch, Gregory VII., instructing orthodox priests to bury Englishmen dying in the East (1869); and the visit to England of the learned Archbishop of Syros, Alexander Lycurgus, to consecrate the new Greek Church at Manchester in 1870. This movement is still progressing in England and America. In 1872 the General Synod of the American Church wrote a letter to Theophilus, Metropolitan of Athens, and to all the Patriarchs of the East, expressing afresh the hope of union, to which the Patriarchs replied by the same prayer' (p. 302).

Unfortunately Dr. Cyriacus is quite deceived as to the position of Dr. Overbeck in England. In the first place, he apparently regards him as an Englishman, and next he looks upon him as a man that entertains friendly views towards the peace of the Churches. On the contrary, he is the most implacable enemy of that peace that exists. For he is a man of an idea, and his idea cannot be carried out, except at the expense of the Church of England. Then let the Church of England perish! His idea is to establish an 'Orthodox Church of the West,' and he has been good enough to select

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England as the sphere of his experiment. Of course if there is a Church of England at present with which Orthodox Churchmen can hold intercommunion, the ground is cut from beneath his feet; so this German convert from Romanism to Orientalism has set himself the task of so representing the English Church to his present co-religionists, that they may come to the opinion that all dealings with her are impracticable, and may give their sanction to 'Dr. Overbeck's idea.' This sanction, we regret to say, he has actually obtained from many well-meaning Russians. A committee of the Holy Synod has been appointed to consider his 'idea,' and has reported favourably upon it; and a Russian religious society, which ought to have been better informed, has found the material means with which Overbeck took a journey to Constantinople to gain the approval of the Patriarch for his plans. There, however, the busy schemer has failed to obtain success, and instead of meeting with praise, has found it difficult to justify his own ecclesiastical position in the eyes of the Patriarch. The last report, however, is—and it is not only a report—that a disloyal English priest, long absent from England, has taken up his 'idea,' and offered himself for re-ordination to the authorities of the Oriental Church; an offer which has not been accepted, but which may be assented to under a misapprehension, if the Patriarch is not better informed on the subject than the latest historian of the Oriental Church; for the latter, referring to the action of the German arch-schismatic, says innocently: 'The Russian Church nobly supports Overbeck in England, who is working for the amity of the Churches of England and Russia' (p. 392). We are glad to know that a learned presbyter of the American Church has occupied himself in the task of enlightening Russian high ecclesiastical opinion on this important matter, and we hope that he will succeed, for already the want of 'amity' exhibited by the Russian Church in this matter has created a very bad impression both in England and America.

Dr. Cyriacus appends to the history of each section of the Church a few general observations, which are of importance both as exhibiting the judgment of an Oriental Churchman, and as being corollaries drawn by a learned historian on a summary review of the facts which have come before him. The following are his last words respecting the Oriental Church:—

'It contains eighty millions of members, consisting of Orthodox Greeks, Russians, Bulgarians, Servians, Slaves in general, Wallachians, and Asiatics. The Orthodox Eastern Church represents the Christianity

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of the eight first centuries, in which it has abided. The middle ages, particularly the times after the Capture (of Constantinople), brought it low and reduced it to weakness; but the renewal in the present century of theological studies in Greece, and in the East generally, and in Russia, promises it a better future. It is to theological education that the Oriental Church must look for a renewal of herself and the return within her of the excellence of the primitive ages' (p. 393).

On the Protestant Churches his general remark is :—

'They contain about ninety million members. The Reformation, seeking to re-shape the corrupted Roman Church on the basis of Scripture alone, has often fallen into great errors and has been divided into ten thousand Churches. However, it has constituted an advance on the Christianity of the West, for it has assailed the Papal despotism which lay heavy on the Christian world in the middle ages; it has put an end to great corruptions of the Roman Church, and has restored the authority of Holy Scripture, which had been forgotten' (p. 486).

On the Roman Church :—

'The (Roman) Catholics are about a hundred and twenty million; therefore in regard to the number of its followers the (Roman) Catholic is the largest Church; but in no Church has the corruption of Christianity advanced so far as in her. And as long as that Church is oppressed by the Papacy, which is the enemy to all true advancement, we can have no hopes of a better future for her. Her delivery from the Papacy and from Jesuitism, which is so closely connected with it, is the first condition of her turning at all to better things in the future. For thus Catholic theology, having become free, can undertake the work of a radical reformation of the Catholic Church, which she greatly needs. The Old Catholics who have risen up against the Papacy, working in this spirit, are introducing a new period of advancement in the Roman Church; but will they be able to prevail? This time will show' (p. 533).

From these three final observations of the historian we see that his opinion is that the hope of the Eastern Church rests on the better education of her clergy and laity; of the Protestant Churches in general on their submitting their unbridled liberty to the control of legitimate authority; of the Roman Church on her internal reformation, effected by and after an overthrow of the Papal and Jesuitical domination within her: a conclusion from which the Anglican Churchman will not materially differ.

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## ART. V.—ON PREACHING.

1. *The Decay of Modern Preaching.* An Essay by J. P. MAHAFFY. (London, 1882.)
2. *Lectures on Preaching.* Delivered before the Divinity School of Gale College. By PHILLIPS BROOKS. (London.)
3. *King's College Lectures on Elocution.* By C. J. PLUMPTRE. (London, 1881.)
4. *The Cultivation of the Speaking Voice.* By JOHN HULLAH. (Oxford, 1874.)

THE term 'preaching' is explained by Hooker in a well-known passage of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*[1] as 'open publication of heavenly mysteries;' and accordingly he is careful to note that it should not be confined in meaning to sermons, but be extended also to catechizing and the reading of Holy Scripture, which is 'a second kind of preaching.' This truth is by no means an unimportant one, though often overlooked, especially as regards the reading of Holy Scripture. Catechizing is happily becoming more and more generally recognized as an integral part of the Church's system, and an invaluable medium for conveying religious instruction not merely to children but to their elders also.

With regard to the reading of Holy Scripture the case is different, and we cannot help feeling that the thought that this is a kind of preaching may serve to impress us anew with a sense of its importance and bring to light some forgotten aspects of the duty. The value of the Lessons in the Church's daily service as a means of instruction, especially for the poor, is one which it is impossible to overrate. In an age when books are plentiful and the power of reading daily becoming more universal, this is apt to be overlooked. Men *can* read their Bibles at home if they will; but as a general rule it is to be feared that those form a very small minority who do so. In every congregation there must be a large number of persons who are entirely dependent upon what they hear in Church for their knowledge of the Word of God; and in the case of those who can and do read their Bibles at home it should be remembered that to spell out a few verses with labour and difficulty is a very different thing from hearing a chapter or section read straight through with intelligence and

[1] *E.P.*, Book V. chap. xviii.

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reverence. 'I never knew before how beautiful that chapter is,' said one in the East of London; 'when I went home I read it for myself, but it was nothing the same. I wish the Father would always read the Lessons: he makes the Bible speak.'[1] Hence we are inclined to deprecate the practice of *unnecessarily* employing laymen to perform this office: we say unnecessarily, because it must not be overlooked that for those clergy who are single-handed this help is often an intense relief. But where there is no such reason, it is surely a mistake to delegate the duty to the schoolmaster, or to some zealous, but perhaps not too cultivated, lay helper. The clergy, who are bound by their ordination vows to be 'diligent in reading of the Holy Scriptures,' and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, ought certainly to know and understand them better than the laity, and therefore to be better exponents of their meaning, and so better readers. The subject was touched upon some years ago by the Bishop of Manchester in one of his charges, and his remarks upon it are well worthy of consideration :—

'I deprecate the practice, which I think is gaining ground, of appointing laymen—unless they are well-educated laymen—to read the Lessons in Church. Nothing is more important than that the Scriptures should be read with clearness, taste, feeling, intelligence. The substitution gives very little relief to the clergyman—if he will reduce the length of his sermon by ten minutes he will redress the balance of things—and to have the Lessons badly read is a very great loss to the congregation. It is true that it is not everyone who can read as John Henry Newman used to read the Scriptures in his church of S. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford, when every word, uttered in simplest fashion, but pregnant with scholarly feeling, fell like music on the listener's ear, kept the great church spellbound, and touched the heart with a strange sense of spiritual power. I am thinking of forty years ago; but I remember the effect as distinctly as if I had heard the voice yesterday. It is not everyone that can achieve this; but everyone can say the Prayers and read the Lessons as if he felt them, and as if he wished that his hearers should feel them too. There is no part of our ministry which it is more worth while to do as well as it can possibly be done.'

The truth of this will be granted by everyone, and yet it is strange how little care is taken in actual practice by many. It is sometimes said that everybody fancies that he is a good reader and that, therefore, nobody learns, and there is a good deal of truth in this. 'To read and to write come by nature,' says Dogberry, and a good many people seem as if they

[1] *Charles Lowder*, p. 127.

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agreed with his view. It is hard for a man to learn that he needs to be taught reading, just as much as any other art; and there is a not unnatural prejudice against taking lessons from a professional elocutionist, arising from the fear of unreality and of acquiring a theatrical style, than which nothing can be more objectionable. But, at the same time, there is so much with regard to the production of the voice which can only be learnt from one who has made a special study of the subject, and there are so many tricks and vulgarisms of which the speaker himself may be utterly unconscious, that we are persuaded that regular and systematic teaching of the art of reading ought to be insisted on as part of the education of all the clergy. We are well aware of the objections in the way, arising from the difficulty of finding really competent teachers, and from their high charges when found; but if only the demand were greater the supply of teachers would soon be forthcoming. Something has been done already: a chair of 'Public Reading' was established some years ago in connexion with the Theological Department of King's College, and Canon King has added another to the many services that he has done to the Church by making provision for instruction in reading in connexion with his Lectures on Pastoral Theology at Oxford, while in the last year those who have the management of the 'Preparation Scheme' at Cambridge have done the same; and there are signs that several of the Theological Colleges are awaking to the importance of the subject. But much remains to be done yet. The creation of a sound public opinion is the first thing. The laity should cease to tolerate in silence the hesitating and unintelligible mumbling and mouthing to which one is sometimes compelled to listen. If only they would insist that the clergy should be able to read at least distinctly and intelligently, the remedy would soon be found. Here, again, the law of supply and demand would make itself felt, and if a man knew that bad reading would be fatal to him in the matter of obtaining a curacy, he would soon put himself under the instruction which he once disdained, and in no long time would make the discovery that after all there was much that he did not know, and that he would never have discovered for himself.

But further, even if all clergymen were good readers, and gave proper attention and care to the reading of the Lessons, it is worth inquiring whether, if they rested content with this, they would be making sufficient use of this great instrument of instruction. It has often occurred to us that much more use might be made of reading in special services and at

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special seasons. We were present some years ago at a special service in Holy Week in a little country village, and the impression which it left behind has never been forgotten. The service was of the simplest character, and consisted almost entirely of the 'history of the Passion,' from S. Matthew's Gospel, reverently and carefully read in three parts, divided by hymns. The effect was wonderful. The greater part of the congregation had probably never read the chapters consecutively, and so had no conception of the scene as a whole; and it must have brought the events before them, and enabled them to realize them as nothing else could have done. But why should such a service be so exceptional? We never heard of a similar one elsewhere, and yet there can be no doubt that the experiment was successful, and that if more generally adopted it would put a great instrument of *teaching* into the hands of the clergy, and would supply the country villages with something that would in its way take the place of the Passion Music for the cultivated congregations of the towns. There would be no need to confine such a service to the season of Passiontide. Indeed, in the temporary Cathedral at Truro a service not altogether dissimilar in character was held last Christmas, under the presidency of the Bishop, 'which consisted mainly of nine Lessons from Holy Scripture, teaching the truth of the Incarnation, each Lesson being followed by a carol (in one instance the *Adeste Fideles*), developing with the characteristic vigour and boldness of carol poetry the thought of the Lesson.'

The only criticism that we feel inclined to make on this service, of which a full account appeared in the 'Guardian' at the time, is that the Lessons seem to have been *too short.* We have plenty of short Lessons already in the offices in our Prayer-Book, and what we want in these special services is to have Scripture read in larger portions, so as to familiarize our people with the connexion of the various parts, and the order of events, and to get them out of the notion that the Bible was written in chapters and verses. For congregations in poor districts it might be found useful to read continuously the lives of some of the Old Testament Saints. The poor are familiar with certain scenes and incidents in many of them, but have probably very little idea of the life of any one of the Patriarchs as a whole. Or, again, in Advent the Prophecy of Malachi might be read. But there is no need to give illustrations. We are only anxious to point out the general truth that the reading of Holy Scripture may be

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made to occupy a much more important position in special services than has hitherto been assigned to it. If this is once fully recognized, everyone can apply it for himself and select just those passages which seem to him best to fit in with the teaching of the Church's season or to supply the special needs of his own people.

And now to pass from reading to what is more commonly understood by the term 'preaching.' A good deal of attention has recently been drawn to this branch of our subject by the publication of Mr. Mahaffy's interesting essay on the *Decay of Modern Preaching*: a work which we strongly advise all clergy to read, although we do not mean to say that we agree with all the remarks in it, and we are inclined to think that the title is a misnomer. It is true that a great deal is talked about the decay of preaching and the decline of the power of the pulpit, but it may fairly be questioned whether the average of good preachers was ever higher than at present. Mr. Mahaffy speaks rather as if the present day had a monopoly of bad preaching, and refers to the age of Queen Anne as a time when the Christian pulpit was 'raised to a position of power and authority' (p. 83). But this is just the very time when Swift uttered the piteous complaint that churches were 'public dormitories;' and the various notices of preaching scattered about in the pages of the *Spectator* do not look as if the preaching of that day was uniformly excellent. It must be remembered that we judge of a past age mainly by the few great preachers whose names and works have lived on and been handed down to us, and not by the many who are forgotten, and who were probably quite as dull as the average preachers among us. Indeed, at many periods in the history of the Church they were probably far duller; and we believe that, taken all round, the preaching of the present day would compare favourably with that of almost any age. In this matter we have certainly learnt much in the last few years. Still there is great room for improvement, and we cannot help feeling that we have a great deal more yet to learn.

To begin with, the clergy have learnt the lesson of making their sermons short; and it is worth considering whether this has not been learnt only too well, and whether the laity have not been taught to claim a short sermon as a right, and to feel injured if it happens to be a little longer than usual. People certainly have become terribly impatient of long sermons, and seem to consider that anything is long which exceeds a modest half hour: an estimate that would

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have caused considerable astonishment to our forefathers. As Mr. Mahaffy says:—

'A preacher of any but the highest powers who ventures to detain his hearers beyond half an hour is regarded as a sort of social criminal, and the prospect of an hour's sermon would keep most people away. How far are we removed from the days when Bishop Burnet, who preached with an hour-glass running beside him, was requested by the whole congregation when it ran out to reverse it and continue his discourse for a second hour.'[1]

Then, secondly, our preachers have learnt to speak plain English, and to call a spade a spade. This, it seems to be generally confessed, has been brought about by the preaching of the so-called Ritualists, who have been foremost in speaking straight to the hearts of men, and that in a tongue understanded of the people. It is said that during the Irish famine the devices of the clergy in order to avoid any direct mention of the potato by name in the pulpit were most extraordinary.

Some called it "the succulent esculent," others alluded distinctly to it as "that useful edible which forms so important a staple of food," while only one Irish clergyman was found, who in a kind of Celtic reaction courageously informed his congregation that their contributions had provided thirty starving families with "*good Irish stoo.*"[2]

Thirdly, extempore preaching is now no longer a monopoly of the Nonconformists. Its advantages for the poor and uneducated are freely recognized, and no one at the present time would express the same surprise at hearing a bishop speak without book as did a certain back-woodsman in Virginia some time ago. Bishop Meade had been preaching an extempore sermon, and his hearer's comment was to the effect that 'he liked him; he was the first one he ever saw of those petticoat fellows that could shoot without a rest.'[3]

But in other matters there is surely much that still remains to be learnt. In the first place, is it sufficiently recognized that there are sermons and sermons? Are not most sermons painfully alike. Mr. Mahaffy's words on this subject are certainly severe, but we fear that there is only too much truth in them:—

'If we walk into any strange place of worship, we may anticipate, in nine cases out of ten, exactly the sort of thing we shall hear. It

[1] *Decay of Modern Preaching*, p. 4.
[2] *Work among Working-men*, p. 75.
[3] *Brooks on Preaching*, p. 171.



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will be respectable and commonplace, delivered with a voice and tone implying official seriousness. It will generally be all true, when not too narrow, and it will be excellent advice for people to follow. But we also know that, in nine cases out of ten, we shall see plainly that most of the congregation may feel acquiescence in it all, but no interest. Modern society has done its best to make preaching a perfunctory duty, and it has succeeded.'[1]

What we want is more *variety*; different kinds of sermons for different kinds of people; one kind of sermon for the general congregation on Sunday evening, another for the regular church-goers and the faithful few who are gathered together on a Wednesday or Friday; more use of instructions, conferences, lectures, and expositions, and less use of exhortations and appeals, for these last, who need not so much to be stirred up to do their duty as to be taught and shown wherein their duty consists. We are familiar with special addresses to different classes of people at missions, and on other particular occasions, but there is no reason why they should not be more general, and more widely employed than is at present the case. Courses of addresses to men only, for example, might be made a regular feature of the programme for Lent and Advent, not only here and there in exceptionally well-organized parishes, but generally, as part of the recognized machinery of parochial organization. 'Ah, sir,' said an old Wesleyan farmer to a clergyman who had been giving an instruction, 'that's what we want. We've had too much preaching; what we want now is *teaching*.' The remark seems exactly to hit the blot in our modern preaching. Are we not in the habit of taking a great deal too much for granted in our ordinary sermons, and in dealing with mixed congregations? Fairly well educated persons are often astonishingly ignorant of the very elements of Christian doctrine and practice: and courses of simple instructions on such subjects as Prayer, the Creed, the Church, the Sacraments, the services in the Prayer Book, &c., will serve to edify and build them up far better than ordinary sermons, which are too often mere *disjecta membra*, utterly wanting in connexion; and if delivered in the church they will catch a number of people whom it would be found difficult if not impossible to persuade to join a class. The suggestions and hints here offered are of course nothing new. Indeed it may be said that we are only advocating what is already carried out in any well-worked parish. If so, our excuse must be this, that we fear that such parishes are the exception rather

[1] *Modern Preaching*, p. 36.

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than the rule (in spite of the advertisements for curates, where almost every parish seems to figure as 'well-organized'), as experience shows that the want of variety and of definite systematic teaching is a common complaint among the laity, and we are writing in the interest of those whose lot it is to live in parishes where there is no exceptional activity, and where the clergy are content with the stereotyped routine that they received from their predecessors.

Secondly, we have not learnt to be *sparing of sermons.* It must be the experience of many with sermons, as with other things, that—

> 'When they seldom come, they wished for come,
> And nothing pleases but rare accident.'

If this be true of sermons, it is a truth that has been strangely forgotten. It is curious to notice how the Evangelical School of the last generation exactly reversed the natural rule with regard to sermons and Eucharists. The latter were few and far between, and reserved for great and special occasions, while the former were multiplied almost *ad nauseam.* And yet a great part of all preaching, and of 'Evangelical' preaching in particular, consists in appeals to the emotions, the effect of which must from the nature of things be lessened by frequent repetition, according to Bishop Butler's well-known rule that 'from our very faculty of habits, passive impressions by being repeated grow weaker:' and one would certainly have thought that there would be far greater danger of such a result from over-frequent sermons than from increased communions, which are (or ought to be) anything but mere appeals to the emotions. It is strange too that in an age when the power of reading is rapidly becoming universal, and when books are cheaper and more abundant than ever before, the number of sermons should be multiplied in proportion, and that more preaching should be required of the clergy than was customary at any earlier period in the history of our Church. It is true that there is some evidence that in the English Church before the Norman Conquest a weekly sermon was ordered. The Excerpts known as Egbert's (740) require that 'on all feasts and Lord's days, every priest preach Christ's gospel to the people,'[1] and a canon of Edgar's reign (960) orders 'that priests preach to the people every Sunday;'[2] but there does not seem to be much evidence forthcoming with regard to the observance of the rule. After the Norman

[1] Johnson's *Canons*, i. p. 184.

[2] *Ib.* p. 422.



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Conquest it was certainly not kept, and the work of preaching must have been almost entirely neglected by the majority of the clergy. Indeed the rule for the three centuries preceding the Reformation seems to have been for a sermon to be required but once a quarter. This is distinctly laid down in a constitution of Archbishop Peckham (1281), which speaks in severe terms of 'the ignorance of priests and the stupidness of clerks,'[1] and the canon is repeated two centuries later by Archbishop Nevil.[2] In the sixteenth century sermons naturally became more frequent. Although Edward VI.'s Injunctions merely continued the old rule, and required the clergy to 'make or cause to be made in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least,' yet the same year (1547) saw the publication of the First Book of the Homilies, and 'all parsons, vicars, and curates' were enjoined to read in their churches one of the said Homilies *every Sunday*. A few years later we find that the custom of preaching on other days besides Sundays was creeping in. The Eastern counties seem to have been its birth-place, but it had scarcely seen the light before it was ruthlessly strangled, and the following curious letter from the Council to Bonner, then Bishop of London, will show how this was brought about.

'After oure righte hartie commendations unto your lordshipp; beinge advertised from the lorde chauncellor, that dyverse preachers within your dioces in the countie of Essex doo preache, as well the work dayes as tholiedays, whereas some inconveniences may growe. Thinkinge not convenient that the preachers shulde have liberty so to do, bycause at this present it may increase the peoples ydleness, who of themselves are so moche disposed to yt, as all the ways that may be devised are litle ynoughe to drawe them to worke. We, therefore, pray you to take order that they preache tholy dayes onelie, as they have been acustomed to doo. And the worke daies to use those prayers that we prescribed unto them. Thus we bydde your good lordship mooste hartelye farewell. From Grenewyche the 23rd of June, 1550, your loving freindes, E. Somerset, W. North, E. Clynton, G. Cobham, W. Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre.'[3]

Under Elizabeth the rule about the Homilies was continued, and sermons were required once a month instead of once a quarter:[4] a rule that was perhaps found difficult to enforce, as Whitgift's orders of 1586 contemplate a return to the old plan of 'one sermon at the least every quarter.' In the seventeenth century a further attempt was made to

[1] Johnson's *Canons*, ii. p. 282.
[2] *Ib.* 520.
[3] Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. p. 62.
[4] *Ib.* p. 182.

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increase the number of sermons, and in the canons of 1604 we find the following requirements :—

(1.) Beneficed preachers, being resident upon their livings, to preach 'one sermon every Sunday of the year' (canon 45).

(2.) Beneficed men, not preachers, to procure monthly sermons 'at the least,' the Homilies to be read on those Sundays when there was no sermon (canon 46).

By the close of the seventeenth the general use of the Homilies seems to have disappeared : at any rate in 1691 it is mentioned that 'they could not be much used without scandal, as if they were read from laziness,'[1] although as late as 1708 they are recommended by Bishop Bull to his Welsh diocese to be read 'in those poor parishes where there are as poor ministers, altogether incapable of performing this duty of preaching in any tolerable manner.'[2]

The sermon at Evensong has a curious history. It originated with the Puritans in the form of a 'Lecture.' Everyone is familiar with Hooker's controversy with Travers at the Temple, when, 'as one hath pleasantly expressed it, the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva.'[3] This was in 1585, but so far as we have been able to trace it, it was not till the beginning of the following century that an afternoon sermon became at all general. By this time the Puritans had discovered that the fact that the Prayer Book had omitted to make provision for any sermon at Evensong gave them an opportunity of which they were only too ready to avail themselves. Lecturers, with no cure of souls, were appointed by the discontented parties, who might then occupy the pulpit and preach such doctrines as were agreeable to their employers. 'Admission to any cure of souls necessitated subscription and conformity, but a lecturer was able to evade this, and thus most of the divines who were dissatisfied with the Church system procured employment in that capacity.'[4] The institution was speedily found to be a valuable one for the propagation of Puritanical views, and it was not long before there was formed a society of twelve persons, the famous 'Collectors of S. Antholin's' (a sort of anticipation of the 'Simeon Trustees'), for the purpose of purchasing impropriations, establishing lectureships, &c.

[1] Abbey and Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 495.

[2] *Works*, vol. ii. p. 21. Bishop Bull adds, 'And they would do well also now and then to read a chapter or section out of *The Whole Duty of Man*, which, I presume, is translated into the Welsh tongue.'

[3] Walton's *Life*. See Keble's *Hooker*, vol. i. p. 52.

[4] Perry's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 431.

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Attention was drawn to this in 1630 by Dr. Heylin in a sermon preached at Oxford, in which he pointed out the dangerous character of the new society, and two years later Archbishop Laud described it as 'the main instrument for the Puritan faction to undo the Church,' and in the following year it was dissolved and its property confiscated, but not before the mischief was done, and the custom of afternoon lectures firmly established. An attempt to cope with the evil was made by the King's 'Instructions to the Bishops,' issued first in 1629 and again in 1633, in which we find the bishops ordered

'to take great care concerning the lecturers within their several dioceses, for whom we give these special directions following :—

'1. That in all parishes the afternoon sermons be turned into catechizing, by questions and answers, where and whensoever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and laudable order.

'2. That every Bishop take care in his diocese that all lecturers do read divine service, according to the liturgy printed by authority, in their surplices and hoods, before the lecture.'[1]

Thus a determined effort was made to root out the afternoon sermon and restore the good old custom of catechizing; but it was a hopeless endeavour. The tide was setting strongly in favour of the Puritan preachers. In the city of Norwich, out of the whole number of thirty-four churches, 'there was no preaching on Sunday morning, excepting in four; the sermons being put off until the afternoon, and catechizing omitted.'[2] The Bishop (Wren) flattered himself that he had 'broke this ill custom,' but his success was of very limited duration. The lectures were soon re-established and encouraged by the Long Parliament, and by the time of the Restoration the custom of an afternoon sermon was so firmly established that it was found useless to forbid it or fight against it any longer, and the King's 'directions concerning preachers,' put forth in 1662, are forced to recognize the practice, and feebly endeavour to regulate it, ordering 'that where there is an afternoon's exercise it be especially spent either in explaining some part of the Church Catechism, or in preaching upon some such text of Scripture as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of something contained in it, or may conduce to the exposition of the liturgy and prayers of the Church.'[3]

[1] Cardwell's *Docum. Annals*, ii. p. 203.
[2] Collier, vol. viii. p. 124.
[3] Cardwell, p. 308.

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Churchmen, like Thorndike, protested against the practice :—

'I grant it was a just complaint at the Reformation that the people were not taught their duty. But I do not grant either that they cannot be taught their duty without two sermons every Lord's Day, or that they are like to be taught their duty by two sermons every Lord's Day. It is not possible to have men for all churches, fit to preach twice a day to the edifying of the people. It will not be possible to maintain their preaching such as may be accompted an office of God's service.'[1]

But the cry for more sermons was too loud to be ignored; and at this time the custom of an afternoon sermon began to creep into the cathedrals, which till now had steadily resisted it. The following amusing account of its introduction at Wells, from Chyle's history of that Church, is not without interest, and serves to show how the unhappy clergy resented the innovation which was thus forced upon them :—

'As for the preaching I think wee outdoe most Cathedralls (I mean not as to the Sermons but to theire Number). For whereas by the same Injunctions of that Queene [Elizabeth] one Sermon a fortnight (as in Parish Churches one a month) was thought sufficient and commanded to be preach'd by the respective prebends (*sic*), according to theire order (excepting some select dayes for the Deane and some of the Cannons, as also on the Holydayes of the Chancelor of the Church in lieu of his Catechisticall Lectures which he was bound at certaine times to read and for which he has a distinct stipend paid him); there was afterwards one every Sunday morning by the said prebends; the whole Cathedrall in the afternoons going to the Parish Church S. Cuthbert's, where the Vicar usually preach'd, Returning altogether with the Mayor of the City and his Brethren to the Cathedrall prayers, at Foure of the Clocke. But since his Majesty's Restoracion one likewise in the afternoones here is preached by the said prebends in their turns, Soe that here the sermonizing people may have their Bellyfull of preaching and forbeare crying out *They are starved for want of the Word* and calling our clergie *Dumb Doggs*; The Truth is this last Age has rais'd the Pulpitt to such a height above the Desk, Sermons above prayers, as the one to be neglected and almost laid aside, while the other is advanc'd even to a very Idoll, whereas the Originall and *chiefe* end of preaching was to convert the Heathen Gentiles and Jews to the Christian Faith, and when they had gott them into the Church by Baptisme, to strengthen them in it by prayer; preaching being then only to stir them up to prayer, and put them in mind of theire other Christian Duties, as to a regular and due performance of them. But wee Christians who are borne, Baptis'd and educated in that Faith, are not (God be prais'd) in such need of that first end of preaching, and therefore I humbly

[1] *Works*, A. C. Lib. vol. v. p. 179.

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conceive it a great error to prize it and make it more essentiall to our Salvation than prayer; thereby Streightening the Doctrine of Regeneration, preach'd to the Jewes and Gentiles by our Saviour, his Apostles, and theire imediate Successors, and placing us Christians at as greate a distance from Heaven as the Heathen, Turks, and Jewes are without this *preaching* or indeed *by some* prating from a pulpitt. As that famous Bishopp Andrewes (who doubtless knew as much as most men what belong'd unto it) was wont (as I am tould) to say: *That He that preached twice a day prated at least once.*'[1]

From this time it is probable that the double sermon on Sunday was not uncommon, though very far from universal. It probably became more general after the Evangelical movement had begun. But not till the present century did it receive any formal or official recognition from Church or State. In the first year, however, of the present reign an Act was passed (1 & 2 Victoria, c. 106, s. 80) empowering the bishop to order two full services *with sermon* every Sunday in every benefice whatever the value, and since the date of this Act the double sermon has become (we suppose) almost universal.

We have given this slight historical sketch of preaching in the Church of England, partly from the interest that the subject has and the absence of details in the ordinary histories, and partly with the view of showing as clearly as possible how essentially modern is what Thorndike calls 'that tyranny, which constrains all that have the cure of souls to speak by the glass every Lord's day twice,'[2] and of what recent growth is the custom (equally tyrannical) of considering attendance at two sermons every Sunday as a badge of orthodoxy on the part of the faithful laity.

We cannot help thinking that at the present day there is a tendency in the direction of over-preaching, and that this has its dangers and disadvantages both for clergy and for laity. In the case of the former we feel very strongly that it often spoils their sermons; and Bishop Andrewes was perfectly right, and it is no less true now than it was in his day, that he that preacheth twice prateth at least once. Once more we would quote the vigorous words of Mr. Mahaffy:—

'To expect from anyone two good sermons every week, or even one, is unreasonable; how much more to expect them from a hard-working parish priest, . . . . and the practice of setting young men, on their first ordination, to produce sermons at such a rate is generally fatal to their success. In a year or two they get into the habit

[1] See Reynolds' *Wells Cathedral*, p. cxxxi.
[2] *Works*, A. C. Lib. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 598.

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of winding up as much theological commonplace as will keep going for twenty-five minutes; all attempt at elaborating or sifting a subject is impossible; and so we have created for ourselves that class of average preachers whom we hear and do not hear; whom we attend, and do not attend to. This duty of having one or two sermons ready every Sunday, under all circumstances of mind and temper, of business or recreation, of indisposition or depression, is the most intolerable tyranny conceivable, until the victim of it learns to do it in a slovenly and inefficient way, so that it comes to weigh lightly upon his conscience and his time.'[1]

On the other hand, the poor hearers inevitably have the first sermon driven out of their heads by the second, and it is surely rather hard that a man who is anxious to join in singing the Church's evensong should perforce be kept in to listen to a sermon as well. The evil is of course greater in the country than in the towns. Where people are not known to everybody there is greater freedom, and to go out before the sermon does not require the same moral courage as it does in the country. But in a village church what an ordeal it is! Who that has tried it does not know the sudden and awful stillness that pervades the building; even the buzz of the school children is hushed, and as the unfortunate offender walks down the aisle he is stared out of countenance by the amused, astonished, or shocked members of the congregation.

Cannot we have more *elasticity* and freedom in our system? And if we must have two sermons at least preached on every Sunday, cannot we make it quite clear that we have no wish or expectation that everybody should stay for them? If a short pause were made, or some interval allowed to elapse between the afternoon service and the sermon, and it was fully understood that the two were separate, and that people were free to come in or go out between them, something would be gained, and we should at least be freed from the tyranny imposed by modern custom and conventionalities.

Lastly, in the interest of both parties, viz., the overworked clergy and the long-suffering laity, we are bold to suggest the adoption of the following plan:—Where a man is single-handed, and the exigences of the place or congregation demand the double sermon from him, why should he not have the courage to preach *the same sermon* morning and afternoon? It would be a bold thing to do, and perhaps at first would be unpopular, but a little thought will show that there is a good deal to be urged in its favour. (1.) It would have the great advantage of enabling the preacher to con-

[1] *Modern Preaching*, p. 150.

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centrate his strength on one sermon instead of frittering it away upon two; and that one sermon would be all the more carefully and thoroughly prepared if the preacher had before him the consciousness that it would have to be delivered twice on the same day to the same people. He would soon discover and strike out the weak parts which would not bear repetition, and thus the diminution of quantity would result, we believe, in a real improvement of quality. (2.) It would be no less of a gain to the hearer to listen to one good thoughtful sermon, and to have the opportunity of hearing it a second time, and so a chance of carrying away a little more than he ordinarily does. It is painful to think of the thousands of sermons that are preached every Sunday, and of the little impression they make. How very little of them is remembered even on Monday morning. But a man might carry away some definite impression after hearing one sermon twice, whereas after hearing two disconnected ones on entirely different subjects, if he thinks about it at all his recollections are sure to be confused and misty in the highest degree. It is given to very few to recollect that which they have only heard once, and with a large number of people the second sermon simply has the effect of driving the first out of their heads. Thus we believe that the more thoughtful and attentive portion of the congregation would welcome the adoption of the plan advocated. It was only the other day that we heard of a friend who had gone with a clergyman to two different churches on the same day, and had heard the same sermon from him at each service, and his remark afterwards was this, 'I'm so glad I heard that sermon twice, as I understand it now.' If it is objected that the morning and evening congregation is often composed of very different elements, we would urge in reply, that (1) it is not intended to advocate the universal adoption of this plan; it is simply recommended to overworked clergy, who are single-handed, and thus forced to preach twice, and in ordinary cases to much the same people; and (2) if there be some difference in the character of the congregations, it would not be difficult, while preaching what is practically the same sermon, to vary it sufficiently to meet the wants of both, especially if it is preached at one time from the written copy and at the other delivered extempore.

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## ART. VI.—CHARLES DARWIN AND EVOLUTION.

1. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Sixth Edition, with Additions and Corrections to 1872. Twenty-fourth Thousand. (London, 1882.)
2. *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.* By the same Author. Second Edition, revised.
3. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex.* By the same Author. Second Edition, revised. Thirteenth Thousand.
4. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals.* By the same Author. Ninth Thousand.
5. *The Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects.* By the same Author. Second Edition, revised.
6. *The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants.* By the same Author. Second Edition, revised.
7. *The Power of Movement in Plants.* By the same Author, assisted by FRANCIS DARWIN. (1880.)

ON April 19 last died Charles Darwin in his seventy-fourth year, by general acknowledgment the greatest scientist of the age, and the man whose influence upon the world of thought not only exceeds that of any of his contemporaries, but can scarcely be paralleled by more than one or two instances in the centuries which we call modern. If the philosophical basis of thought be regarded, the far-reaching, though in relation to the mass of mankind indirect, influence of Kant may, perhaps, be compared with that of Darwin. If an example of the more direct influence upon popular thought be sought for, we shall have to go back to Luther to find the parallel.

It is publicly announced that Mr. Darwin has left his own autobiography amongst his papers. To its appearance, together with such additional details of his life and of his thought as may be given to the world at some future day, we shall look forward with very great interest. Until the life is published it would be premature, as it seems to us, to attempt to add anything to the sketches of Mr. Darwin's career which have already been published, and with which most of our readers are probably familiar. But his scientific writings are

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in our hands, and a few of the thoughts which their perusal suggests may not be out of place in these pages.

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict with regard to some of his views, Mr. Darwin's scientific work has secured him a reputation that in all probability will endure throughout the civilized world for many generations to come. It may be said of him, if of any one—

'Exegit monumentum ære perennius.'

A man of such acknowledged eminence, paradoxical as it may seem to say so, is peculiarly the product, the child, of the age to which he belongs; and this fact may assist us to underderstand our own age and to anticipate, in part, the view which posterity will take of its distinguishing characteristics. If excellence in literature, the expression of the noblest thought in the best language, was the dominant intellectual aim three centuries ago, Shakspeare, the product of that age, was also its master-mind, and has remained its representative. The subsequent tendency of thought has been to develop the passionate desire to arrive at scientific truth, the desire to follow the operations of nature in her most hidden recesses, and to understand the constitution of the material world. What was scarcely more than a prophecy and an ideal three centuries ago, the ideal of scientific inquiry and of the investigator of nature, has gradually become reality. From Bacon's writings we might gather most of the essential characters of the ideal man of science, and it would not be possible to find the lineaments of such a conception more faithfully and fully presented than by him who forms the subject of this paper. Recognizing, as we do, that every truth is a portion of Divine light, and believing, as we do, in God's providential government of the world, we must hold that the appearance on the terrestrial stage of a commanding scientific genius is a Divinely ordered means for the accomplishment of a great Divine purpose. And if that which presents itself as new light demands a change in our previous conceptions of things which, at the best, we but saw 'through a glass, darkly,' it is our duty in this case, as in others, to impartially consider its claims to be one of those 'good and perfect gifts' which come down 'from the Father of lights,' as it is our duty to 'prove' or rather to test 'all things,' and to 'hold fast that which is good.'

'Man should mount on each
New height in view; the help whereby he mounts,
The ladder-rung his foot has left, may fall,

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Since all things suffer change save God the truth.
Man apprehends Him newly at each stage;
Whereat earth's ladder drops, its service done.'

Bacon did not exaggerate when he spoke of the extreme subtlety of nature, and of the patience, the concentration, the directness of aim and the perfect honesty which must be possessed by those who seek to track her footsteps if any worthy result is to be gained. But he could not imagine the immense extent of territory which the exposition of nature that we call science would cover within a few centuries. He cannot have conceived the vast amount of detail which the man of science would be required to master and to co-ordinate. He could not anticipate in any adequate measure the necessity under which investigators would lie of division of labour.

As an original explorer of nature's secrets, Mr. Darwin is unsurpassed, we may say, perhaps, unrivalled, in regard to those qualities of mind which Bacon perceived to be indispensable. As a patient accumulator of facts, an acute experimenter, a ready interpreter of phenomena, as an unswerving, unbiassed searcher for truth, he was a man after Bacon's own heart. In the industry and pains with which he acquainted himself with the results of studies pursued by other diligent labourers, and in his quickness to perceive the evidential force of facts recorded by others, he is eminently typical of the true man of science, as he is actually required to be in the presence of that ample page of knowledge, 'rich with the spoils of time,' which has been unrolled since Bacon's days. In his frank and generous acknowledgment of the merits of other writers, whether they are hostile or favourable to his own views, in his earnest endeavour to state those views fairly, his candid admission of difficulties wherever he sees them, and his unhesitating confession of ignorance when his investigation of secondary causes has reached its limits and he can no longer see his way, he is the model of a scientific pioneer.

It was by the aid of his admirable moral qualities, as well as by the abundance and weight of his arguments, and the skill with which he marshalled them, that he won respectful attention to his theories, however novel, from all who were qualified to judge. It was these qualities which largely helped to win for the theory with which the name of Darwin is, and always will be, most commonly associated—that of the Origin of Species by Natural Selection—the considerable amount of acceptance, which it or some form of it has received, notwithstanding that this theory ran counter to the traditional opi-

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nions of all religious men, and seemed at first sight to threaten the very foundations of religious belief, and notwithstanding that a similar theory had previously encountered the scorn of the scientific world. We may measure the extent of the revolution which Mr. Darwin has effected in educated thought during the progress of a single generation by recalling the statements which so liberal-minded a writer as the late Archbishop Whately propounded as typical examples of the false and absurd.

'Even if you suppose a case,' he says, 'where one or both of the Premises shall be manifestly false and absurd, this will not alter the *conclusiveness* of the Reasoning; though the *conclusion* itself may perhaps be absurd also. For instance, "All the Ape-tribe are originally descended from Reptiles or Insects: Mankind are of the Ape-tribe; therefore Mankind are originally descended from Reptiles or Insects." Here, everyone (except certain French Naturalists) would perceive the falsity of all three of these propositions.'[1]

These statements do not indeed exactly represent the views of advanced evolutionists at the present time. It is maintained that apes and men are collaterally descended from some remote common ancestor; the former, it may be, on a descending, the latter on an ascending line: not that men are the lineal descendants of any known species of apes. In fact, all attempts to pass beyond a general doctrine of evolution and to construct ancestral trees involve a great deal of conjecture or of unfounded assertion. But assuredly such examples as those selected by Archbishop Whately would not now be put forward by any writer of note as the types, the *ne plus ultra*, of absurdity.

The first edition of Mr. Darwin's book on *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection* appeared at the close of 1859. Previously, the belief entertained generally by naturalists, and almost universally by the rest of the world, was that species were separate and sudden creations, and immutable. Mr. Darwin himself, at an earlier period, had shared the same view. He was not the first to proclaim a different one. Here and there, since the beginning of the present century, a few writers had maintained a doctrine of the descent of existing from previous species, which was more or less anticipatory of Mr. Darwin's views. Prominent amongst these writers was Lamarck, for whom Frenchmen now claim the honour of having been the true parent of the evolution theory, and whose merits Mr. Darwin frankly allows.[2]

[1] *Whately's Logic*, p. 19 (London, 1851).
[2] See *The Origin of Species*. Historical sketch, p. xiii.

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But the most widely known work on the subject was the *Vestiges of Creation*, published anonymously in 1844. Of this work Mr. Darwin expresses his opinion that it did excellent service in this country by calling attention to the subject and removing prejudice. The first part of this verdict is undoubtedly just; the latter part requires some qualification. Our own impression on reading the book in 1852 was that the author had brought forward some very striking facts in regard, for example, to the resemblances and differences in embryological development in widely different species, but that his explanation of the facts was wild and fanciful. On the whole, the effect of the book was in some quarters certainly to strengthen the prejudice against any doctrine of the development of species, and this was only the natural result of a work which, to quote Mr. Darwin's own words, displayed 'little accurate knowledge and a great want of scientific caution.' Mr. Darwin's own work offered a conspicuous contrast in regard to both these qualities. Its abundance of scientific resource, and the patience and cautiousness with which the author had arrived at his conclusions, compelled at once the attention of the scientific world, and secured for him the adherence of some of the foremost thinkers of the age, many of whom afterwards assisted him by communicating facts observed in the course of their own studies, and which received an explanation from, and lent support to, his theory.

It was when visiting South America, on board H.M. ship 'Beagle,' as naturalist,[1] that Mr. Darwin was forcibly struck with certain facts that seemed likely to throw light on the great scientific mystery of the origin of species. After his return home in 1837, he devoted twenty-two years to accumulating and digesting all sorts of facts 'which could possibly have any bearing upon it.' At length, finding that he was not alone in the opinions which he had formed, Mr. Wallace having arrived at almost identical conclusions, Mr. Darwin was strongly urged by friends to publish his views without any further delay, which accordingly he did, with an abstract of the facts in support of them, in the work entitled *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection.* Two eminent scientists had in this case, as has so often happened in other cases, been simultaneously working at the same

[1] Mr. Darwin's *A Naturalist's Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of Countries visited during a Voyage round the World* is by itself, and much more when its sequel is taken into account, a proof of the utility and fruitfulness of *some* 'endowment of research.'

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problem, and had arrived at very similar results. It is, however, generally admitted that the actual conversion of the world to the solution then propounded, or to something like it, is due to Mr. Darwin. The Buddhists distinguish between the 'Pacceka-Buddha,' him who is 'enlightened for one,' who has arrived at truth for himself, and the 'Sam-Buddha,' or 'very-Buddha,' that rare being, who not only himself possesses insight, but has the gift to make others participate in his knowledge. Without in the least underrating Mr. Wallace's valuable services in the cause of science, we may certainly say that Mr. Darwin possessed in an extraordinary measure the power of dispelling prejudice and gaining admission for newer ideas into the minds of other men.

Mr. Darwin's doctrine with regard to organic life on earth consists of two parts. He maintains, firstly, that all existing animals are descended from only four or five progenitors, and all existing plants from an equal or lesser number; and, secondly, that the main instrument in the development of the different species has been Natural Selection, or, to use the term which he adopted from Mr. Spencer, the 'survival of the fittest' in the struggle for existence.

With regard to the first point, it is to be observed that Mr. Darwin resisted the temptation to carry his simplification further, making the significant remark that though analogy might lead to the belief that all animals and plants are descended from some *one* prototype, analogy may be a deceitful guide. His moderation has unfortunately not been followed by all who have embraced his doctrine. If anything could bring that doctrine into disrepute it would certainly be the extravagance of some writers on evolution. It is no new phenomenon in the history of thought for a brilliant and fertile theory to be pushed beyond due bounds. Hasty generalization has ever been the bane of science. With ultra-evolutionists, however, we are not now concerned.

The bond of connection which Mr. Darwin asserts between the two halves of his theory is that the second half is the explanation of the means by which the state of things affirmed in the first half was brought about. A naturalist, he says, might conceivably hold that species had descended like varieties from other species; but that such a conclusion, even if well founded, would be unsatisfactory, unless it could be shown how the wonderful perfection of structure and co-adaptation of various species have been obtained.[1] In a

[1] As a remarkable instance of co-adaptation Mr. Darwin mentions the mistletoe, which draws its nourishment from certain trees, which has

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scientific sense it may be admitted that the absence of the desired explanation would be unsatisfactory; nor do we now intend to enter upon any discussion of the explanation offered. We venture, however, to point out that there is no inseparable logical bond between the two parts of the theory in question, and consequently that it is open to any one to gratefully accept the light which the great scientific teacher has thrown upon the mutual relations of organic beings, and yet not to admit to its full extent what he claims for natural selection and other secondary causes. Mr. Darwin himself, as we shall see, does not represent natural sélection as all powerful, whatever the title of his book may seem to indicate.

The strength of the argument for the development of species consists in the number and importance of the facts, or rather classes of facts, which the theory explains, and which on the theory of separate creation are totally inexplicable. Among these facts are those of the geographical distribution of plants and animals, the succession of different but allied species as shown (though as yet but very imperfectly) by the geological record; the difficulties so long felt in the way of drawing in many cases rigid lines of demarcation between species for the purpose of classification; the singular instances of rudimentary organs, such as the undeveloped *mammæ* of all male mammalia; the remarkable affinities that bind together all organic beings, past or present, in one or another of a few great classes, and in groups subordinate to groups, while extinct groups often occupy intermediate places between recent groups; besides embryological facts, such as the complete resemblance between the early stages of the embryos of mammals, birds, reptiles, and fishes.

It may be well to give here one example of the kind of argument which is brought into play. The fact is well known that large classes of organisms are so formed that a multitude of orders, families, and species share some one general type. The Vertebrate animals, for instance, are, anatomically, merely varieties of one osseous skeleton, howsoever the different portions of that skeleton may, in the fully formed animal, be differently developed. This identity of type is strikingly seen on a comparison of the anterior members of widely differing species of the Vertebrates. We quote the following words from Dr. Carpenter's *Principles of Comparative Physiology*, pp. 5, 6 (4th edition, 1854), to show

seeds that must be transported by certain birds, and which has flowers with separate sexes, absolutely requiring the agency of certain insects to bring pollen from one flower to the other.—*The Origin of Species*, p. 2.



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that this identity which Professor Owen called the Homology of Limbs, was thoroughly recognized before Mr. Darwin published the theory by which he explains it. Dr. Carpenter says:—

'No Comparative Anatomist has the slightest hesitation in admitting that the pectoral fin of a fish, the wing of a bird, the paddle of a dolphin, the fore-leg of a deer, the wing of a bat, and the arm of a man, are the same organs, notwithstanding that their forms are so varied, and the uses to which they are applied so unlike each other. For all these organs not only occupy the same position in the fabric, but are developed after the same manner; and when their osseous frame-work is examined, it is found to be composed of parts which are strictly comparable one with another, although varying in number and relative proportion.'

Now if these facts of homology, of which the foregoing is but one example out of many, stood alone, the unity of type would indicate nothing more than unity of design, or would furnish no very powerful argument for a theory of the descent of the various species from a common ancestor. Descent might be conjectured as possible, but the facts would be also regarded as explicable on the theory of special creation. At any rate, until recently they were not supposed to conflict seriously with the latter view.

But here the facts of geographical distribution come in, and they, it is alleged—and that, as it seems to us, with much force from the scientific point of view—considerably alter the balance in favour of descent. If each species, say of vertebrate animals, be the result of special creation, why should the species vary as they do in different parts of the globe? Why should every oceanic island, until man interferes, have its own separate and distinct species, closely allied to, it may be, yet differing from those inhabiting another island in its proximity? The answer of the evolutionist to this question, is that differentiation has gone on since the alteration of geographical conditions took place, since, in fact, the island became an island. If the maintainer of special creation be then driven as a last resource to the assertion that the several species were constituted with the peculiar powers and characters which suit their several habitats, the evolutionist is ready with the denial of any adequate ground for such a statement; he asserts that although two countries may present physical conditions as closely similar as the same species ever require, their inhabitants are widely different if they (the countries) have been for a long period widely sundered from each other; whereas, on the same continent, under the

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most diverse conditions, most of the inhabitants within each great class are plainly related.[1]

If there were no plasticity or variability in species under our observation at the present time, the deductions drawn from the various classes of facts mentioned, and others besides, would have no independent *substratum* of fact, and the theory of development would be obviously an ingenious or a daring hypothesis, and nothing more. But the extraordinary variability of almost all domesticated plants and animals is notorious. It is well known that horticulturists and breeders of animals can by a methodical selection, continued through a few generations, cause this variability to produce astonishing results. Whatever may be the quality that the gardener or the breeder desires to vary or enhance, whether it be, as in the case of plants, size or colour of blossom, or variegation of foliage, or, as in the case of animals, improvements in the coat, or in serviceableness for human food, success within certain limits is almost as certainly obtainable as in the production of a manufactured article. We cannot now linger upon the subject; but the lover of natural history will find in Mr. Darwin's work upon it a complete exposition and many facts of singular interest.[2]

It is not the duty of a writer in this Review to argue the case for the evolution theory, but it seemed desirable to indicate some of the chief foundations on which it rests. To any one who appreciates the nature and strength of those foundations it will be obvious that there is no force whatever in the common argument against it that we see no process of evolution or transformation of species going on at the present time. This argument, if it were absolutely true, which it may not be, does not touch the argument on which the theory rests, and, moreover, the very brief experience of a human life, even the comparatively brief experience of historical man, may be challenged with much appearance of reason, if it be offered as

[1] See *The Origin of Species*, p. 418. See also, for independent proof of the statements in the text, Mr. Wallace's *Geographical Distribution of Animals* and his *Island Life*. In the opening pages of the latter work, which appeared in 1880, the author calls attention to such striking facts as the following. There is a general resemblance between the birds and insects found in England and those found in Japan. If, however, Australia be compared with New Zealand at less than 1,300 miles distance, the productions are found to be totally unlike. More striking still is the case of Bali and Lombok, two islands in the Malay Archipelago. Each is about the size of Corsica, and though they are only 15 miles apart, the two islands differ far more as to birds and quadrupeds than England and Japan.

[2] See *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.*



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a criterion of what has or has not taken place in the vast periods that belong to geological time. But may not assertion be met by counter-assertion? May it not be argued that we can at any rate see the possibility of distinct species arising? Take, for example, the case of the dog. At the present time a graduated series of varieties and mongrels of all kinds connects together dogs of the most dissimilar breeds, such as the huge Newfoundland and the tiniest of toy terriers, and dog, we are told, knows dog, wherever they meet. But supposing that the whole of the intervening varieties between such breeds were from some cause to become extinct, which we admit to be very improbable in the case of a species so intimately associated with man, it seems evident that we should soon have two separate species instead of one, though it is impossible to say how many canine generations would be required to elapse before an individual of either breed would cease to recognise 'a dog and a brother' (to vary a familiar phrase) in an individual of the other breed.

Before leaving our present topic, the nature and the strength of the argument in favour of evolution, we repeat that there is no logical connection between the belief that such a process has taken place and the assertion that the main agency, much less that the sole agency, by which it has been accomplished has been natural selection, or the rise of hap-hazard individual differences, perpetuated by a hap-hazard combination and series of favouring circumstances. Whatever force there may be in the independent argument by which the influence, be it more or less, of natural selection is sought to be supported, and it would be futile to deny that it possesses considerable force, yet after all the two arguments are independent of each other; each must stand or fall by its own merits,[1] and it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the argument for natural selection has nothing approaching to the cogency of the other.

*The Origin of Species* was but an abstract; and the truth of this statement became evident as one after another proceeded from the same pen various volumes treating in full detail subjects such as the variation of domesticated animals and plants, which had been more briefly handled in the previous work. These volumes exhibit marvellous ingenuity in the choice of subjects for observation, and fertility of invention

[1] Of course we do not mean to deny that if natural selection were absolutely established it would carry the other point; just as, if it were proved that a particular man had committed a murder, we should not need to inquire whether murder had been committed.

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in regard to experiments. They are the fruits of patient and concentrated labour, and the facts collected are illuminated by the light of genius. For readers imbued with a tincture of science, and with sufficient courage to master the scientific terminology, each of the green volumes possesses a fascinating interest, whether the subjects be the marvellous mutual adaptations of flowers and insects, or the habits of climbing plants, or the power of movement in plants, or the action of earth-worms.

If the belief in the immutability of species is now regarded as an exploded error by almost all who possess sufficient scientific knowledge to understand the argument against it, the triumph has certainly not been gained through the absence of opposition. Refutations, so called, strictures upon, exposures of Darwinism have appeared by the score, and it is noteworthy that the more recent the attempts to put it down the less power they seem to show. Nor was it in England alone that the evolution theory encountered hostility. There is a modern world of thought which, as regards the possession of knowledge and of a common passion for the attainment of truth, has a kind of 'solidarity,' causing it to correspond in matters intellectual to what the *οἰκουμένη* of old was in matters political. The whole world of man, in this sense, was profoundly moved by the publication of Mr. Darwin's argument for evolution. If in England we have had *Darwinism Examined*, and (under the auspices of Cardinal Manning) *Darwinism brought to Book*, elsewhere there were *Observaciones contra el transformismo Darvinista*, *Errori et delirii del Darwinismo*, *Confutazione delle dottrine transformistiche di Huxley, Darwin, &c.*, *Bemerkungen gegen Darwin's Theorie vom Ursprung der Spezies*, and many other works of a similar nature.

For English readers the chief representative of that section of Mr. Darwin's opponents which possessed sufficient scientific knowledge to distinguish the weak points of his theory was Mr. St. George Mivart, to whose merits, previously to replying in detail to his objections, Mr. Darwin bears the following testimony:—

'A distinguished zoologist, Mr. St. George Mivart, has recently collected all the objections which have ever been advanced by myself and others against the theory of natural selection, as propounded by Mr. Wallace and myself, and has illustrated them with admirable art and force.' [1]

On the same page Mr. Darwin asserts that his opponent erroneously assumes him to 'attribute nothing to variation

[1] See *The Origin of Species*, Sixth Edition, p. 176.

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independently of natural selection.' Whether or how far Mr. Mivart has misunderstood or misrepresented the theory which he controverts we will not now discuss. Quite apart, however, from the culpability or innocence, whether of the writer just named or of any other writer against whom a similar charge may have been made, the question as to what really was Mr. Darwin's view on the point referred to is one of great interest. This point seems to us to be one of capital importance in regard to the compatibility of the Darwinian theory with religious belief, and we shall return to it later on. For the present it will suffice to say, before quoting Mr. Darwin's own words on the subject, that science is as yet far from proving that all variation in living beings is due to natural selection, and that even if such a tenet formed part of Mr. Darwin's theory of development, we should be at liberty to reject it and yet admit the probability or even profess the belief that a process of development has taken place. It is, however, interesting, and it may be serviceable to remember, that Mr. Darwin never maintained that natural selection was the sole cause of the differentiation of species, and that, in point of fact, his fuller reflection and riper judgment at the time of publishing the latest edition of *The Origin of Species*, induced a lower instead of a higher estimate of its power. We now quote his words, premising that the variations to which he refers are those which 'seem to us in our ignorance to arise spontaneously:'—

'It appears that I formerly underrated the frequency and value of these latter forms of variation, as leading to permanent modifications of structure independently of natural selection. But as my conclusions have lately been much misrepresented, and it has been stated that I attribute the modification of species exclusively to natural selection, I may be permitted to remark that in the first edition of this work, and subsequently, I placed in a most conspicuous position —namely, at the close of the Introduction—the following words: "I am convinced that natural selection has been the main but not the exclusive means of modification."'[1]

The importance, from a religious point of view, of the concession that the modification of species arises from other causes besides natural selection, and that, in fact, most of the minor variations on which when amplified in successive generations the rise of new species itself depends, are originated by unknown causes, was naturally overlooked in

[1] See *The Origin of Species*, Sixth Edition, p. 421.

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the first heat of prejudiced opposition, and it has hitherto, perhaps, scarcely received due recognition.

But we have not yet touched upon the most momentous portion or consequence of the doctrine of the development of species. If only the brute creation had been in question, it is not probable that either the interest in the subject or the opposition to the new views would have been greater than such as are usually excited by novel scientific theories. But it was immediately seen that any answer to the question how lower species were originated must have some bearing upon the question of the origin of man. There is, it is true, a broad gulf, and Mr. Darwin reasserts the fact, between the least intelligent race of men and the most intelligent of animals, between the lowest savage and the highest ape; but man shares so much with other terrestrial forms of life that the difficulty was at once perceived of scientifically separating his origin from that of the organic world generally. On the traditional view there had been a common origin for all. Every species had been called suddenly into being by the *fiat* of Creative Will; though this doctrine was held compatible with the religious view of special spiritual endowments for man. It seemed now, erroneously as we believe, that instead of Creative Will the mechanical action of material forces was to be substituted as the primal cause of the varied life around us, and, erroneously again as we believe, that the doctrine of evolution would require us, instead of saying 'God created man in His own image,' to say, 'Man became by natural development.'

The apprehensions of an extension of the evolution theory, so as to include man, proved to be well founded when *The Origin of Species* was followed, after no long interval, by *The Descent of Man*, a work which included the detailed exposition of *Selection in Relation to Sex*. The classes of facts which, along with many of the others already used in support of the general theory of development, were now called to testify that the human species is the outcome of the same laws as those which have produced all other terrestrial organisms, and that, in particular, man shares with the other Mammalia descent from a common ancestor, are those of Homological structure, Embryological development, and Rudimentary organs. Our space will not allow of a detailed exposition of the argument, but the following quotation may sufficiently indicate one portion of it:—

'Man is constructed on the same general type or model with other mammals. All the bones in his skeleton can be compared with

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corresponding bones in a monkey, bat, or seal. So it is with his muscles, nerves, blood-vessels, and internal viscera. The brain, the most important of all the organs, follows the same law.'[1]

Mr. Darwin points also to the communicability of diseases from certain animals to man, such as hydrophobia, variola, and glanders, in order to show a similarity of the structure of the blood.

In speaking of the repugnance which his theory of the Descent of Man excited, Mr. Darwin assigned as its cause the feeling of pride. He compared it to the arrogance which in former days induced men to claim descent from heroes and demigods. That the idea of brute descent and of relationship to the species below us had in it something humiliating is not to be denied, but we venture to say that it was far from being an adequate cause of the dismay which the new scientific doctrine spread far and wide. It is a scientific law that the same cause acting on the same material produces the same effects. But the effect of the doctrine on some minds has been notoriously the opposite of dismay. It was received with exultation, it was flourished in triumph by sceptics, materialists, *et hoc genus omne*. The only thing about it that did not please them was that the author did not carry his conclusions far enough. He stopped short where the evidence, which had so far satisfied him, failed. But with them evolution by mechanical causes was so good a thing that it was impossible to have too much of it.

The repugnance of some men to a theory thus welcomed by others, cannot be sufficiently explained by human pride. Another scientist hit the mark much more in the centre when he declared that the new scientific ideas would have encountered much less opposition if the nature and destiny of man had not seemed to be involved. The same ideas excited alarm in some quarters, and exultation in others, because to both they appeared destructive of religion. This was not indeed the view that Mr. Darwin held of the theory which he propounded, even with its large claims in behalf of natural selection. 'I see no good reason,' he says, in the conclusion of *The Origin of Species*, 'why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one.'[2] And it should always be borne in mind that, like some other great English scientists, he could reconcile for himself comprehensive acquaintance with science and advanced theories with a belief in the existence and government of God. While he

[1] See *The Descent of Man*, p. 10. [2] P. 421.

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denies the possession by aboriginal man of 'the ennobling belief in the existence of an omnipotent God,' contending that numerous races of savages are known to have existed and still to exist 'who have no idea of one or more gods, and who have no words in their languages to express such an idea,'[1] he goes on to assert that 'the question is of course wholly distinct from that higher one, whether there exists a Creator and Ruler of the universe,' and this question, he declares, 'has been answered in the affirmative by the highest intellects that have ever lived.'[2] Such words as these awaken the desire to know more than we do of the inner religious sentiments of their author, and if ever such a desire is a legitimate one it certainly is so in regard to a writer whose commanding intellect has exercised so momentous an influence upon the world.

But it is time that we should address ourselves more particularly to some of the points at which Mr. Darwin's theory appears to be in contact with religious belief. We shall not attempt to give a complete solution of the problems which that contact raises. It may be that some of the questions are not yet ripe for solution. Our aim will be the more modest one of offering a few suggestions that may be of some service.

Let us begin by assuming that the doctrine of the development of species is a truth. For this development, be it remembered, vast periods of time, æons consisting of decades of millions of years, are required. We do not propose to discuss the question whether astronomical physics will allow such an extension of time in the past as the theory has been understood to require, or whether the period which may be assigned by scientific conjecture to the past existence of the earth in a condition to support life is sufficient for the evolution theory. Mr. Darwin himself recognises in the limits which Sir W. Thompson and others are disposed to set to the past planetary life of the earth, if those limits were scientifically established, the most formidable obstacle which his theory has encountered. It is not, however, for the purpose of emphasizing

[1] Professor Max Müller, it may be remembered, asserts the contrary in the Hibbert Lectures for 1878. He tells us, and no higher authority on the point can be found, that there is no language known into which it is impossible to translate the Lord's Prayer, and that no race of men exists so utterly destitute as to have no idea of one or more gods. The controversy as to whether religion is a universal feature of humanity has been one of long duration, but it ought to be considered as finally settled in the affirmative.

[2] *The Descent of Man*, p. 65.

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this difficulty that we now refer to the enormous length of time during which the earth has been arriving at its present condition.

Nor can we give more than a passing glance at the thought, the truth of which was recognized by more than one ancient Hebrew writer, and which is quite in harmony with the deepest philosophical reasoning of the modern world, that to a Supreme Mind watching the development of the universe, or, as we prefer to say, to the Mind of Him Who is the Creator and the ever-living Ruler of it, time has no such meaning as it has for us. There was formerly an argument raised against the truth of Christianity, to the effect that it has now been in the world for more than eighteen centuries, and yet many millions remain, more than half the population of the globe, in fact, who are not even nominally Christians, and consequently that Christianity is a failure and not of Divine origin. If the theory of development is true, the progress of Christianity, so far from having been slow, when measured by the rate of other terrestrial advances, has been a marvel of rapidity.

If the doctrine of development is true, and man himself is the outcome of that long process, is it not a striking thought that an operation of such colossal magnitude should produce as one of its results a being capable of deciphering the traces that the *vis creatrix*, which for the moment we do not otherwise define, has left of its *modus operandi*? Does not such a fact, if fact it be, seem utterly irreconcilable with any theory which seeks to refer all things to the blind working of unconscious physical forces? Is it conceivable that the interaction of such forces could give rise to that which understands, if it be but partially, and can descry, if it be but dimly, the course of the rise of what we call nature? We at least cannot but believe that such a result is and will ever appear to the mass of thinking men to be an *intended* result; that consequently it points irresistibly to that overruling Personal Power, Whose existence the highest intellects that ever lived have held for a certainty; and proves that this finite being, man, this creature of a day, besides what he shares in common with the animated creation around him, has also something in common with that overruling Power. It appears to us that the pretension to possess truth at all is equivalent to the assertion of a Divine lineage; that, in short, all science, so far as it is real science, is, so far as it extends, a transcript, in the finite consciousness, of the thoughts of an Infinite Mind, and thus proclaims the marvellous insight of

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that ancient writer who declared that 'God created man in His own image.'

There are other *differentiæ* of man, qualities which no mere animal shares with him, which point in the same direction as his passion for and possession, if it be only a partial possession, of truth. Amongst these is his pursuit, however fitful and erratic, of an absolute ideal of right conduct, a pursuit which the oldest written memorials of the race, the Egyptian, show to have characterized man from the earliest dawn of history, and which no theory of social instincts has hitherto satisfactorily accounted for. The conditions of social life may undoubtedly have done much to foster many right habits of social conduct, but it is inconceivable that they should have set men on the search for a standard of perfection far transcending the ordinary demands of social intercourse, and that they should have invested the awful figure of Duty with a sacredness and a majesty which were not theirs to bestow.

Such facts as the foregoing seem to us to show that if development has been the method by which the various forms of terrestrial life, including man, have been originated, natural selection is by no means a sufficient account of the means whereby it has been effected. We are not disposed to deny large influence to secondary causes, and in particular to natural selection in the *perpetuation* of useful variations, and in regard to the facts of geographical distribution. An illustration by example may here be of use. We borrow the following particulars from Mr. Wallace:—

'Concealment more or less complete is useful to many animals, and absolutely essential to some. Those which have numerous enemies from which they cannot escape by rapidity of motion find safety in concealment. Those which prey upon others must also be so constituted as not to alarm them by their presence or their approach, or they would soon die of hunger. Now it is remarkable in how many cases nature gives this boon to the animal. . . . . Desert animals as a rule are desert coloured. . . . . The lion is almost invisible when crouched upon the sand, or among desert rocks and stones. Antelopes are all more or less sandy-coloured. The camel is pre-eminently so. . . . . Desert birds are still more remarkably protected by their assimilative hues. . . . . Only in the tropics, among forests which never lose their foliage, do we find whole groups of birds whose chief colour is green.' [1]

Doubtless in the case of animals needing protective

[1] See *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, by Alfred Russel Wallace (Second Edition, London 1871), pp. 49–52.

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colouring, natural selection would continually weed out any varying individuals which were so unfortunate as to be born with a conspicuous coat, and would give a better chance of perpetuation to any cases of better protective colouring. But it is obvious that the perpetuation which natural selection may have been equal to, is a very distinct thing from the origination of variations, and especially of such variations as have bestowed upon man his god-like endowments.

Mr. Darwin, as we have already seen, allows the influence of 'unknown causes' in producing most variations. The theist, therefore, is contradicting no demonstration of science, but, on the contrary, is furnishing the only principle which will account for the common properties of all living beings, for the identities of special sensation, such as sight, hearing, etc., that extend so widely, for the similarities of consciousness in regard to pleasure and pain which exist even between man and many insects, and, above all, the only principle which can explain the existence of man to himself, when he maintains that the development of species has been determined and guided by Divine Power. It is not for him to pronounce exactly where the line is to be drawn between the direct action of the Supreme Will, and the indirect action of the same Will through secondary causes. It is sufficient if he can perceive that a way is open by which the Eternal Mind can mould and direct for the accomplishment of His own wise purposes this universe, which owes its existence to Himself. Mr. Darwin believed in the existence and government of God. Such a belief is not compatible with the idea that an unbroken circle of secondary laws excludes the Power which first originated those laws, and whence they incessantly derive all their effectiveness, from all direct action upon His creation. Rather, all that we learn from the history of life, and from individual spiritual experience, conspires to teach us that, if the co-existence of the Infinite and the finite is a perplexing mystery for a finite understanding, the condition, the *sine quâ non*, of progress and advancement for the finite is a continual bestowal of support, guidance, and elevating influence from the inexhaustible treasury of the Infinite.

Perhaps the most alarming consequence that appeared to follow from the doctrine of the development of species was that, whatever large hopes might be based upon it for the future of the race, no other future could reasonably be hoped for or believed in for the individual man than may be expected for the lower animals. The fact that man's future

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destiny appeared to be involved was, as we have already said, one chief cause of the opposition to the new theory. If we could not affirm the immortality of brutes, the abandonment of the theory of special creation would, it was supposed, take away all ground for affirming the immortality of man.

This argument appears to have had considerable weight for the minds of some whose appreciation of scientific reasonings disposed them to accept the doctrine of development while clinging to the belief in immortality. They have not shrunk from taking the only course that was open to them. They have boldly affirmed the immortality of brutes. We cannot but think that the effect of such a course must be to weaken the case which they desire to support. Without venturing to dogmatize as to the Divine purposes in regard to the animal creation at large, we feel strongly that the argument for the immortality of man rests upon a totally distinct footing from any that may be urged in behalf of the animals below him. Instead of being based upon that which man shares in common with the rest of the animal world, its strength is derived from the great endowments which distinguish him from it.

The difficulties in the way of believing in a future life for the subject creation are enormous. At first sight, if we only think of the intelligent and affectionate companions of man, the difficulties do not appear so startling. But where is the line to be drawn? The principle must embrace all animal life; 'life apparent in the merest midge that floats;' life in the border-land that is hardly distinguishable from the vegetable kingdom (and why not the vegetable kingdom also?); life in the cruel and untamed species; and in this case either these must cease to be what they are, or the weaker will only live again to become the prey of the stronger. We may well hesitate before accepting this solution of the problem.

But let us turn to the alternative view. Apart from the belief in revelation, which itself partly rests on similar foundations, the grounds for believing in our own future existence remain, it seems to us, precisely as they were, even if they do not derive additional strength from our increased perception of the laws of animal life. We seem to have learnt more clearly than before that no species has been endowed with, or been permitted to acquire, instincts or faculties which are useless, or, *à fortiori*, which are prejudicial to the species. Even of structures which seem to admit of some exceptions, owing to the inheritance of parts which may have been useful to some progenitor, but which under altered circumstances

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the descendant no longer needs, Mr. Darwin asserts as follows:—

'Natural selection will never produce in a being any structure more injurious than beneficial to that being; for natural selection acts solely by and for the good of each. No organ will be formed, as Paley has remarked, for the purpose of causing pain, or for doing an injury to its possessor. . . . After the lapse of time, if any part comes to be injurious, it will be modified; or if it be not so, the being will become extinct, as myriads have become extinct.'[1]

Let us also bear in mind that if the struggle for existence and the consequent war between various species awaken in us distressing thoughts, Mr. Darwin bids us console ourselves with the full belief *that no fear is felt*[2] by the victims of slaughter.

Are we to believe that man is the single exception to these beneficent laws? Is it for no useful purpose, is it in order that he alone may experience fruitless desire and hopeless fear, that he has been permitted to acquire the knowledge that he lives, and that he will one day die, that he has learnt to shrink from annihilation, and to formulate to himself the desire of future existence? It seems to us that if there is truth in such considerations as those previously urged in support of the belief that a Supreme Will has determined the course of nature, and after whatever method created man, there can be but one answer to these questions. The dread of annihilation and the longing for a future existence have their roots deep in the noblest elements of human nature. Howsoever some scientists may turn their thoughts away from that dark shadow which for them no ray of faith illumines, the scientific passion itself for truth and knowledge cannot but shrink from hopeless extinction. Mutual affection, the knitting together and intertwining of human hearts, must be only productive of a prolonged and unalleviated pang in the event of bereavement, if death be regarded as the end of all. Why, too, if man shall have no future opportunity of going on still towards perfection, is he capable of the lifelong pursuit of an ideal that, seen ever more and more clearly, still lures him on, though he never attains it? These thoughts appeal with varying force to different classes of minds; but every one must confess—and the attempt to shut out thoughts of death implies the confession—that human life as distinguished from brute life has a character of incompleteness which proclaims it to be only a beginning and not the whole.

[1] See *The Origin of Species*, pp. 162, 163. [2] *Ibid.* p. 61.

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To conclude. Whatever of truth there may be in the doctrines so ably advocated by the great scientist whom we have lately lost, amounts, from the religious point of view, to no more than an extension of our knowledge of the sphere of secondary laws. The fundamental doctrine of the theist is left precisely as it was. The belief in the great Creator and Ruler of the universe is, as we have seen, confessed by the author of these doctrines. The grounds remain untouched of faith in the Personal Deity Who is in intimate relation with individual souls, Who is their guide and helper in life, and Who can be trusted in regard to the great hereafter.

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## ART. VII.—MODERN PAGAN POETRY.

1. *Poems and Ballads.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1878.)
2. *Songs before Sunrise.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1875.)
3. *Songs of Two Nations.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1875.)
4. *Poems and Ballads.* Second Series. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1878.)
5. *Studies in Song.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1880.)
6. *Songs of the Springtides.* By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. (London, 1880.)
7. *The City of Dreadful Night, and other Poems.* By JAMES THOMSON. (London, 1880.)
8. *Vane's Story, and other Poems.* By JAMES THOMSON. (London, 1881.)

BY paganism in poetry, as in other things, we wish to express that mode of thought which is too positive to be called merely infidel or agnostic or atheist, too negative to be called pantheist or positivist. Its relation to religion is something like that of a bull to a red rag: in general it is unconscious of it and independent; its life is not ordinarily affected by it; but when something calls its attention to it, it becomes furiously hostile, almost insane. The pagans of modern times try with some measure of success to return to the old pre-Christian life and way of thinking; they endeavour to

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live in the present, not, as the agnostic or the secularist would say, because we can know nothing of God or of the other world, but simply because the present is, or seems to be, good and enjoyable, and they wish to enjoy what is good. But the dark shadow of eighteen centuries of religion is upon them, and whenever they see it they betray by their unhappiness or their rage that, after all, they can only share the pagan denial of Heaven, not the pagan satisfaction with this world. We wish to discuss the writings of the poet who seems to be the chief representative of this pagan element of thought or emotion in our day, and also, by way of contrast, to notice a remarkable writer who lived to a great extent unknown, and has died just as he seemed about to become famous. There are two clearly distinguished schools of modern paganism, the hopeful and the despairing; and, as representatives of these, though there can be no question as to poetical superiority, we will take Mr. Swinburne and Mr. James Thomson.

Mr. Swinburne is at the head of that class of English poets who seem to have taken for their motto, *Ars est ostentare artem.* Widely as they differ in every other respect, they have the common quality of giving prominence to the form and manner of poetry, rather than to the matter and meaning of it. Now, there are several difficulties which impede us in judging such poetry. In the first place we must beware of mistaking one kind of pleasure for another. Because we get from Mr. Swinburne or Mr. Rossetti the undoubted pleasure of melodious rhythm and ingenious arrangements of sounds, we must not forget that this is not the only pleasure that poetry has to afford. To give delight by a sudden revelation of unsuspected beauty is the higher function of poetry, though this must be conveyed in the long-consecrated forms of rhythmical verse. In the second place we must beware of accepting without reserve the judgment of critics who are themselves poets. They are apt, and naturally so, to dwell on the mechanism of verse, on its mere form, and to study with interest and favour any poet who displays great mastery over form, regardless of the subject-matter of which he writes. In these technical points they recognize their own special difficulties, and they have undergone for these a special training. The matter of their works is personal and singular to themselves, the form and manner and technical rules are common to all artists, and can be criticized by appeal to common laws. And such criticism is most useful, and worthy of study by all. But it does not exhaust the facts, and it often tends to elevate un-

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duly the 'artistic' writers. It does not follow that a poet who is greatly praised by poets will be liked by the mass of readers; nor does it follow that the mass of readers is wrong. Posterity is the sole judge of right and wrong in art, and 'posterity' will consist, not of poets, but of readers of poetry. To anticipate, therefore, the final verdict upon any poems, we must look beyond the favourable opinion of poets, who in judging other men's writings are chiefly interested in the technical mechanism of verse, and consider what the poems are to those who look in poetry for a worthy combination of sound and sense, for deep and beautiful thoughts embodied, not merely clothed, in lovely and harmonious forms.

We do not wish to raise again the weary dispute as to form and matter in art, for we will concede that form is indispensable. We will go further, and for the sake of argument concede that any matter will serve for poetry, and that it is the form alone which constitutes a poem; but then, what is form? Surely it is the adaptation of expression to that which is expressed, so that a thought, a purely intellectual thing, becomes an image, and gains access to the mind by the various channels of sense and emotion and imagination. Verse and painting and sculpture make thought sensuous; but sensuousness alone will not serve for art, without the thought. Now it is this absence of thought, of matter, that turns much of our modern art into artificiality; the poet's mind, having no object before it, works upon the form alone, and is conscious only of that. The result is that we have lost even the emotional power which perfect form produces, and much of the verse that is now written leaves us as cold and unmoved as if we were reading the 'metaphysical' poets of the seventeenth century, or the complicated ingenuities of mediæval monks.

Mr. Swinburne, more than most contemporary poets, shows this defect of artificiality, of self-conscious form; though, at the same time, more than others he redeems his verse by genuine fire and vigour. He seems to have mistaken the means that should be unconsciously chosen for the end that a poet should consciously set before him. He has made too much of the mere tricks of the craft, those secrets of alliteration and accent which Mr. Myers has so well described in his monograph on Wordsworth; but in so doing he has forgotten what Mr. Myers says in conclusion: 'What the poet's brain does not do consciously it does unconsciously; a selective action is going on in its recesses simultaneously with the overt train of thought, and on the degree of this unconscious



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suggestiveness the richness and melody of the poetry will depend.' It is because this mechanism is unconscious that the truest poetry can blend form and matter so perfectly; the poet's mind, fixed on its proper object, the thought, or the image, or the feeling, is stirred at last with the requisite emotion, and harassed by no doubts as to rhythm and cadence, vexed by no hesitation or slow selection, pours forth the harmonious whole, the poem. Let us, by all means, avoid one-sidedness in these matters; let us acknowledge the absolute necessity of form in art, but let us also own that form is not form when it hides the matter it should embody.

In Mr. Swinburne's lyrics, to which we will confine ourselves, the chief excellence, we should say, is the sense of splendid motion that he conveys by his verse. This is a quality that hardly ever deserts him. In his sonnets, indeed, and in other strictly regulated forms of verse, and in some later rather unfortunate attempts in metre and rhythm, we do not feel ourselves carried forward with the rush and impetuosity of movement that no one can resist in his more characteristic lyrics. But in these, even when his artificiality is most prominent, when his rhymes and alliterations are little short of audacious, the motion, as of a great tide, lifts us and carries us almost beyond the power of criticizing. For instance:—

'O stout north-easter,
Sea-king, land-waster,
For all thine haste, or
Thy stormy skill,
Yet hadst thou never,
For all endeavour,
Strength to dissever
Or strength to spill,
Save of his giving
Who gave our living,
Whose hands are weaving
What ours fulfil;
Whose feet tread under
The storms and thunder;
Who made our wonder to work his will.

'His years and hours,
His world's blind powers,
His stars and flowers,
His nights and days,
Sea-tide and river,
And waves that shiver,
Praise God, the giver
Of tongues to praise.

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Winds in their blowing,
And fruits in growing;
Time in its going,
While time shall be;
In death and living,
With one thanksgiving,
Praise him whose hand is the strength of the sea.'

No one can deny the power here, and it is a power which is rare among modern poets, who are in general too self-conscious to be impetuous, too nice and careful in selecting their words to move swiftly and strongly. It is not for nothing that Mr. Swinburne can say

'The sea-wind and the sea
Made all my soul in me
A song for ever,'—

for his poetry is endowed with much of the onward rush of tidal waves, even though very often it may have nothing but the mere motion and ceaseless sound of the 'unfruitful sea.' His peculiar excellence among poets is the combination of great ingenuity in the choice and disposal of words, and in the construction of his verses with a 'swing' and fire and motion that are among the highest qualities of poetry.

The rhythm of verse is one thing, the sound is another. If we may use a musical illustration, we should call the first the melody of a poem, the other its harmony. But musical metaphors have done great harm in poetical criticism, and we do not wish to be led astray by them. The sound of verses is so far harmony that it depends upon the combination of mere syllables with each other, without much regard to the rhythm of the lines. In any more definite sense, it is not harmony, and cannot be. Now every one must own the richness and fulness of the sound of Mr. Swinburne's verses. We may open the volumes at random, and we shall find no line that jars by harshness, or disappoints by thinness of sound; the combination is always full, always rich and sweet. It would be an interesting study in the mechanism of poetry, the sounds and the rhythm and the ingenuity of language, to analyse, for instance, the verses called 'Evening on the Broads,' so as to understand the poet's wonderful skill:—

'Over two shadowless waters, adrift as a pinnace in peril,
Hangs as in heavy suspense, charged with irresolute light,
Softly the soul of the sunset upholden awhile on the sterile
Waves and wastes of the land, half repossessed by the night.
Inland glimmer the shallows asleep and afar in the breathless
Twilight: yonder the depths darken afar and asleep.'



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It is not given to the English language to emulate the full-sounding beauty of Greek or Italian, but in such lines as these Mr. Swinburne goes nearer to the unattainable than any poet of ours, except Milton.

But richness of sound and rhythmical movement are not the only qualities that the finest verse ought to have; there are others, in which, in our opinion, Mr. Swinburne is strangely deficient. Though we have employed a musical metaphor to describe his beauty of sound, yet the whole effect of his verse is not musical. It is very difficult to explain one's meaning in this matter, for it is a question to a great extent of personal tastes, of peculiarities of ear, and perhaps of memory. But there is a test which seems to prove that it is not only a personal want of appreciation that leads us to deny to Mr. Swinburne the highest quality of song, but something apparent to all, and therefore a real defect in his poems. The test is popular quotation. Lines are quoted when, by some indefinable charm of language that fits the thought, they have fixed themselves in men's memories; and the charm seems to consist partly in this, that the words are inevitable: they seem to be the only possible expression of the thought, and come to us, to use Coleridge's beautiful image for the stars, with a feeling of recognition, rather than discovery, 'like lords that are certainly expected, and yet there is a silent joy at their arrival.' Just as in music each note and chord is led up to by its predecessors, and seems to be inevitable, so in the highest lyric poetry, which is, therefore, most truly musical, each word brings with it a sense of fulfilment, as of a want satisfied. Now Mr. Swinburne's poems are hardly ever quoted. It is not unfair to expect this proof of popular appreciation from such comparatively modern poems. Many of his works have been published quite long enough to haunt men's minds, had they the necessary charm and cadence. But while numberless lines of Mr. Tennyson, many of Mr. Arnold, some of Mr. Browning, in spite of his difficulty, dwell in the memory, and rise to the lips almost unconsciously, we doubt whether many, even of the professed students of poetry, are often haunted by the sound of Mr. Swinburne's verses, beautiful though they undoubtedly are. And the reason is that, though they have richness, they lack music. Indeed, their richness is partly the cause of their want of music, for the quality we are trying to describe, the quality of lines such as the 'Gather ye roses' of Herrick, or 'Take, O take, those lips away,' or Shelley's 'Music when soft

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voices die,' depends to a great extent upon their purity, not to call it simplicity. In Mr. Swinburne's poetry the language is ornate and involved, and heavy with sound, if not with meaning; each word seems chosen for itself, and has an independent value, and the whole line or poem becomes clogged and over-loaded; the attention is distracted from the whole, and is delayed upon each separate point of colour. In spite of the freedom and motion of the rhythm, there is so much laboriousness in the details that there is an utter loss of the sense of satisfaction, and the words are there because he put them there, and we know why he put them there, not because they are the only words that could be there. And this want of musical quality is a very serious defect, if, as we hold, it keeps poetry out of men's memories; for as the giving of pleasure is, at least, one chief end of poetry, and there is no pleasure to be derived from reading equal to that of remembering verses, it would seem that this defect robs a poet of much of the power of attraction he might otherwise exercise.

This defect is, of course, intensified by Mr. Swinburne's looseness and vagueness of structure, both in particular sentences and in whole poems. The chief, or at least the first, impression that is left on the mind by Mr. Swinburne's prose is surprise at the inability of a poet to keep his sentences within the limits of intelligible form; but in poetry, at least, we expect clearness and definiteness of structure and outline. Mr. Swinburne, however, is so often overwhelmed with his own thoughts, and finds it unfortunately so easy to express in a parenthesis or a relative clause everything that he thinks, that even in his lyrics the structure is ungainly and straggling; while as to his plays—we are oppressed with the memory of one passage in *Erechtheus* that rushes on for more than sixty lines without a full stop. Passages such as this from the *Studies in Song* might be quoted in great number, and they seem to us clearly to violate the laws of structure, so involved and interminably parenthetical are they:—

> 'More fair than all things born and slain of fate,
> More glorious than all births of days and nights,
> He bade the spirit of man regenerate,
> Rekindling, rise and reassume the rights
> That in high seasons of his old estate
> Clothed him and armed with majesties and mights
> Heroic, when the times and hearts were great
> And in the depths of ages rose the heights
> Radiant of high deeds done
> And souls that matched the sun

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For splendour with the lightnings of their lights
Whence even their uttered names
Burn like the strong twin flames
Of song that shakes a throne and steel that smites;
As on Thermopylæ when shone
Leonidas, on Syracuse Timoleon.

This incoherence in particular sentences results in a similar want of compactness in whole poems. Where Mr. Swinburne chooses to bind himself by the strict laws of the sonnet or the ballade or the sestina, he is, of course, compelled to bring his lines to an end; but in his unfettered poems there really seems no reason why he should stop at one stanza, or at one ringing verse, more than at another. For instance, the very fine poem called 'In the Bay' consists of forty stanzas; but there is no growth, no climax, no organic unity of structure; each stanza is splendid in itself, but it does not lead on to the next; it bears no intelligible relation to the whole, and the poet leaves off apparently for no reason but that there are other subjects than Marlowe and Shelley on which to spend the labour of pouring forth sounding sentences. That this incoherence is a natural defect in Mr. Swinburne's genius seems to be proved by the fact that he is least successful in his sonnets and ballades and other artificially limited forms of verse. They are ingenious, but they lack the movement and rush of his greater lyrics, and, being deficient, as are all his poems, in nervous force and condensed vigour, they have hardly any poetical *raison d'être.* Take, for example, any of Mr. Swinburne's diatribes in sonnet form against the Czar, or that intricate failure 'A Ballad of François Villon,' and his weakness when prevented from acquiring force by prolonged motion will be apparent. In other words, Mr. Swinburne's genius to a great extent depends upon his incoherence, and when he is obliged to be concise he loses his strength.

Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Swinburne, like every other real poet, breaks away from our easy generalizations, and contradicts our formulæ by some great anomaly in his work. Sometimes he is restrained and classical, clear in outline, pure in tone. Even in his earliest volume of lyrics, there were the beautiful lines to the memory of Walter Savage Landor:—

'In many a tender wheaten plot
Flowers that were dead
Live, and old suns revive; but not
That holier head.

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'By this white wandering waste of sea,
Far north, I hear
One face shall never turn to me
As once this year:

'Shall never smile and turn and rest
On mine as there,
Nor one most sacred hand be prest
Upon my hair.

'I came as one whose thoughts half linger,
Half run before;
The youngest to the oldest singer
That England bore.'

The whole short poem, of which these stanzas are a worthy specimen, is a model of tender grace and dignified reverence, in spite of some characteristic exaggeration of praise. It is generally the feeling of friendship that moves Mr. Swinburne to write in this pure and lofty style; his elegies have a certain note which we miss from his other poems, even from the odes in which he seeks to commemorate the lives of those whose deaths he has mourned in simpler and more truly poetical tones. Few of his poems are more beautiful than those dedicated, in his second series of *Poems and Ballads*, to the memory of his father and of Barry Cornwall, though they have not the perfect restraint of the lines we quoted last. Still such stanzas as this are genuine and fine poetry:—

'Time takes them home that we loved, fair names and famous,
To the soft long sleep, to the broad sweet bosom of death;
But the flower of their souls he shall not take away to shame us,
Nor the lips lack song for ever that now lack breath.
For with us shall the music and perfume that die not dwell,
Though the dead to our dead bid welcome, and we farewell.'

But, on the whole, though we admit Mr. Swinburne's truly poetical genius, though we have pointed out his special excellence as a poet, viz., the combination of movement with ingenuity, we must own that much of his work seems to us not poetry but rhetoric. M. Schérer has distinguished eloquence, with which he holds rhetoric to be synonymous, from poetry, in his criticism of M. Taine's high estimate of Byron: 'L'éloquence est le discours servant d'expression à l'émotion personnelle; infiniment plus variée et plus désintéressée, la poésie est la manifestation au moyen du langage de cet élément du beau qui est en toute chose, et qu'il s'agit d'y sentir et d'en dégager.' And he goes on to point out that French poets have always had a great tendency to be mere

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rhetoricians: 'Nous ne savons pas sortir de nous-mêmes pour nous livrer à la puissance propre de l'objet.' Now, here M. Schérer has, we think, been misled, by his attention to his particular subject, Byron, into an undue limitation of his definition of eloquence, or rhetoric, or oratory. Poetry also may deal, and deal splendidly, with personal emotion; so that this cannot be the special quality of rhetoric. Byron was perhaps a rhetorician, and he was certainly an egotist, but that does not prove that rhetoric is egotism, or that egotism is rhetoric. Accepting M. Schérer's definition of poetry, is not eloquence distinguished from it by this fact, that while poetry has always one and one only object, the 'element of beauty which is in everything,' eloquence may be used as an instrument for any purpose, it may set before it any object? A certain conviction and fire of emotion communicable to others by means of a potent command over language is eloquence; rhetoric, again, is mere mastery of language unaccompanied by conviction or emotion. Poetry is neither of these; though much that is called poetry is eloquence, and much, as for example the mechanical poems of the eighteenth century, is nothing but rhetoric. Poetry must always deal with that which we call beauty, or truth, or the secret of nature, or the interpretation of life; this the poet has to seek for, to feel, and to seize. It is this that gives poetry that accent of high sincerity which Mr. Matthew Arnold has so well illustrated; for this is an object which holds the mind so that it cannot be thinking of itself or of its mode of expression, still less of its audience. The poet sees the truth, and then the expression follows, pure and glowing with sincerity. Now, in Mr. Swinburne's poems we find a wonderful mastery of language, considerable earnestness and conviction, at the service of any subject that may happen to present itself. There is the instrument, the eloquence, the rush of words, the pile of imagery, the wealth of epithets; but where is the truth, the beauty, the secret that the poet is to declare for us with all this apparatus? It is nowhere; he has seen nothing, and heard nothing, so he must write 'about it and about it,' and dress out his meagre material with the richest covering of gorgeous phrases: and this is eloquence, sometimes, perhaps, only rhetoric, but not poetry.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. Mr. Swinburne is not always merely eloquent, for, as we have said, he is a true poet. Sometimes he is able to make us see some truth of life, some hidden aspect of things; and then he is sincere, and simple, and strong. This occurs oftenest, we should say,

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when he is giving expression to the pagan sentiment, especially in its antagonism to Christianity. Whatever we may think of the truth or the excellence of paganism, still it is undoubtedly a living thing, a fact; and it is well that we should be made to feel it, and even, to a certain extent, to sympathize with it. And such a poem as 'The Garden of Proserpine' enables us to understand the pagan horizon, the pagan satisfaction with this world, the pagan weariness, and contentment that life should end in annihilation; and it does this by the force and sincerity of its tone. Mr. Swinburne is great in such a passage as this:—

'From too much love of living,
From hope and fear set free,
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be
That no life lives for ever;
That dead men rise up never;
That even the weariest river
Winds somewhere safe to sea.'

For that gives us, by its indefinable sound of truth, an insight into the souls of the men whom he represents, which it is well for us to have, and right that he should give, if he feels as they felt.

But his numerous odes, sonnets, and ejaculations to Victor Hugo, his political manifestoes, his philosophical and religious poems, are all stamped with the mark of rhetoric; even conviction is, at times, absent from them, and the writer seems to be lashing himself up by the mere sound of his verses into an unreal passion of admiration or of hate. Not that we believe that Mr. Swinburne is insincere in his professions of faith, but that his feeling is not really equal to what he says of it; the object is not clearly present to him, and he therefore utterly fails to make us see it, or even to see that he sees it. The 'Birthday Ode to Victor Hugo' and the 'Song for the Centenary of Landor' are instances of this overwrought enthusiasm; they leave us cold, unconvinced, and doubtful whether even Mr. Swinburne knows exactly what it is that he admires. Such poems, in fact, are not even eloquent, for they fail to communicate the speaker's emotion to others; they are merely rhetorical. It is not, therefore, strange that Mr. Swinburne should have so great an admiration for French poets in general, and for Victor Hugo in particular; for as M. Schérer says, this oratorical tone is a special defect of French poetry, and Victor Hugo is certainly not the least addicted to it. And fine though it may be of its kind, and

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satisfying to the mind in certain phases of feeling, it is not the highest poetry, and very often it is not poetry at all, but gorgeous declamation, useful for its special object, but not durable, for it does not permanently rouse, and purify, and elevate, nor will it, therefore, permanently delight.

We have been led on to anticipate something of what we have still to say of Mr. Swinburne's poems. We have studied his form with its good and bad qualities: we have now to turn to his matter, the thoughts that move him to poetical utterance. It is not easy to disentangle Mr. Swinburne's meaning from the complicated shroud of words in which he clothes it, nor is it always worth the trouble. Still there are certain subjects to which he is continually recurring, and on these he has, or seems to have, definite and discoverable opinions. Nature, love, politics, religion, form the staple of his writings; let us see what he has to teach the world on these subjects.

The interpretation of nature is a worthy object of poetry: it is not the sole object, and indeed it is only in modern times that poets or painters have dealt with nature for herself alone, and not as a mere background to human action and emotion. But we find in Mr. Swinburne neither insight into nature's secrets, nor a harmonious power of combining the outer world with man's feelings. We have no flashes of sympathetic imagination, no results of a loving meditation on the sights and sounds of the world, such as not only Wordsworth but nearly all poets have given us; he does not teach us to see more, or to love more what we do see. He seldom enriches us with a perception of the relation between our life and the life of the world; we do not find ourselves recalling lines of his when any natural sight is brought before us. He is, indeed, prodigal of references to Nature, and few of his poems are without an abundance of epithets and images drawn from the outer world. But in general it is an oratorical use that he makes of them; they are introduced more as figures of speech than as real images which the poet has seen, and in which his thoughts are naturally embodied. The same objects recur over and over again in his poems, and they often seem to us to be brought in more for their sound than for their imagery. 'Roses,' for instance, is a beautiful sound at the end of a line, so Mr. Swinburne gives us many melodious verses about roses, which yet never tell us anything we did not all know before, and never associate the rose with a fresh emotion. The natural imagery of his poems is not accurate, and it would be commonplace and conventional were it not redeemed by the never-failing beauty of the sound

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and rhythm into which he works it. In general it is only for the large obvious phenomena of nature that he has an eye; when he attempts to look more closely he fails, sometimes ludicrously, as in his tender apostrophe to the sundew, which happens to be one of the greediest of the insectivorous plants:—

'You call it sundew: how it grows,
If with its colour it have breath,
If life taste sweet to it, if death
Pain its soft petal, no man knows:
Man has no sight or sense that saith.'

Such poetical adaptations of nature as this are wanting in the primary essential of truth; they are not imaginative, but only rhetorical.

We must make one important exception, however, to this account of Mr. Swinburne's dealings with nature. When he speaks of the sea, of the winds that move it, of the sun that lightens it, of the plants that grow in it, of its motion, its sound, and its breath, we feel we are listening to a poet who sees and hears what he is describing. And this is especially the case when he speaks of the desolation of the sea, and the ruin it brings to the land. 'By the North Sea,' 'A Forsaken Garden,' 'Evening on the Broads,' are instances of the great power with which Mr. Swinburne can describe the broad majestic changes of sea and sky, and the decay and death that prevail on the sea-shore. In 'By the North Sea,' the dreary 'land of utter death,' where the sea is washing away the graves with 'bare white piteous bones protruded,' is suddenly and vividly, to eye and ear, contrasted with the luminous splendour of the sea:—

'But afar on the headland exalted,
But beyond in the curl of the bay,
From the depth of his dome deep-vaulted
Our father is lord of the day.
'Our father and lord that we follow,
For deathless and ageless is he;
And his robe is the whole sky's hollow,
His sandal the sea.

'Where the horn of the headland is sharper,
And her green floor glitters with fire,
The sea has the sun for a harper,
The sun has the sea for a lyre.
The waves are a pavement of amber,
By the feet of the sea-winds trod
To receive in a god's presence-chamber
Our father, the God.

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'Time, haggard and changeful and hoary,
Is master and God of the land:
But the air is fulfilled of the glory
That is shed from our lord's right hand.
O father of all of us ever,
All glory be only to thee
From heaven, that is void of thee never,
And earth, and the sea.

This is a good instance of Mr. Swinburne's treatment of the one set of phenomena that he can speak of with sympathy and truth; but even in his sea-poems we want at times more simplicity, less sound, and more clearness of outline: we want to see the waves, not only to hear them. In this one stanza of Clough's there is more of the sea brought before our eyes than in hundreds of Mr. Swinburne's rolling lines:—

'For while the tired waves vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.'

Of Mr. Swinburne's treatment of love there is no need to say much. It may be unfair to bring against him the youthful animalism of the first *Poems and Ballads*, for he has never returned to it. But he has never retracted it, and the poems are still published. This makes it impossible for us to avoid a fresh protest against the revolting and studied sensuality that ruined even the wonderful melody of his earliest lyrics. Nothing more corrupted and corrupting has been written, at least in our century and by one of our countrymen; and though since that time he has not written much of love, yet even in his few later utterances on the subject there is nothing lofty, nothing really pure: love is still for him mere animal passion, and can be but a transitory emotion:—

'But his wings will not rest and his feet will not stay for us:
Morning is here in the joy of its might;
With his breath has he sweetened a night and a day for us;
Now let him pass, and the myrtles make way for us;
Love can but last in us here at his height
For a day and a night.'

Indeed, it is his earliest volume that contains the only worthy expression of the depth and height of love, and makes us feel that it has in it something more than a temporary physical emotion. In the splendid stanzas entitled 'The Triumph of Time' Mr. Swinburne has, we should say, almost consciously imitated Mr. Browning; he is simpler in language, deeper in

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thought, more sincere in tone and feeling, than in his other poems on the subject:—

'I have given no man of my fruit to eat;
I trod the grapes, I have drunken the wine.
Had you eaten and drunken and found it sweet,
This wild new growth of the corn and the vine,
This wine and bread without lees or leaven,
We had grown as gods, as the gods in heaven,
Souls fair to look upon, goodly to greet,
One splendid spirit, your soul and mine.

'In the change of years, in the coil of things,
In the clamour and rumour of life to be,
We, drinking love at the furthest springs,
Covered with love as a covering tree,
We had grown as gods, as the gods above,
Filled from the heart to the lips with love,
Held fast in his hands, clothed warm with his wings,
O love, my love, had you loved but me!

'We had stood as the sure stars stand, and moved
As the moon moves, loving the world; and seen
Grief collapse as a thing disproved,
Death consume as a thing unclean.
Twain halves of a perfect heart, made fast
Soul to soul while the years fell past;
Had you loved me once, as you have not loved;
Had the chance been with us that has not been.'

But this comparatively fine treatment of love is distinctly an exception. In general he is sensual, thin, and unintellectual, not to speak of the graver want of purity and reverence, when he writes of love.

In his later poems the main subject has been freedom, and his most fervid utterances have been produced by the supposed triumphs or defeats of the cause of freedom in various nations, especially in France and Italy. Mr. Swinburne, when he deals with freedom, or, indeed, with any political subject, speaks so much in the Continental manner, that it is difficult for English readers to sympathize with him, or even to understand him. We believe, though by the way Mr. Swinburne does not, that we in England have got a sufficient share of freedom, and that we have known for a long time what liberty means. But we hardly know the meaning of such a saying as this from 'Thalassius:'—

'Yea, one thing stronger and more high than God,
Which, if man had not, then should God not be;
And that was Liberty.'

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That is our fault, Mr. Swinburne would probably say, and perhaps it is. But then this defect in us will partly account for a feeling of unreality that comes over us when reading Mr. Swinburne's apostrophes to freedom, or his unlimited abuse of kings and priests, who are, he says, invariably enemies of freedom. It is all so abstract and intangible; it bears so little relation to the real lives, the real wants, and joys, and sorrows of men, that the poet's devotion to it cannot but sound to us forced and fruitless. Mr. Swinburne comes nearer to the concrete and the real in 'Christmas Antiphones' than in any other poem; for here the poor and oppressed people declare their sufferings with more or less definiteness:—

'We whose mind is blind,
Fed with hope of nought;
Wastes of worn mankind,
Without heart or mind,
Without meat or thought;

'We with strife of life
Worn till all life cease,
Want, a whetted knife,
Sharpening strife on strife,
How should we love peace?'

But what has the poet got to offer as a remedy for this evil?

'Man shall do for you,
Men the sons of man,
What no God would do
That they sought unto
While the blind years ran.

'Brotherhood of good,
Equal laws and rights,
Freedom whose sweet food
Feeds the multitude
All their days and nights,
With the bread full-fed
Of her body blest.'

And then Mr. Swinburne goes on with one of his favourite and unpleasing analogies between sacred and political things, which throw no light on anything but his own unworthiness to speak of religious subjects. Now, we cannot fairly expect from a poet clearly defined remedies for political and social evils, but we may be excused for finding such passages as this empty, and vague, and unsatisfying. The mere abstraction freedom can do nothing to diminish the undoubted wrongs and sufferings of the people, and those who feel these things

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most deeply, and who are striving to remedy them, may well be impatient of the shallow verbiage of many of Mr. Swinburne's declamations. We would not deny the force and fire which animate poems such as 'A Marching Song,' 'A Song in Time of Order,' 'The Halt before Rome,' and many others; nor would we seem to deprecate the value of an ideal, even when it is a mere abstraction, remote from the real feeling of men. But poetry must be more than rhetoric—truth is more than conventionality; and in Mr. Swinburne's political poems the force is seldom more than the rhetorical force of an artificial emotion, and the message is a conventional catchword proclaimed in diverse tones with no genuine sound of truth in them.

Lastly, we come to Mr. Swinburne's religion. Two things make it difficult and unpleasant to analyse his religious sentiments. The first is his liking for sacred imagery applied to all sorts of subjects, as for instance in 'Before a Crucifix,' 'Christmas Antiphones,' or 'After Nine Years;' and the second is his allied peculiarity of adopting Biblical, and especially Old Testament, phraseology. He often seems to be speaking of religious subjects when in reality the religious language or imagery is metaphorical, and the subject is merely political or personal. This may sometimes serve as an excuse for what seems at first sight unspeakable and inexplicable blasphemy: as for example in some of the sonnets in *Songs of Two Nations.* We call it blasphemy, for though Mr. Swinburne professes to disbelieve in God, yet he acknowledges at times the attraction of our Lord's Human Character; and to speak in the way he has seemed to speak of One whom he cannot but own to be 'haply, . . . loved past man's utterance,' though He was but man, would be blasphemy; so we may give him the benefit of the excuse, and it becomes, instead of blasphemy, strange coarseness and levity. The best mode of studying Mr. Swinburne's religious ideas is, then, to pass by, as far as possible, all his references to Christianity, noticing only that, like his politics, his religious polemics are Continental; for his main idea is that priests are the causes of all evils, and have corrupted whatever of truth or human sympathy was in Christ's teaching, by their dogmas:—

> 'The tree of faith ingraffed by priests
> Puts its foul foliage out above thee,
> And round it feed man-eating beasts
> Because of whom we dare not love thee;
> Though hearts reach back and memories ache,
> We cannot praise thee for their sake.'

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Like the French unbelievers he sees no distinctions between Christians, but treats all as if they were Ultramontanes, making, it is hardly too much to say, the temporal power of the Pope a pretext for reviling all religion.

As to Mr. Swinburne's own belief, it is somewhat difficult to pronounce, for we have found it very hard to discover what he really thinks. The chief poems in which he gives us his religion, or quasi-religion, are the 'Hymn of Man,' 'Hertha,' 'Genesis,' 'On the Downs,' and the Prelude and Epilogue to the *Songs before Sunrise.* In these poems there seems to be a mixture, or rather an alternation, of two forms of belief, a kind of Pantheism, and a kind of Positivism; and again, especially in the Prelude, there is an expression of belief in each man's individual soul, which sounds like an appeal to conscience. Now, clearly, Pantheism is one thing, and Positivism another; and the two are scarcely compatible. In 'Hertha' and 'Genesis' Mr. Swinburne seems to be trying to describe Pantheism, the spirit or soul which is in everything:—

'I am that which began;
Out of me the years roll;
Out of me God and man;
I am equal and whole;
God changes, and man, and the form of them bodily; I am the soul.'

And again, in 'On the Downs,' he tells how 'in all men love and loathe' there is 'one God at growth.' But this Pantheism, which is vaguer than is usual even with Pantheism, is more often deposed for the Positivist dogma that Man is God, or rather the soul of man, of which all souls form part. This is the thought that is so vigorously and, in places, grandly expressed in the 'Hymn of Man.' God, as we know Him, is only the creation of the human mind; and the real God is the impersonal common soul of man:—

'Thou and I and he are not gods made men for a span,
But God, if a God there be, is the substance of men which is man.
Our lives are as pulses or pores of his manifold body and breath;
As waves of his sea on the shores where birth is the beacon of death.
We men, the multiform features of man, whatsoever we be,
Recreate him of whom we are creatures, and all we only are he.'

Against this human God are set 'things,' by which we take Mr. Swinburne to mean the outer world, all that is not man, and that man has to contend with:—

'Things are cruel and blind; their strength detains and deforms:
And the wearying wings of the mind still beat up the stream of their storms.'

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But man has found freedom and will depose the God he himself has made, and will conquer death, for—

'Men perish, but man shall endure; lives die, but the life is not dead,'

and will end by subduing 'things':

'Glory to Man in the highest! for Man is the master of things.'

We do not know that it is worth while to follow the windings of Mr. Swinburne's religious imagination more closely. The strange confusion of metaphysical abstractions and scientific speculations and political ideals, the contradictions between his own notion of 'things' which are 'cruel and blind' and his belief in nature, which is on man's side in his struggle for freedom, the parodies of Christianity, make the analysis of these poems an unwelcome task. And yet Mr. Swinburne is much read, and expresses with peculiar vagueness, but still with almost unique force, the confused thoughts of many minds. It is well, therefore, that we should know what he thinks, if it can be known. But it is difficult to be patient with it; when we think of the actual state of the world, even as Mr. Swinburne himself describes it, of the sin and degradation and folly and weakness, it is hard not to despise a mind that can be content with declaring that 'man is the master of things.' We would rather turn to a finer and a truer though still imperfect doctrine, to that belief in man's soul which is unencumbered with vague metaphysics, or the contest with 'things'; and here we may hope we find the poet's real faith:—

'But weak is change, but strengthless time,
To take the light from heaven, or climb
The hills of heaven with wasting feet.
Songs they can stop that earth found meet,
But the stars keep their ageless rhyme;
Flowers they can slay that spring thought sweet,
But the stars keep their spring sublime;
Passions and pleasures can defeat,
Actions and agonies control,
And life and death, but not the soul.

'Because man's soul is man's God still,
What wind soever waft his will
Across the waves of day and night
To port or shipwreck, left or right,
By shores and shoals of good and ill;
And still its flame at mainmast height
Through the rent air that foam flakes fill
Sustains the indomitable light
Whence only man hath strength to steer
Or helm to handle without fear.



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'Save his own soul's light overhead,
None leads him, and none ever led,
Across birth's hidden harbour-bar,
Past youth where shoreward shallows are,
Through age that drives on toward the red
Vast void of sunset hailed from far,
To the equal waters of the dead;
Save his own soul he hath no star,
And sinks, except his own soul guide,
Helmless in middle turn of tide.

'No blast of air or fire of sun
Puts out the light whereby we run
With girdled loins our lamplit race,
And each from each takes heart of grace
And spirit till his turn be done,
And light of face from each man's face
In whom the light of trust is one;
Since only souls that keep their place
By their own light, and watch things roll,
And stand, have light for any soul.

'A little time we gain from time
To sit our seasons in some chime,
For harsh or sweet or loud or low,
With seasons played out long ago
And souls that in their time and prime
Took part with summer or with snow,
Lived abject lives out or sublime,
And had their chance of seed to sow
For service or disservice done
To those days dead and this their son.

'A little time that we may fill
Or with such good works or such ill
As loose the bonds or make them strong
Wherein all manhood suffers wrong.
By rose-hung river and light-foot rill
There are who rest not; who think long
Till they discern as from a hill
At the sun's hour of morning song,
Known of souls only, and those souls free,
The sacred spaces of the sea.

Here let us leave Mr. Swinburne, for this is the utmost height his teaching can attain. And that this is but poor material for poetry after all will only make us wonder the more at the skill and power of the poet. Maimed as it is, however, it is Mr. Swinburne's belief in the soul of man that dignifies his thought, and raises his conception of freedom to an ideal. Freedom is his religion, and it could be a religion

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only to one who believes that there is a spirit in man that is worthy to be free; and for this faith and for the ringing proclamation of it in poetry we are grateful.

We have said that we wish to notice Mr. James Thomson chiefly as a representative of a different paganism from that of Mr. Swinburne; for it would be absurd to compare the two writers as to their poetical power. Both in quality and quantity Mr. Thomson is obviously inferior to Mr. Swinburne. But there is a tone of sincerity and straightforwardness in his poetry which is often strangely wanting in the artificial mannerisms of contemporary writers. In Mr. Thomson we seem to have returned to the simpler, more direct style of earlier generations, though it is impossible to call him an imitator of any previous writer. Probably the chief influences that formed his verse were German and Italian rather than English, Heine and Leopardi rather than Wordsworth or Keats. But Mr. Thomson's style is in essentials his own, and we cannot describe it better than by saying that it is a combination of very rich and lofty imagery, with a directness which not unfrequently sinks into baldness, and sometimes into vulgarity. This one stanza will show how powerful and rich such a style can be at its best:—

> 'How the moon triumphs through the endless nights!
> How the stars throb and glitter as they wheel
> Their thick processions of supernal lights
> Around the blue vault obdurate as steel!
> And men regard with passionate awe and yearning
> The mighty marching and the golden burning,
> And think the heavens respond to what they feel.'

But we cannot honestly say that Mr. Thomson always writes like this. His devotion to Heine has apparently led him to interpose unexpected pieces of irony or humour in his otherwise serious poems; but we must own that, save for their occasional bitterness, they do not remind us much of Heine. *Vane's Story* is almost utterly defaced by the incongruous mixture of grave and gay; the gay being both bitter and vulgar. In the two idylls, *Sunday at Hampstead* and *Sunday up the River*, Mr. Thomson has spoilt a very original and attractive subject by the most commonplace and almost coarse jocularity. He would retort, perhaps, that as a democratic poet he writes of the people for the people, and that if we do not like Cockney merriment we need not read a Cockney poet. But it is because Mr. Thomson is a poet, with a poet's delicacy and loftiness, that we protest against the intrusion of 'Jameson's Irish Whisky,' with jocular



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laudations which are not comic but nauseous, into a poem which in many parts is a revelation of the pure and bright side of many a hidden hard-worked life. The poetry of the vulgar need never be vulgar poetry, as Mr. Thomson himself has sufficiently proved by such lines as these, in which the lover describes the girl coming to meet him on the bridge for their Sunday up the river :—

'The strange faces brighten in meeting her glances;
The strangers all bless her, pure, lovely, and free;
She fancies she walks, but her walk skips and dances,
Her heart makes such music in coming to me.'

But of course the main interest of Mr. Thomson's poetry lies in such poems as the *City of Dreadful Night*, in which he pours out the full bitterness of the hearts of those

'Whose faith and hope are dead, and who would die.'

It is difficult to estimate rightly this and other similar poems of Mr. Thomson's, because though it is by no means an artistic whole, but imperfect and fragmentary, yet the impression it leaves is the impression of the whole rather than of any of the parts. It is therefore difficult to give quotations which shall explain why the poem impresses one; and it is still harder to give a description of the whole which shall do so, for the poem, as we said, is fragmentary. After reading it we fail to find any one passage which quite comes up to the feeling which the poem has created; we seem to be perpetually just coming to it, and just missing it. The reason seems to be, that in Mr. Thomson the imagination so overwhelmed the other faculties, that both the total unity of the subject and the working out of the details are lost in the dark atmosphere of despair that his imagination could cast round his object. Another instance of what we mean will be found in the hard, dry, weird horror of the stanzas called *In the Room*, where there is no beauty, no thought, no poetry, but sheer imagination revelling in the grotesque terror of the scene it is picturing. We seem to see and feel the chamber of the dead man, and by that impression everything else is obscured and lost. And in *The City of Dreadful Night* the impression of utter misery and heavy despair is communicated more powerfully than in any poem we know, at least of our own country. Whether such an impression be a legitimate aim of poetry we do not wish to decide; at least it may be said that whatever element of beauty there may be in pessimism, Mr. Thomson has displayed it in such passages as that of the Sphinx and the Angel. But pessimism is no new

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thing, even in poetry; what is new, or at least what is especially powerful in Mr. Thomson's poem, is the impatience of pessimism, the refusal to take the sorry consolation that the secularist offers, the 'cold rage' with which even the refuge of death is rejected. He has seen what life might be, and he cannot rest satisfied with his pessimism.

'The man speaks sooth, alas! the man speaks sooth:
We have no personal life beyond the grave;
There is no God; Fate knows no wrath nor ruth:
Can I find here the comfort which I crave?

'In all eternity I had one chance,
One few years' term of gracious human life:
The splendours of the intellect's advance,
The sweetness of the home with babes and wife;

'The social pleasures with their genial wit;
The fascination of the worlds of art;
The glories of the worlds of nature, lit
By large imagination's glowing heart;

'The rapture of mere being, full of health;
The careless childhood and the ardent youth,
The strenuous manhood winning various wealth,
The reverend age serene with life's long truth:

'All the sublime prerogatives of man;
The storied memories of the times of old;
The patient tracking of the world's great plan
Through sequences and changes myriadfold.

'This chance was never offered me before;
For me the infinite Past is blank and dumb:
This chance recurreth never, nevermore;
Blank, blank for me the infinite To-come.

'And this sole chance was frustrate from my birth,
A mockery, a delusion; and my breath
Of noble human life upon this earth
So racks me that I sigh for senseless death.

'My wine of life is poison mixed with gall,
My noonday passes in a nightmare dream,
I worse than lose the years which are my all:
What can console me for the loss supreme?

'Speak not of comfort where no comfort is,
Speak not at all: can words make foul things fair?
Our life's a cheat, our death a black abyss:
Hush and be mute, envisaging despair.'

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This represents, not Mr. Thomson's highest point in poetry, but the interesting element in his thought. Finer poetry he has written, as in some stanzas *To Our Ladies of Death*, and in the really splendid *Lord of the Castle of Indolence*, in which he shows once more his appreciation of the bright side of life. But we have not space to dwell on these, and must therefore, in conclusion, simply call attention to the startling contrast between these two un-Christian poets.

Paganism like Mr. Thomson's is one of the facts of life which the jubilant paganism of Mr. Swinburne refuses to face. Pessimism may be a false theory of life, but the misery which causes and is caused by it is in the world, and Man, before he can become the Master of 'things,' must master his own despair. The mind cannot but demand a theory of life which shall face, if it does not explain, all the facts; and unless Mr. Swinburne can prove to us that, in the struggle for existence, his paganism will survive, and the paganism of pessimism will vanish, it must be acknowledged that we have some justification in clinging to a faith which is founded upon those very facts that he ignores. We do not appeal to any profound philosophy, but to the simplest and best-known sayings of Christ, when we assert that Christianity is strong and durable because Christ recognized the feelings of despair and misery that have always existed in human nature. The religion which offers rest to the weary and heavy-laden will outlast many systems of hasty and confident optimism, adorned though they may be by the richest fascination of poetry.

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## ART. VIII.—THE WRITINGS AND LIFE OF SCOTUS ERIGENA.

1. *De Divisione Naturæ.* (Published at Oxford by Thomas Gale, 1681.) British Museum.
2. *I. Scotus Erig. in Johan.* (Published by M. Ravaisson.) *Rapports au Ministre de l'instruction publique sur les Bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest, suivies de pièces inédites.* Paris, 1841.
3. *Jean Scote Erigène et la Philosophie Scolastique.* S. RENÉ TAILLANDIER. Paris, 1873.

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THE Pope has recently revived an interest in the Schoolmen, by advising a renewed application to the works of S. Thomas Aquinas. To follow accurately the close-knit syllogisms of the angelical doctor requires great effort, and is no doubt an excellent training for the logical powers. The European mind has issued from the Middle Ages, greatly strengthened by its violent, though somewhat confined, exercise in the schools. In spite of this we may well question the pre-eminent advantage of returning in general to studies which have indeed played a noble part in the cause of Christianity and the development of thought, but have long since fulfilled their allotted task. Leo XIII. has, however, conferred a permanent benefit by turning attention to an important moment in the history of Philosophy and Christianity: a moment, which, from its position, must contain some of the germs which have unfolded themselves in the difference between ancient and modern thought. English writers allow themselves to speak in a strangely careless manner about the Schoolmen. Those who have penetrated at all into the volumes which, thick with dust, encumber some of our libraries, return with scraps of knowledge ill-arranged or imperfectly understood, like travellers from some undescribed land with tales about which they need not be very particular, as no one is likely to find his way there to inquire for himself. Others have all their information at second-hand, and, while attempting to teach,[1] do not even affect to conceal their ignorance. That the necessary documents for the study of Scholasticism exist at all, is, in great part, owing to the affectionate care with which the Church of Rome has preserved the memories and works of her great men. Towards the time when a Roman Catholic revival was attempted under James II., people began to turn their eyes back anxiously upon the Middle Ages, and books forgotten, or supposed to be lost, were republished: among them the writings of Johannes Scotus Erigena, vindicated from the charges of heresy with which they had been loaded. Foreigners have long recognized the important position which this remarkable thinker occupies. German[2] Roman Catholic

[1] See for instance the very small amount of information with which Mr. Lewes was obliged to content himself in his *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 2 *sqq*.

[2] Staudenmayer, Professor of Theology at the Roman Catholic University of Fribourg, tried to show in an elaborate book the importance and orthodoxy of Scotus. Schlegel, Baader, and Gunther also wrote about him. S. René Taillandier, *Scote Erigène et la Philosophie Scolastique*, part 3, chap. vi.

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divines, towards the beginning of this century, published several treatises upon him. The French, later on, proud of anyone connected with the School of the Palace, which did so much to maintain the light of learning when it burned but feebly, expended much trouble in clearing up the history of his times. Guizot and Cousin have not neglected the intimate friend 'inter seria et jocosa' of Charles the Bald. Finally S. René Taillandier devoted an entire volume to collecting all that is known about the author of the *De Divisione Naturæ*, and to an interesting, if sometimes rather fanciful, discussion upon the place which he holds in the history of thought. In default of any more recent works of sufficient extent or authority, it is necessary to have recourse to this book as well as to the writings of Scotus Erigena himself.

The mind of a prominent thinker often contains and illustrates a system. In dissecting the *De Divisione Naturæ*, we find the different parts of the scholastic whole, and touch nerves which run tingling almost down to our own time. As, therefore, Scholasticism has once more become a topic of the day, it is interesting to see it through such a medium. Certain ideas moreover, once set going, are apt to run the same intellectual course as they did before. If it is not exactly true that the same heresies reappear with the 'like revolutions in the heavenly bodies,' it is very probable that with the study of a system the errors and tendencies which belong to it would once more come into being. The Pope, perhaps, could he succeed in imbuing the young mind of the Roman Catholic Church with S. Thomas Aquinas, to the extent which he appears to desire, might have little reason from his own point of view to congratulate himself upon the result. Once put dialectical weapons in the hands of men, place them on the path of metaphysical inquiry, and no human authority can say with any possibility of enforcing the command, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further.' The Papacy at the zenith of its power, when it had cord, axe, and faggot at its command, was unable to do so. It is hardly probable that it should succeed now. Certain tenets, which the Church has always condemned, were involved in mediæval philosophy and the necessary result of the mental state which produced scholasticism. So typical a book as the *De Divisione Naturæ* is well worth study, both in view of the possible recurrence of such ideas, and because it throws great light on the opinions of the most advanced intellects of that age, which

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have a true connexion, not merely with the Roman Catholic Church, but with all Christian thought.

Scotus holds an almost unique position. He was at once the last of the Alexandrians, and the first of the Schoolmen. S. René Taillandier takes a great deal of rather unnecessary trouble to prove, in contradiction to M. Guizot, that he was rather a Schoolman than an Alexandrian. This is of quite minor importance, in view of the interesting fact, that we have in him the point of contact between the great current of ancient thought and the recently Christianized barbarian mind. We can for the first time seize, and define, elements, which had been developing for some time, and recognize the essential attributes of mediæval Christian philosophy side by side with the thinly veiled pantheism of the false Denys.

The most striking characteristic is the desire for an all-embracing system—a synthesis, which shall contain all things human and divine. When the Church took possession of the schools, she proclaimed herself mistress of what was taught there. The Trivium and Quadrivium covered the sciences and arts as far as they were then known, and were henceforth to belong to Christ. This explains the fact that we find so many men of various parts dowered with such gorgeous titles; among them even Roger Bacon, whose attempts at experimentation were looked upon with so much suspicion; for in the roll-call of famous names, beside 'Aquinas the angelical,' and 'Bonaventura the seraphic,' stands 'Roger Bacon the wonderful.' The architectural genius of the age, which built such glorious cathedrals, also attempted to unite reason and faith into one vast fabric. The stones were to be the authority of the Fathers, texts from Scripture, the opinions of philosophers; anything and everything that might be pressed into that service. The binding cement was to be some method: Aristotle's was thought to be the most suitable. The fair proportions which summed all into one were found in the leading truths of Christianity, not contrary to, but rather identical with, reason. Not the least remarkable characteristic of Scotus Erigena is the completeness of his theory, which, collecting the ideas of others in an original combination, attempts upon the basis of reason to reduce, without destroying their individuality, the diversity of things into a whole. In one place he tells us that reason is prior to authority, in order of nature. In another, he proclaims that 'vera religio est vera ratio.' It is said that Scholasticism from the beginning was

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an insurrection of reason against authority, and many people suppose that it was not until her dogmas were attacked that the Church had recourse to her adversaries' weapons. It is quite true that the Apologists and Fathers found themselves under the necessity of spoiling the Egyptian, as S. Jerome expressed it, to defend themselves. At the time in which Scholasticism had its first beginning, no such need existed. The triumph over the philosophers had been consummated. They had been driven from their first and last seat at Athens as far as Persia, whence their opinions were at a later period to return by way of Arabia and Spain. Christians, looking back upon the past, had no reason to suppose that these opinions, vanquished while yet very powerful, could once more establish a predominance. The intellectual movement in reality arose within, and had as its first impulse the necessity of setting at rest certain internal questions, and of arranging and systematizing doctrine. It is impossible to read Scotus Erigena, above all, without admiring his intense and honest conviction, that religion and reason were not only not contrary, but actually one, and envying the exuberant, almost childish, confidence with which he believed, that by merely unfolding his plan, he could demonstrate that it was so.

Universal nature, says he, allows of four divisions, which are—

1. That which creates, but is not created.
2. That which creates, and is created.
3. That which is created, but does not create.
4. That which neither is created nor creates.

Again, as one and four may be resolved into one—God: so two and three may be included in one—the creation. These two are again adunated, and the Absolute, as we are tempted to call it, is complete. The procession from God into God, the outcoming and incoming of all things from and into the one 'semper manens,' in whose bosom they are nevertheless contained, takes place according to the analytical manner. There is no rational division in the mind, which cannot return by the same way as it set out. Analytics means both the ascent from particulars to generals, and the descent from generals to particulars. God from the beginning made all things in His eternal Word or Wisdom, in which they were one; at the creation they became separated into different causes, and flowed out into their effects, and these effects will once more, by the same steps, come back into God. We can best understand this by the familiar example which he employs:—

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'As from a fountain a whole river flows, and through its channel is stretched to whatever length may be, and ever and without intermission is poured forth, so the Divine essence and goodness, and life and wisdom, and all things which are in the fountain of all things, first flow out into their primordial causes and make them to be: then, through the primordial causes, flow universally by means of orders convenient to them, in an ineffable manner, into their effects, always running through the superior to the inferior, and then once more return by the secret pores of nature to their fount.'

All things owe their reality to mind: 'Intellectus enim rerum ipsæ res sunt.' The primordial causes existed first in the mind of the Divine Artificer; they, in their turn, made matter, for they are created and create. In the same way the soul of man may be said in a certain manner to make his body. The whole of Erigena's theory might be described in the phraseology of to-day as an idealistic conception, setting forth the progress of things from homogeneity to heterogeneity and the subsequent reversal of the process.

S. René Taillandier endeavours to show that this idea of the genesis and essence of all things is not Pantheistic, either in itself or in the conclusions that may be drawn from it. Scotus himself did not perhaps intend it to be so; that it was not so in reality is much less clear. The statements which appear to be Pantheistic are very much more plain and easily to be understood than the distinctions (so extremely fine as hardly to bear the stamp of genuineness) by which the author would save his orthodoxy. What are we, for instance, to understand by such expressions as these? Of God: 'ipse est enim intellectus omnium, immo omnia.' In the Creation, God, as it were, made Himself. The Divine nature is the only thing which is truly and properly in all things, and 'nothing truly and rightly is, which is not it.' So 'we are not to understand in God and the Creation two things differing from each other, but one, and that one, God.' God, indeed, made from nothing; still that nothing was not an absolute nothing, but His ineffable nature. All visible or invisible creatures may be called the *Theophania* or *Dei Apparitio.* Scotus Erigena differed from his Alexandrian masters by endeavouring to preserve individuality in unity: a distinction not always maintained by the false Denys. By the word adunation or deification, he tells us that he does not imply confusion and loss of substance, and employs a very ingenious and even beautiful simile, to explain his meaning. 'As molten metal appears to be all fire, and yet preserves its substance, so human nature, and in it all things, shall be suffused with the Divinity,

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and yet not cease to exist.' It must, however, be remembered that we have been told before, that this very nature is part of God. Pantheism is perhaps the outcome of every purely human attempt to fix the relation between God and His universe, and to penetrate into the depths of ontology. The mind, following a circular course, through a thousand intricate paths, returns back at last upon itself, and is but too apt to mistake its own movements for the order of things. Abélard, if we are to believe M. Cousin, plainly saw that Pantheism would be the result both of nominalism and realism. There is plenty of evidence to show that this prophecy has at least a very large element of truth. For instance, in a scholastic work used as a school book in the beginning of the present century, perhaps still, in the Roman Catholic seminaries, the following sentence occurs: 'Sic probabile est illud spatium infinitum nihil aliud esse quam immensitatem naturæ Divinæ, nam ab eâ distingui non potest.'[1]

The most pleasing part of Scotus Erigena's doctrine is the prominent position which he gives to will. Here the vigorous natures which had supplanted the effeminate Romans of the later Empire assert themselves loudly and attribute increased dignity to man and his Maker. Not by way of emanation, by no trickling away of the Divine substance through very feebleness, did the glorious world come into existence. Worn-out philosophies might admit such an opinion; the new life infused into men, warmed with the breath of Revelation, instinctively shrank from so unwholesome a supposition. 'Esse est velle'—the will of God only bounded by His own goodness—is that in virtue of which all things have reality. To man freedom was assigned, as the best and highest gift. By his free will he can raise himself to the primitive integrity from which he fell by its abuse. Even while in the corporeal frame, the saints, by exercising this privilege, by willing to know God, can to a certain extent commence their union with Him, which shall be completed at the end of all things, when they may even hope to penetrate into the Divine essence. Knowledge is the one proper object of our aspirations, since to know God is to become one with Him. This desire is thus expressed by the disciple; for the *De Divisione Naturæ* is in the form of a dialogue: 'O Lord Jesus! no other reward, no other beatitude I desire from Thee, but to understand purely, and free from all error of fallacious theory, Thy words which were inspired by Thy Holy Spirit.'

[1] Phil. 'Lugdunensis.'

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Besides being gifted with free will, man holds a splendid rank as the mediator between God and the whole of creation: for in him all things were made, through the Word, and in him is represented everything sensible and intelligible. In man, too, must they finally be adunated with God, by grace of Christ, which aids the will. Sex will then be done away with. Human nature was in origin simple, and would have multiplied by intellectual numbers, if it had not been for sin. In Christ there is neither male nor female. All divisions of men are but into innumerable distinctions of quantity and quality, which all come from sin. Not in those things in which he appears does anyone consist, but in the hidden causes of nature in which he was first made, and into which he will return. Finally, as the lower is always absorbed into the higher, humanity will draw to itself all sensible things, and will in its turn be drawn into God. It is very usual to hear of the gloomy superstition and intense religious melancholy of the Middle Ages. We have none of it here, even so early as the ninth century, not generally supposed to be the most enlightened period of that dark time. Anyone might rejoice to be a creature supremely free, acting a beneficent part, and with so glorious a destiny.

For humanity, again (Scotus goes on to say), there is no such thing as death, nor, indeed, for any creature. That which is made by God cannot know misery or perish. The corporeal body (as with a certain tautology it is called) may turn to dust and be scattered through the elements; but it will come back to its cause, the spiritual body, and so back and back, until at last all things find rest. The impulsive power of this retrocession is love; the motion of the inferior seeking the superior, which can never find repose until it obtains infinite quiet in the bosom of God. To this end man must first seek to love and know his own nature, which is made in the image of the Trinity, and then by a kind of spiritual induction ascend to the nature of God from which he started. That we can attain our object we may be well assured by observing even sensible things. The sun and stars return to the same spot in the heavens. The year returns, time after time, into the same seasons. As their motion has its end and never ceases until it be attained, so has ours. The immortal appetite common to each of us, 'essendi, bene essendi, perpetualiter essendi,' must continue, until it is assuaged by obtaining that which it desires.

God, as we have been already told, will not punish anything He has made, nor can it suffer agony and torment.

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How is Scotus to get over the apparently plain statements of the Bible to the contrary? The manner in which he attempts to meet the difficulty is extremely ingenious. God will punish, not what He made, but what He did not make. Evil, and sin, and corruption, are not in the order of nature at all; they have no existence, and are a lack of real being,[1] a falling away from unity. Sin means division. Through sin earth was separated from Paradise, and Paradise from Heaven. But there is a further difficulty consequent upon this theory. How can that be affected which is not in nature? Because, although it has no essence, evil in a certain sense is by opposition; and in this manner every vice belongs to some virtue. It is the 'prava voluntas' in which men will suffer; but humanity cannot be increased or diminished. This 'prava voluntas' again, only is, by its contrariety to the 'bona voluntas' made by God. An example is given by no means encouraging to those who might imagine that they were going to escape the results of sin. When the secular judge tortures a criminal it is not for revenge, but for the sake of correction. It is not his nature, but his fault which is punished. The criminal would probably consider that here was a distinction without a difference. It is to be observed throughout this disquisition on rewards and punishments that the inclination is to exalt the mercy of the Creator, to the loss, or at least serious diminution, of our individuality.

This was (in spite of their attempts to explain it away) the great mistake of the Realists. They continued to dream wonderful and beautiful things of the universal, too often completely neglecting the units. In our own times the enticing idea which bids us fix all our hopes upon mankind as an entirety looks very much like a scion of the same philosophy: not an offspring of positive science, but a changeling from the scholastic age, mysteriously arrived to fill up an aching void.

Scotus was a realist nearly two hundred years before the great controversy broke out, although, when he lived, a feeble Nominalism probably ruled. M. Cousin has brought a good deal of evidence to prove that Rabanus Maurus was a nominalist; and in some MSS. of the tenth century the same proclivities are to be observed. Great difficulties were involved in the curious realistic tenet, 'that the whole genus

[1] A thought very similar to this has lately been brought forward by James Hinton, in *Man and his Dwelling Place.*

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existed in all its individuals, indivisibly at one and the same time, and was not in one more than another.' 'Nullus homo ullo humanior est.' The impeccability of human nature, and other curious extravagances, often resulted. For, man being made after the image of God, how could anyone sin? since that image was in one just as perfectly as another. Abélard showed the absurdity of saying that the whole of humanity could be at once in one place with Socrates, and in another with somebody else. There was this further difficulty, that each unit must participate in so many different genera and species. Not only did an individual exist in virtue of humanity, but of rationality, animality, and a hundred other ideal entities. Finally, Ockham saw the infinite confusion, and cut off the whole system from its basis, with his famous razor—'entia præter necessitatem non multiplicanda sunt.' With the triumph of nominalism commenced the break-up of all the peculiar tenets of the Middle Ages and the authority of the Church. It is curiously connected with the Reformation. As Ockham had taken the part of the Imperial power against the Papacy in temporal matters, so those who attacked the Roman Catholic doctrines were followers of his philosophy. We can well see the reason of this! The Reformers appealed more to the judgment of the individual; the Church to authority. The rebellion was of the *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον* against the beautiful idea (sadly abused) of the *τὸ καθ' ὅλον*, the authority of the Church one and indivisible.

Two different kinds of Trinitarian heresies belonged to the extremes of Nominalism and Realism. On the one hand there was a tendency to deny the unity; on the other to ignore the Personalities. It may be matter of curious psychological interest to note whether the same errors will arise in the case of those who, at the Pope's suggestion, are taught S. Thomas Aquinas as those which once followed from the system of which he is the greatest representative; for he who knows S. Thomas Aquinas has the whole of scholasticism by implication.

Nowhere does the wish to penetrate into the land beyond death find more abundant expression than in the Middle Ages. There is, in general, a great objectivity in the descriptions of the other world. Even Dante's plan admits of a very fair representation by means of a wooden sphere: so material is the conception. In the *De Divisione* (for the *Theophania* which probably dealt with this subject is lost) what little is said is from a subjective point of view. The idea of material devils, flames, and torment, was as repulsive

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to Scotus as the notion of material pleasures. Our Lord's words, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' are interpreted to mean that the good and bad will all equally live in God. In different conditions, however: these, tormented by their evil wills and the phantasms of earthly things which have long since passed away; those, penetrating by their faith into the knowledge of the Cause of all things. The joy and sorrow will therefore in both cases be mental.

It has been mentioned before that Scotus Erigena was a realist long before the famous discussion on that subject broke out. It is also true that, with the principal characteristics of scholasticism, he represents the various parties which were developed in it, the mystical as well as the logical. The mystics must not be supposed to have entirely separated from the intellectual bias of their day. They usually attended to method, and endeavoured to support their theories by syllogisms. Hugo of St. Victor, in his *De modo dicendi et meditandi*, endeavours to trace a regulated method for the soul on the road of contemplation. Richard of St. Victor sums up the most essential parts of Hugo's work, and also that of S. Bernard, into a complete theory; and, like Scotus, wished to rise from observation of ourselves to a knowledge of God. The writings which gave more impulse than any others to such speculations were those of the false Denys. Scotus came in contact with these in France, and translated them word for word at the request of Charles the Bald. Probably for this reason the translation was not much used, and soon lost. A Greek treatise on mystical theology, difficult enough in itself, was not likely to have any additional light thrown upon it by being thus transmuted into barbarous Latin. The reputation which Denys enjoyed in France was owing to his having been mistaken for the Archbishop of Paris of the same name. It was through his own writings (which reproduced many opinions of the author of the *Hierarchies*, and of their commentator, Maximus the monk), rather than this translation, that Scotus Erigena influenced his successors. The *De Divisione* has had a strange literary history. From the time that, at the request of Hincmar of Rheims, its author had become engaged in the controversy with Gotteschalcus about Predestination, his doctrines were regarded with some suspicion by the Church. The Pope attacked him, but with timidity. On the other hand, the librarian, Anastasius, paid him a high compliment, and while under the protection of Charles he was comparatively safe. Certain parts of his teaching were indeed condemned

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in different Councils, but it was not until the time of Berenger that the final blow was struck. A German Roman Catholic author instances this as a proof of the toleration extended to free speculation before the world was troubled with Luther and other reformers.[1] However this may be, it is certain that Berenger, on his condemnation, along with his own works was forced to burn those of Erigena 'infelici ligno.' From that moment the *De Divisione Naturæ* disappeared for a long time from the light of day. It was, however, secretly adopted by certain Manichæans, Pantheists, and other heretics, whose convictions and deaths, every now and then, were the only indications of an occult current of opinions running underneath the lofty structure of the Roman Church, and gradually sapping her foundations. Their principal strongholds were in the Pays de Vaud, in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine. We do not know the opinions of Amoury of Chartres, one of the chief leaders of this movement during the twelfth century, from himself. A few of those attributed to him may, however, be given. Everything is God, and God is everything. The creature and the Creator are the same. Ideas create and are created. God is said to be the end of all things; because all things will return to Him, and in Him immutably will rest. All things are one, and all things are God. God is the essence of creation. These certainly reproduce the thoughts, and almost the words, of the *De Divisione*, without, however, any of the subtle qualifications in which Scotus delighted; and the divines of the day laid them, and other more grotesque and curious notions, all upon his shoulders. Again, for the last time, in a Bull of Honorius III. (1225) we hear of a book called *Periphysis*, full of heresies, but greatly studied in the convents and schools. This book was no other than the *De Divisione Naturæ*.

Scotus had so much affinity to the more moderate mystics, and such a strange connection with the immoderate and proscribed section of the party, that we might expect to find him cited by the Germans. The school represented by Eckhard and Tauler is, however, quite silent about him. Some opinions, nevertheless, which it held either come from the same source or have been borrowed and developed from him. With God to will and to be are equal. In consequence creation is eternal. 'All creatures feel a marvellous desire to enter into their primitive state in the bosom of God. God was created in the world.' We certainly have a striking

[1] M. Gunther.



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analogy here, and it is not impossible that there may have been some transmission of ideas. We can hardly realize how much may have been imparted orally in a community where books were dear and rare. Monks wandered from convent to convent. The services, it is known, were constantly learnt by heart. Why should not some enthusiastic disciple commit to memory the works of his master? The examples given above, with their great likeness to the *De Divisione*, and slight verbal differences and inaccuracies, bear very much the stamp of such a method of communication. The fact that the *De Divisione* had been condemned would be sufficient to prevent the narrator from mentioning names, or he might not impossibly be inclined to take the credit to himself of a subtlety which was always admired in scholastic times. The disciple showed himself to be a true child of his age, when after an elaborate explanation of some difficult question by Scotus, he declares himself to be stunned—'tantum admiror *subtilitatem* rei.'

S. René Taillandier endeavours to establish the fact, that Erigena differed both from the neo-Platonist (and Denys is neo-Platonist, with a very slight veneering of Christianity) and the more extreme Mystics. The Alexandrian withdrew his God very far off. His theology was a negative one, in opposition to the Christian, which is affirmative. It also contained an esoteric element, a *gnosis*, by which the initiated might hope to penetrate even *μετὰ τὸ ἔνδον θέαμα*[1] to the very essence of the Father. Eckhart and many of the Germans, like the Alexandrians, hoped to arrive not merely at God, but at that which underlies the Three Persons. To this end that terrible 'I,' which stands between us and God, must be got rid of. In looking closely into the *De Divisione* it is impossible not to be struck with the fact, that there are strong indications of nearly all these opinions. Divinity is divided into two parts, negative and affirmative, of which the negative is very much the largest. Even the affirmative cannot be absolutely said of God, but only 'translative;' for it is very much truer to say that God is none of the things which we can predicate of Him, than that He is. On this point at least M. Guizot is right, for (assuming with M. René Taillandier the test to be affirmation or negation) the negative part of theology is stated to be the largest. So that in this very important particular we must come to the conclusion that Scotus was Alexandrian. The gnostic art is also continually mentioned,

[1] Plotinus, *Ennead VI.*, lib. 18, cap. 11.

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as well as the fact that not everyone has it, and after the return the saints are led to hope that ultimately they may penetrate beyond the causes of things made in the Son into the inmost being of God. On the contrary, it is only fair to remember that an attempt is made to preserve individuality. Finally, in the Saviour, who comes down to earth and takes upon Him humanity to save fallen nature, God is brought from the far-off heaven of Proclus or Plotinus, full of the mist and haze of speculation, very close to our hearts and knowledge. In spite of these marked Christian traits, if element be balanced against element, the most we can say of Scotus Erigena is that he endeavoured to unite pure Christianity and Alexandrian metaphysics, with the best intentions. If he failed, and only succeeded in placing two contradictories face to face, the attempt is still remarkable, and had final issue in the sensible idea of a 'Deus Analogus.'

This, with the later Schoolmen, marks the middle path between religious agnosticism (as mystical metaphysics practically came to be) and certain grossly anthropomorphic theories. Scotus, first, during the Middle Ages attempted philosophically the moderate way, which at all events avoids the mistake of declaring God to be absolutely unknowable, and then predicating of Him certain attributes and tendencies: an error committed during the Scholastic period and since it.

The manner in which things exist, and their relation to our knowledge of them, as set forth in the *De Divisione Naturæ*, are noteworthy. Take numbers as an example.

Whence?—From the monad.

Where?—In the intellect.

How?—By various steps. From the intellect into the reason, from the reason into the memory, from the memory into the corporeal senses, and, if it is necessary for teaching, by a last step, from the senses into visible figures. But not only do they pass through the mind, but also through exterior nature. Two streams, in fact, are poured forth from the Cause; one has an interior, the other an exterior course. The exterior sense receives the phantasms of these outside things, and refers them to the interior sense, which collects, arranges, divides them, and arrives at the reasons of which they are the manifestations, by the help of the other current. The soul has three motions, 'secundum animum, secundum rationem, secundum sensum.' By the first it is moved round God, but cannot know Him, because of His excellence, either in essence, or in substance, or in anything which can be understood or said. By the second motion we recognize God as the Cause



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of all. The part played by the third, which belongs to sense, is as given above. But when it deserts the phantasms of visible things and understands pure reason, the third announces the reasons of visible things through the second to the first. The first refers whatever it thus receives, or has immediately, from the second to the unknown, as the foundation of all things. M. Hauréau appears to be unable to understand these movements. A little patience, however, in clearing off the cloud of argumentation and disentangling the various threads of thought will show them to be no more mysterious than any other metaphysical conception. In ordinary language, the author's meaning may be thus stated, with very fair accuracy. The soul is in contact with an unknown. It acknowledges God as the Cause of all things, and knows the causes made as one in Him. It also receives impressions from outside things and attributes them to these causes. Finally it recognizes that the God which is the Cause is also the Unknown. The soul of man has, therefore, a sort of connexion and parallelism with the three persons of the blessed Trinity,[1] and the movement of universal nature as it takes place through them. For first we have the unknown God, then the causes of all things, made as one in the Son by Him, which causes are separated and produced into their effects by the Holy Spirit. These effects return to the Unknown, in the same manner as the third motion refers the causes of all things to the first.

We may, perhaps, smile at the perverted ingenuity of a plan so elaborately thought out. But we must remember that, even in scientific research, no amount of collections of facts and observations would be of the slightest value in attaining to general laws, unless we could build a theory upon them afterwards to be submitted to proper tests. This power of forming theories was immensely stimulated and strengthened during the Middle Ages, for which we have cause to be grateful to those who satisfied neither the sense of beauty nor that of reason.

The curious results obtained by an attempt to explain physical phenomena without due verification are thus exemplified :—

'Who is ignorant that the eye is a certain corporeal part of the head, and a moist one, through which the sight is projected, and spread abroad in the manner of rays from the membrane of the brain, which in its turn receives its luminous nature from the heart, which is the seat of fire? For sight is the emission of natural light, leaping

[1] The idea of likening the soul to the Trinity was borrowed from S. Augustine, and repeated continually during the Middle Ages.

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outwards in rays, which, when it surrounds the colours and forms of exterior sensible bodies, with wonderful speed becomes conformed to them. For the vision of forms and colours of corporeal things is a certain image, made according to them, in the rays of the eyes, which without any delay is instantly received by the sense and fixed in the memory of the sentient.'

If this was the case it is hard to understand why we should not see in the dark, unless indeed the heart at certain periods ceased to give out its light. Scotus possibly would have met the difficulty in this manner if it had been propounded to him. Even the distances between the earth and the heavenly bodies were to be fixed in accordance with the laws of music. Here the style, which is in general far above the level of the Schoolmen, becomes quite poetical:—

'. . . Ether, that furthest space of all, is most serene and quiet, with an eternal silence, except for the harmonies, songs, and consonances of the planets, far surpassing all mortal sense of tone and semi-tone in their delicacy, as they glide with the subtlest motions of fire, full of the light of day, beyond that little space where earth's shadow is thrown.'

The beauties of the sky discoursed eloquently to the imagination even then, though it had not as yet been said that—

> 'There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims.'

The few specimens of verse belonging to Scotus Erigena which have been preserved are not very beautiful, however interesting they may be. These lines, rescued from oblivion by M. Ravaisson, contain a great deal of common sense, a quality not usually sought for in poetry:—

> 'Quisquis Rhetorico verborum syrmate gaudet,
> Quærat grandiloquos Tullia Castra petens,
> At mihi sat fuerit si planos carpere sensus
> Possem tardiloquos, pragmata sola sequens.
> Interior virtus sermonum rite tenenda;
> Verborum bombi fallere sæpe solent.
> Si quis in ambobus divino munere pollet,
> Hic primum debet jure tenere modum.
> Sed si perspicuos sensus vix voce loquaris
> Sis quoque contentus; nam meliora tenes.
> Si meliora tenes, quænam tibi cura tenere
> Quæ sunt inferius! semper in alta pete.'[1]

[1] These lines, among others, occur in a translation of S. Maximus, to be found in the Library of the Arsenal in France.

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The sentiments here announced correspond so precisely with those of Abélard, in a poem addressed to his son Astrolabius, that we might believe them to belong to the same writer :—

> 'Fructu non foliis pomorum quisque cibatur,
> Et sensus verbis ante-ferendus erit.
> Ornatis animos captet persuasio verbis,
> Doctrinæ magis est debita planities.
> Copia verborum est ubi non est copia sensus,
> Constat et errantem multiplicare vias.'

Thus two men, each great in his age, distinctly point out what the object of the Schoolmen was. They wished to penetrate beyond words to their sense, 'counting everything eloquent that was expressive,' as Fuller remarks. Their jejune style was in fact, as much as anything else, a revolt against the rhetoric of the time. The books which purported to teach the art of persuasion were full of tropes and every imaginable figure of speech, elaborated and arranged after such a fashion as to resemble ingenious word-puzzles. Oratory thus hampered must have been a burden to the speaker, and inexpressibly wearying to the audience. Well, indeed, might Abélard say, 'Copia verborum est ubi non est copia sensus.' The Schoolmen fell into the opposite mistake, of despising beauty of diction altogether. In spite of this, we owe much to them for adding precision to words. In the preface to the chapter of Mill's *Logic*, entitled 'The necessity of commencing with an analysis of language,' are two quotations from Condorcet and Sir William Hamilton, in which this fact is fully acknowledged.

Perhaps it is not often apprehended how very little, except style, literature owes to the Renaissance. Providentially the impact of the Greek and Roman classics on the European mind took place at a propitious moment, and so struck out light. Nearly all the philosophical ideas of antiquity were by the end of the fourteenth century well known to the world. Even Scotus Erigena, in the ninth, possessed a considerable number of Plato's thoughts, and was not at all unacquainted with Aristotle, whose predicables he took the liberty of altering, not from ignorance, but to suit his own realistic system. He was quite enough of a Greek scholar to know the difference between *ποιότης, ποσότης, κεῖθος, ἕξις, τόπος, χρόνος,* and *ποῖον, πόσον, κεῖσθαι, ἔχειν, ποῦ, πότε.* How he became acquainted with Greek at all is a mystery. Virgilius, who left Ireland on a foreign mission about the middle of the eighth century, is said to have been accompanied by a Greek Bishop

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called Dubda, and Usher tells us that there was a Greek Church at Trim, which was so called even to his time.[1] Scotus, who is generally supposed to have been educated in Ireland, may perhaps have attained his knowledge in that country. Still we can put little reliance on such slight indications that the mother tongue of Plato and Aristotle was known there. Bede tells us that the disciples of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the fellow-countryman of S. Paul, could speak Greek as well as their own language, and yet a short time afterwards, too short for such an acquisition to have been altogether lost, the clergy were so ignorant as hardly to know Latin. It may more probably have been to his connection with France—for at Arles, Aix, and Lyons, there was a great infusion of the Hellenic element—that the translator of Denys owed his precious knowledge. However that may be, he was exceedingly proud of it: not unnaturally, for even the learned S. Thomas Aquinas, at a much later period, was obliged to get translations of Aristotle made for himself. His prose writings, and even poems, are, in consequence, interspersed with Greek words. It is because of this peculiarity that M. Ravaisson has been enabled to recognize and recover some pieces of his that were supposed to be lost.

The symbolic manner of interpreting Scripture, it will be allowed on all sides, was often much exaggerated during the Middle Ages. Not content with confining himself to morals, Scotus Erigena applied this method to everything. Any meaning except the obvious and natural, or even the naturally symbolic, was quite certain to be the one which he would fix on. When the earth is said to be void, in the account of the Creation, it is because of its ineffable intellectual nature. 'And there was darkness.' For before the primordial causes proceeded into their effects no intellect could understand them. Heaven represented the causes of intelligible and celestial things; earth of corporeal and sensible—and so on.

In spite of this inclination to be carried away by the easiness of applying ingenious theories to expressions which were never meant to contain them, M. Ravaisson has brought to light part of a very beautiful homily on the Gospel of S. John, cleverly compiled and developed from ideas to be found in the Fathers. In it we are told that Peter is the type of action and faith. John that of contemplation and knowledge.[2]

[1] See Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 259 *sqq.*

[2] The similarity between this passage and S. John Chrysost. in *Johan. Homil.* lxxxviii. is obvious.

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The one leant upon our Lord's breast—which is the sacrament of contemplation: the other many a time slipped, for he is the symbol of wavering action. Before action can carry out the Divine commands, sometimes its judgment is able to discern what virtue is, sometimes it is deceived and darkened by clouds of carnal thoughts. But the keenness of that knowledge which is within, when it has once looked upon the face of truth, in vain is beaten back, never is deceived, by no darkness is obscured for ever. Both ran to the Tomb. The Tomb of Christ is the Divine Scripture, in which the mystery of His Humanity and Divinity is contained, as in a Rock. John ran faster than Peter, for the power of the contemplative virtue, already purified, penetrates deeper into the secrets of God than that of action, which has to be purified. Peter enters first, because it is necessary to believe before we can understand. Faith, therefore, necessarily goes first. Then the intellect follows through the entrance made for it by faith. Most high soared Peter when he said, 'Thou art the Son of the Living God;' but he went higher who understood that that same Christ was 'God of God before all time, the spiritual-winged, swift-flying, God-seeing S. John.'

Nothing can be more appropriate than this fine piece of Christian symbolism is, in the original. The whole idea is well amplified and carried out. The leading points of comparison were renewed by M. de Schelling in a course of religious philosophy applied to history. The whole of the homily on S. John is worth reading, both for its[1] theological interest, and because it contains a brilliant *résumé* of the most essential parts of Scotus Erigena's doctrine.

There is often a striking resemblance between the ideas of modern philosophers and those of the Schoolmen. Hume, in his essay on 'Association,' has produced the main thoughts of a commentary of S. Thomas Aquinas on the *Parva naturalia* of Aristotle, in the same order as those of the angelical doctor. There can be no doubt that the famous sceptic had derived his information from this unlikely source, as Sir James Macintosh saw some odd volumes of S. Thomas Aquinas, containing the commentary on the *Parva naturalia*, which had belonged to Hume, with annotations in his handwriting.

Descartes' proof of the existence of God is essentially

[1] The commentary of Scotus Erigena, coupled with that of Rupert of Deutz, is spoken of by Professor Westcott as interesting and even containing some careful expositions of the text. Introduction to Gospel of S. John.—*Speaker's Commentary, New Test.* vol. 2, p. xcv.

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the same as that which was first distinctly laid down by S. Anselm. There are few of the principles announced by Duns Scotus, which could not be compressed into Fichte's bold formulary, 'the subjective produces the objective.' Hauréau calls Erigena the predecessor of Bruno, Vanini, Spinoza. Perhaps, however, his likeness to Hegel is more striking than to any of these. Strip the meaning of the *De Divisione* of its different phraseology, and the crowd of divisions and of sub-divisions which obscure it, and the Absolute stands out in universal nature—the term which unites being and not being, the finite and the Infinite —the identity of all contradictories. This Absolute also issues out of itself in nature and returns enriched. There is a continual movement with Hegel from moment to moment. With Scotus there is also a motion, though its progress is not thus marked. Hegel, when pressed into particulars, would declare, of a stone for instance, that it was both a stone and not a tree. His predecessor said that an angel was both an angel and not a man. They have also in common that nothing—not a pure nothing—out of which something is to be evolved. Hegel's disciples were well aware of the resemblance which their master bore to mediæval thinkers; and tried to prove that he had succeeded in what they had merely attempted, using the same method—intuition —which is the 'visio intellectualis' of Scotus. Nothing so absurd is here intended as the complete identification of two systems which with some likeness have many dissimilarities. Still it is interesting to notice the seeds, scattered here and there among forgotten writers, of thoughts which have won fame for their more brilliant successors.

Since the life of Shakespeare is wrapped in obscurity, it is not surprising that little is known of our author's personal history. Whether he was named Erigena from having been educated in Ireland or born there; whether Eriuva in Hereford had the glory of being his birthplace; whether there were two men of the same name: if so, whether they were both martyred, and several other questions, have been debated at great length. The word Scotus was at that time applied to the Scotch and Irish indiscriminately, and it is quite unnecessary to go out of our way by supposing that Erigena is derived from Eriuva, especially as there is no evidence, except similarity of sound, to support the idea. The epithet Hibernicus is, moreover, continually applied to him. It is, therefore, probably safe to conjecture that he was either Irish or Scotch, and had been educated in Ireland at some of

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the famous monastic schools there, such as Bangor in the County Down. Once arrived at the Court of Charles the Bald he was immediately seen to tower above all his contemporaries from the fact of knowing Greek, by means of which he could penetrate deep into the mysteries of an intellectual world, whose echoes sounded very faintly across an intervening sea of turmoil and ignorance. Although not what would now be termed a scholar, his knowledge was much superior in kind to that of an early English hermit, to whose incessant prayers his Lord had granted the Latin tongue; but, as he pathetically adds, 'non mihi dedit per casus et grammaticam.' Scotus was accordingly placed at the head of the School of the Palace, and as the Court was not stationary some diffusion of learning must have taken place through the country. From that moment his name is conspicuous among the most remarkable of the age. Unfortunately for himself, although he does not appear to have been naturally of a disputatious turn, he became, at the request of others, mixed up in the bitter controversies of the day. In the dispute about predestination, Hincmar of Rheims, who was more a man of the world than a theologian, and Pardulus of Laon, commissioned him to write against Goteschalcus. He argued very strongly in opposition to the theory of a double predestination, that it was impossible that God, who is good, could ever have destined any of His creatures to eternal torment. 'Jesus Christ is the death of eternal death, and God predestines no one to death, because He is life.' The heresy of Pelagius suppresses grace, the opposite extreme destroys liberty; but Goteschalcus, worse than either, suppresses both liberty and grace. Scotus, however, in developing his arguments, went so far as to lay himself open to the accusation of denying eternal punishment, and became, in consequence, odious to both parties. The Councils of Valence and Langres in 855 and 859 pronounced against some of his doctrines. He appears, nevertheless, to have suffered very little molestation during his life, probably because he enjoyed the friendship of a powerful monarch, and a great reputation for personal sanctity.

When Radbertus brought out his treatise on the Sacrament, in which the bread and wine is said to be absolutely the Body and Blood of Christ which hung upon the cross, Erigena was again so unfortunate as to go beyond the opposite party, who believed that the elements were indeed the Body and Blood, but only mystically so, by maintaining that the Lord's Supper is merely commemorative. At least, that is said to have

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been his opinion, for his *De Cœna* is lost. Certain it is, that Berenger, nearly two centuries afterwards, was forced to burn that work along with his own books.

When and how he died is unknown. He came into the light of history and passed out of it again as mysteriously as the famous bird which in the evening flew from darkness into darkness, through the Saxon king's illuminated hall. M. Taillandier shows pretty conclusively that he cannot have been the same as that Johannes Scotus who was killed by two of his monks; nor did he give up the ghost at Malmesbury, where he had been placed by Alfred, in heavy and bitter torment, stabbed to death by the pens of his scholars.

When any great man is lost to sight about whose character we possess a few facts, imagination is always busy in piecing them together and making a complete whole. We seem to see Johannes Scotus Erigena as the ideal head of a great philosophical and theological college; learned, religious, and sedate, but with sufficient humour dearly to enjoy his joke at an opportune moment. Such a moment, it is said, once occurred when Charles and his guests were assembled round the table after dinner. 'Quid intersit,' said that Monarch, 'inter Scotum et Sottum?' 'Tabula tantum,' was the reply: a repartee considered amazingly 'merry and facete' in the time of William of Malmesbury. From this story he appears to have been on very intimate terms with his patron; and it speaks much for his real worth that under such trying circumstances he was able to preserve a high place in his esteem, which, as far as we know, was never lost. In his writings he is always inclined to the merciful side. In controversy, less bitter than any contemporary author, he did not on occasions shrink from following out premisses to their conclusions, even at the risk of alienating friends. Still, like Erasmus, he was not the stuff of which martyrs are made.

When the turmoil and opposition of the outside world became too strong, he quietly withdrew into his academical life. We know that he did not write anything after 875, and this is the last date which can be fixed in his career. As history, which usually deals in tragedies, is silent about him after this, it may not perhaps be too hopeful to believe that he passed a quiet old age, and died at last in his bed.

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## ART. IX.—THE PROVINCE OF SCEPTICISM AND THE LIMITS OF FREE THOUGHT.

1. *The Creed of Science.* By WILLIAM GRAHAM. (London: 1881.)
2. *Evenings with the Sceptics.* By JOHN OWEN. (London: 1881.)
3. *Papers of the National Church Reform Union.* (London: 1881.)

THERE is no question as to the fascination of Free Thought. For young and ardent minds freedom of any kind, whether of thought or action, has most natural charms; and for such minds freedom would seem to be the peculiar and inalienable characteristic of thought. 'Free as air' and 'fancy free' are the terms in which seem to run the charter of their intellectual liberties. Moreover, it is more than possible, it is undoubtedly the fact, that in this, as in other matters, unwise restrictions and undue attempts on the part of Authority to repress the speculations of adventurous minds, have frequently produced their natural result in causing such minds to run riot, and to carry liberty into excess.

Hence the history both of Philosophy and of Religion has been a history of reactions. The inquisitiveness of mankind has been checked in one direction, only to reappear with fresh vigour in another, whilst Authority has never failed after a time to reassert its claims, until the warfare has broken out afresh.

At present it would seem to be the turn of Scepticism. In science the old positions have been assailed one after another, and their assailants have scarcely had time to establish themselves in the seats of their predecessors before they have been assailed in turn, and had to retire before the advancing foe. It is, however, in the department of religion that the contest is most marked and most determined. There Authority has been most ruthlessly dislodged from her throne, whilst Scepticism boldly assumes the sceptre, and acknowledges no limit to her sway. The free-thinker claims absolute independence of Authority as such. He demands freedom from all which is conventionally received as true; freedom from the dictation of the past and from the prejudices of the present. *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*, he professes to approach every subject *tabulâ rasâ*, and the more sacred the

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subject in hand, the more unreservedly does he claim to liberate himself from the restraints which prejudice or custom or timidity have imposed upon its treatment. Nor is he in the least embarrassed by that sense of responsibility which certainly should act as a check in questioning received opinions, in attacking the objects of other men's reverence and, it may be, shaking the foundations of their moral convictions.

It is obvious that Free Thought, whilst canvassing without reserve the claims of Authority, must submit her own claims to a fair and impartial investigation. In the very nature of things, Scepticism is itself the proper subject of examination. It were surely an act of dogmatism, from which the Sceptic should be the first to shrink, to put forth paramount claims to independence, and at the same time to repel the criticism which it so freely exercises.

Now it seems to us that such an examination as we propose may lead to conclusions of no ordinary interest and importance; that we shall be able to assign to the sceptic an office of considerable dignity and influence, and to concede to him a legitimate position from which his opponents have most unwisely attempted to exclude him. It is most important that the disciples of Authority and the maintainers of dogma—amongst whom we claim most distinctly to be numbered—should allow that Scepticism, that name of evil reputation among many minds, has, when rightly exercised, a legitimate office in the search for truth, and a most healthy action upon dogma itself; whilst, on the other hand, it will probably appear that Scepticism has an inveterate tendency to exceed all due bounds, and to defeat the very purpose of its existence by losing itself in absolute vacuity.

Now Scepticism is on its better side the inquiry for Truth; and for Truth, not as conventionally presented to us, but as it is in itself, divested of those incrustations of prejudice with which an unreasoning acceptance has in the course of ages been certain to encumber it. Whether Truth, thus pure and unalloyed, is really attainable by the human intellect, or if attained could be held in its grasp for a moment, is not now the question before us; but the desire and the attempt so to reach and so to possess it is clearly one with which we are bound to sympathize. Socrates, whom all the world has learned to honour, even perhaps sometimes in excess of his merits, was a sceptic in philosophy, Galileo in science, Augustine and Luther alike in theology. The man who meeting with the miraculous in Christianity investigates the nature of a miracle and asks whether it be possible is, so far, a sceptic. He,

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again, who being taught to pray, investigates the nature and efficacy of prayer; or who, finding himself confronted by a system of sacramental grace, searches both into the authority upon which the doctrine rests, and into the nature and operation of that grace of which the doctrine teaches, is, again, so far a sceptic. In short, every man of quick intelligence and of reflective habit, who in the maturity of his reasoning faculties searches into the deeper and more exact meaning of those formulas which as a child he implicitly and without examination accepted—throws them into the crucible of his own mind, and tests them by reflection and by experience—is so far a sceptic. With such an exercise of reason no one can with propriety find fault; it is no less than an obligation resting upon strong and vigorous minds, and in fact a part, and a painful part, of their necessary trial. At the same time we would have it particularly observed, first, that we by no means nor for an instant imply that such an independent examination of the terms of their traditionary creed is the duty of all, or indeed of any but a comparatively very small proportion, of mankind. It can indeed be incumbent only upon such as are by natural powers and by subsequent training qualified for a task of peculiar and oftentimes most distressing difficulty. And such minds should accept the task only under a most serious sense of responsibility, and with the consciousness of enormous interests at stake, no less, it may be, than the peace and happiness of a whole life. Secondly, it is of the greatest importance that such persons should carefully inform themselves of the limitations under which any single mind, or indeed any aggregate of minds, can address themselves to the task. Thirdly, we would distinctly state that whilst for those whom we have in view the work in question is in fact inevitable, and such as they can neither honestly nor advantageously decline, there is no reason in the world to conclude that the result will be in the direction of unbelief. The process of inquiry may indeed not improperly be termed sceptical—confining the term to its etymological and better sense—but it may, and we believe, *ought* to issue in the more distinct conception, and the more tenacious grasp of the object of faith.

But what, we may ask meanwhile, is meant by Freedom of Thought? Is it that the mind is free as the bird upon the wing? Suppose this to be so: yet the bird that soars so gaily, and apparently in such unfettered flight, is limited by many inexorable conditions. The strength of its wing, the region of its food, the state of the surrounding atmosphere,

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determine all those gyrations which seem so spontaneous and unconstrained. Nay, which is still more remarkable, the very weight and solidity of its body, that very property which seems to drag it down and check its flight, is absolutely essential to its soaring at all. Without it, it would be the sport of every breath of air, and could shape no course, nor poise itself even for an instant.

The mind then which sallies forth in search of truth (of such as weakly despair of truth we speak not) finds itself limited by many conditions, over most of which it can exercise really no control; whilst that somewhat narrow individuality, that unavoidable implication in certain personal interests, as for example, the affections, tastes, traditionary views, local ties and colouring, which seem so injuriously to interfere with the freedom of its speculation, are in fact absolutely necessary to steady it, to give it aim and direction as well as motive power. There must be a point from which to commence even if we assign none which is to conclude our labours. Philosophers themselves are but human beings, not floating entities drifting emotionless in search of the unknown.

The first and most obvious of those conditions which limit the free range of thought is the real narrowness of the powers of the mind which thinks. And yet, evident as this limitation may be, it is constantly lost sight of by thinkers, especially by such as delight in the distinction *par excellence* of Free Thinkers. It may, therefore, be as well to mention one or two instances of this restriction. Take, for example, all that class of questions which involve the idea of eternity; the eternity of God, of the soul, of matter; or the eternity of a condition of existence, as of heaven or hell, of reward or punishment. Now it is perfectly certain that in these matters any conclusions at which Reason in the freest exercise of her powers can arrive, are no more than approximations, and very faint approximations, to the truth. Our conceptions of eternity are at the best but purely negative; yet are there no subjects upon which 'Thinkers' will dogmatize more unreservedly. It is surely in most unphilosophical forgetfulness of the necessary limitation of their powers that several modern writers, and those not always ill-disposed towards Christianity,[1] have adopted the habit of speaking of the eternity of matter as necessary to our conception of the eternity of God. One is inclined to ask such writers whether it is, indeed, more easy

[1] See Professor Blackie, *Lay Sermons*, Appendix on the Metaphysics of Genesis i.

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to conceive of the eternity of matter or of God; or, indeed, whether the eternity of matter be more within the reach of our conception than its creation. Reason by its utmost effort can get no further in the problem than the world resting upon the elephant, and the elephant upon the tortoise, and the tortoise upon nothing.

Nor, indeed, does this limitation rest less imperatively upon the whole subject of ontology. In speculating upon creation, Free Thought has neither analogies from which, nor language in which, to reason. Man must be content to accept from Him, who is at once the Eternal and the Creator, the truths alike of His essential being and of His creative acts. Both lie beyond the range of his investigation, however true it may be that his moral nature suggests many of the attributes of Deity, and his physical researches reveal some glimpses of the later processes of creation. Finite in his capacities, man fails to comprehend the infinite. Has he, therefore, a right to deny that which lies beyond the limits of his intellectual grasp? Surely this were a most extraordinary and unphilosophical conclusion: to deny God and eternity is to rest the claim to transcendental knowledge upon the very ground of ignorance.

But it is not alone by the limited extent of its intellectual powers that the free thought of the soul is restrained. It will find another and no less important restriction in the conditions of its moral constitution. This is a matter deserving the most serious and the most candid consideration. There are questions which our moral nature will as little permit us to raise as our intellectual powers will enable us to solve them; and pre-eminent among these is the great problem of all, the existence and authority of God. If the Being of God be not capable of exact demonstration, it is not because it is in the least uncertain, but because it lies out of the range of such proof, and is antecedent to it. It is not an open question for mere speculation to deal with upon simply intellectual grounds, with so many probabilities in its favour, and so many probabilities against it. On the contrary, the conclusions of the soul upon this momentous question—often so lightly raised, and discussed with so much flippancy—are determined mainly by certain facts of its own being, and by its own spiritual instincts. The voice of conscience and the force of the affections enter irresistibly into the inquiry here, and exercise upon speculation a control as wise as reasonable, and as reasonable as natural. The consciousness of right and wrong, the sense of the Divine Law throughout the universe,

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and the instinctive dependence of the soul upon some higher being of infinite perfection, are as truly facts of the universe as the law of gravity, or as each man's conviction of his own identity; and if these absolute facts are not to be otherwise accounted for or satisfied than by the admission of the Divine Being, then the soul is estopped *in limine*, and restrained from doing violence to nature. Free Thought, to exercise its office aright, must recognize the limitations which are imposed by our moral nature. *Conscience is greater than reason*, even though it be true that she does act by and through the reason. And the philosopher not only may, but ought to, doubt those conclusions of his intellect which contradict his moral instincts.

The above may be considered as arising within the intellectual and moral constitution of the thinker; but there are other limitations to Free Thought external to the man himself, which it will be no less important that he should bear in mind. The first of these is involved in considerations of peculiar delicacy, and we can anticipate the air of superiority with which some more adventurous spirits may be disposed to set it aside. We refer to what we hold to be the legitimate claims of authority, and the deference which the present owes to the past. From the tone of our opening remarks we hope it will be understood that we are by no means the advocates of a blind, unreasoning submission, of a surrender of the rights of private judgment, or a forgetfulness of personal responsibility. Such an attitude would be utterly unsuited to the class of minds which we have in view, and quite inconsistent with that spirit of inquiry and that love of truth which is their leading characteristic. But then, like everything else in this world, freedom itself must give way to facts, and reason must consent to be guided by facts. And the past is a fact. We repeat it. The past is a fact, and a fact as truly as the present, and, we suppose we may add, more truly than the future. The present, if it inherits many of the follies and mistakes of the past, inherits also its accumulated experience, and that wisdom which is derived from experience; and it is from this that it derives its manifold advantages over the past. It is clear, then, that if the past stand in the relation of teacher to the present, it must be invested with something of the authority of that relation, and its dicta must be accepted with something of respect. It is quite true that that authority may become exaggerated, and that that acceptance may be so implicit as to become the restriction rather than the support of know-



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ledge ; but every student must avail himself of the labours of his predecessors, and their conclusions will for a considerable time control and direct his researches. As time advances he will no doubt emancipate himself from their influence, or at the least occupy a position considerably in advance of theirs, but in the meantime he must be a thinker distinguished rather for presumption than for modesty, who in their several departments of thought yields nothing to the authority of names such as Aristotle, Plato, S. Augustine, Pascal, Bacon, Newton, Mill, &c. &c. We say to the authority of their names apart from the cogency of their demonstrations. Free Thought, in its legitimate action, assuredly does not imply disregard of authority such as this: it may not ultimately be bound by any consensus of opinion, but it must clearly adopt it as an important factor in the formation of its own opinions.

Now, let us apply this to that somewhat rash denial of the Supreme Being, and that unblushing announcement of materialism, which is so characteristic of the *pensées libres* of the present day. The experience of mankind must surely go for something in a question which like this is eminently practical as well as philosophical, and the man who launches himself, as it were, in a balloon and commits himself to the upper currents of an untried atmosphere, in search of speculative truth upon such a point, were wise at least to take somewhat of ballast to steady his course, even if he cut through the cords that hold him to the *terra firma* of fixed belief. If the greatest minds of antiquity have not only entertained the belief in God, but have strained their efforts more and more to give clearness and definition to the conceptions of natural reason concerning Him ; and those great minds which have lived and thought in the light of the Christian revelation have rejoiced in their clearer knowledge, and have been enabled by their more firm and distinct grasp of this truth to give force and consistency to their moral systems ; surely this fact must form some element in the computations of Free Thought : it cannot be discarded as of no weight or consequence. Nor again does freedom of thought imply freedom from all considerations of reverence or prudence. Suppose, as is the fact, that the authority of God has hitherto formed the basis of all systems of morality, and that human law has invariably appealed to the divine law for its sanction ; and suppose further that no other basis has been found, or even reasonably suggested, upon which morality can ultimately rest, or from which human administration may draw its sanctions ; that Atheism threatens to dissolve society, to

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break up domestic ties, to annihilate conscience, and to destroy order: are considerations like these no legitimate limitations of the freedom of speculation? Yet nothing can exceed the *sang-froid* with which men enter upon speculations like these, and cast both wisdom and experience to the winds. Perhaps it is altogether beneath the dignity of such *penseurs libres* to take account of consequences, and it may be that we are wandering from the point when we suggest such considerations. The reply may be, 'perish law, perish conscience, perish society, perish all and everything, so that truth prevail.' Well, be it so, and we must consent to our own extermination. But then, putting aside all thought of consequences, is there not a modest probability that the consensus of humanity may be right, and that that which contradicts its common instincts may not be 'truth' after all? And let us remember that it is truth, not heated prejudice or unsupported theory, which is the aim and object of Free Thought.

But there are other limitations of a somewhat different kind, which must in some measure control the conclusions at which the most ambitious thinkers must arrive. We mean those facts of history which undeniably do exist, and must be accounted for. Take for example the historic fact of the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth, whom Christians revere as their Lord. For, be it understood, both that life and character are facts of history. As such it is simply puerile to assail them. The records of the one and the estimate of the other have survived every conceivable attack from every hostile quarter. That Jesus of Nazareth did live, and so live as to win the loving adoration of His followers, and to extort the unwilling admiration of His enemies, are facts, and facts of history, which cannot be disproved, unless history itself succumb. Well, then, many of the professors of Free Thought have of late years sailed high upon the scientific currents, and have at once and without reserve denied the very possibility of miracles. Whatever recognition they might be willing to give to the supernatural, they certainly had none for the miraculous, which is, we suppose, the supernatural in contact with the natural. To admit it was either simply childish or simply dishonest, dishonest on the part of sacerdotal pretenders, or childish on the part of their dupes. Yet here was a great historic fact to be accounted for: the fact of the life and character of Jesus inextricably involved in miracle. Of course there were attempts to get rid of the one and of the other. Mythical theories, ethical theories, critical theories by the score: but the effort to get rid of the



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fact utterly and entirely failed. But if that historic life and character remained, could not they be disconnected from miracle? This too was tried, with but sorry success. It is true that there arose within the Church a school which strove to give assistance in this matter: the amiable school of Philochristus and his fellows. But that feeble theology was far more in need of support than able to contribute it, and it was felt that if Jesus did not heal the sick, nor still the storm, nor raise the dead—in short, did no miracle—nothing remained of that life or character which had commanded the veneration of mankind, and which was still held up to our reverence and affection. The mirror was broken, and consequently the reflection gone. Now, the philosopher, thinking freely upon miracles, cannot with propriety neglect a fact like this. If, as one may fairly assume as proved, the history be neither absolute falsehood nor explained by the mythical hypothesis, his theory must be so constructed as to harmonize with it, and the difficulty of thus harmonizing a theory absolutely denying miracles is, to say the least, extreme. Our firm conviction is that no such theory can be sustained, even irrespectively of this difficulty; and that Free Thought, if it be also fair thought, will be brought to acknowledge this.

Another fact which must be accounted for in all speculation upon subjects of this class is the existence and very peculiar character of Holy Scripture. We are not asking here for an implicit acceptance of the statements of Scripture simply as a concession to its authority. Such implicit assent can only be required of those who already admit its claims to be, or to contain, a revelation of divine truth. The mind sails forth in freedom to speculate upon the nature and will of God, and the relation in which His moral creatures stand to Him; and it is met *in limine* with the phenomenon of a record for which is claimed no less than inspiration. The collection of documents for which this claim is made not only distinctly asserts the existence of God, but—and to this point we would direct especial attention—presents to us a conception of His nature and His attributes, which in the particulars of purity, holiness and majesty, immeasurably excels all the ideals which human reason has been able otherwise to conceive. It is true that neither Scripture itself nor those who accept its inspired authority present us with any complete or formal theory of inspiration. It is quite possible that the human mind is in truth incapable of formulating such a theory; but it is not less possible to accept the inspiration of

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such a volume without being at the same time able to define it. Otherwise we should not be justified in believing in the human intellect, because we cannot draw the line between it and the memory or reasoning powers of the lower animals, nor in being assured of the reality of life, because we have never yet succeeded in discovering wherein life consists. A man may very reasonably be sensible of warmth, who is ignorant of the origin or laws of heat. And the whole world must continue both deaf and dumb, if an absolute demonstration of the nature of light and sound be a condition precedent of sight and hearing. Anyhow, then, the fact remains that mankind have derived their loftiest conceptions of the Deity, together with their purest standard of morals, and the most elevated tone of their spiritual being, from a work proceeding from an obscure Semitic nation, and in its later and most important portion from men of humble station and most restricted education. And a fact of a similar kind is the absolutely unique character of the history and fortunes of that same petty nation. These facts, and many more which might be mentioned, are surely of too great and too marked significance to be omitted in any serious speculations upon the spiritual and moral relations of mankind: and yet they seem scarcely to receive the serious attention of the modern votaries of Free Thought, but are discarded as really of no weight and deserving no consideration from men of enlarged views and superior understanding. Indeed, it may in some measure explain, if it do not excuse, the contempt with which modern *penseurs libres* treat Holy Scripture, that few seem to have read it with any care, and that they are for the most part superlatively scornful, because superlatively ignorant, of its contents.

It is with no little hesitation that we venture to refer to one other cause which has a constant tendency to warp the views of ambitious 'thinkers,' and to diminish most seriously the permanent value of their speculations. It is painful to suggest that *penseurs libres* may at any time be the unconscious victims of other than philosophic influences. But so it is, and, little as men are aware of it, it requires a very strong and resolute mind to free itself from the tyranny of the time, from the narrow and bigoted sway of the 'spirit of the age.'

There is a current in human thought like those in various parts of the ocean, and it is precisely when the ship is set free, and the anchors drawn and the cables hauled in, that the current is most felt. It is the free ship which is its unresisting victim. What, we may ask, is meant by the phrase so often

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heard at present, that 'a wave of sentiment,' a 'democratic wave,' 'an atheistic wave,' is passing over European nations: what, but that men yield themselves captives to the prevailing sentiment of the society in which they move, and whilst they imagine themselves free are driven by a current that is in truth their master? It is not alone in philosophy or religion or in politics that this is true. It is so in poetry, in art, in science, and in all thought. When great Homer sang the tale of Troy divine, how many thousand little Homers piped their small heroics. A generation past the world was sick with Byronets; and there still are poets who perhaps would have been great if Tennyson had not cruelly robbed them of their originality. Nor is this same impulse unfelt in other directions. No doubt the Church has been subject from time to time to the like waves of doctrine. A generation intensely objective is succeeded by one as intensely subjective, and that perhaps by a period of coldness and indifference; then the cycle recommences, and men who imagine themselves to be original are carried onward by 'the stream of tendency.' At present there are indications of most dangerous currents into which the stream of religious as of political thought is setting, and both Church and State might gladly welcome that free mind which could stem the tide, and bend it into more safe directions. For the truly 'Free Thought' will oftenest be in opposition to the current of the age; it will thus be isolated, and therefore, for a time at least, obscure. The popular orator, the persuasive demagogue, the eloquent and much-sought preacher, are seldom in possession of such intellectual freedom. Oftenest led where they appear to lead, they are the creatures of that sentiment which they seem to create; whilst probably some unknown student, some hermit in a cell, some mind of strange and crooked conformation, some eccentric dreamer, as men think him, may ride the tempest and command the storm. The world oftentimes knows as little of its real rulers as of its benefactors, and if such men are recognized at all, it is in the succeeding generation, when they are in their graves. Sometimes it has been said that no man can be greatly in advance of his age in knowledge, or greatly superior to it in moral sentiment. It were ill for mankind if this were true. They who are to work great reformation in society, in morals, in philosophy or in religion, must exercise vigorous and independent thought; they must strike athwart the stream of popular sentiment, call into action new currents of feeling, till at last they have mastered the main tide, and caused it to flow in a new

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channel. But this is the work of few, of men at once of genius and of strength, who come to influence thought, often at first unconsciously to themselves, unappreciated by others. But let not men imagine that they are free thinkers in this lofty sense who babble atheism in the fashion of their time; whose claim to originality is but in their greater levity, that is as little capable of penetrating the depths of spiritual truth as of feeling the responsibility of shallow utterances concerning it. Freedom of thought means not emancipation from reverence, from propriety, nor even from the authority of the past. Still less does it imply or justify the disregard of those great facts which are indeed essential conditions of the problems which it attempts to solve. It is the calm, modest, temperate investigation of truth; not indisposed to learn, patient in arriving at conclusions, sensible of the responsibility resting upon its labours, and conscious of the limits of its powers. Its freedom is in fact another word for its candour. It is, or tries to be, free from prejudice, free from passion, free from self, not free from love or duty, whether to God or man.

There is a climacteric in the life of intellectual men, marked by much mental effort and often by much suffering. It is when passing from youth into manhood they pass also from their childish and traditionary faith into a more personal and reflective grasp of religious truths. Hitherto their religion has had its home almost exclusively in the imagination and in the affections. Bible incidents as well as Bible truths have all received a soft and beautiful colouring from the exquisite simplicity of their childish faith: a simplicity which after all may be much nearer to the divine mysteries underlying them than many a brain-spun theory of later days, but which, at least in the minds of which we speak, must yield to conceptions more definite and severe. That Divine Presence, which seemed ever so near as to be almost visible to the wondering, loving child, seems to withdraw into the distance, to become faint in outline, to elude the grasp. Secondary causes intervene; providence resolves itself into system; the holy narrative shades off into common history. Then comes the strife of creeds and the clashing of 'schools of thought.' Then has he to give a reason for the faith that is in him: a faith which heretofore asked no reason, but nestled in one nest with hope and charity, and lived in the warmth of a love divine. It may be that other and darker shadows have fallen across that soul. It may be that the war of passions has disturbed its peace, or the spirit of worldliness has

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breathed on it the breath of winter, and so there is doubt where once was implicit faith; and an angry fear or discontent, where once was an unbroken trust, and strife where once was peace. Alas poor soul! who will not feel for thee? who at least that knows thy trial and thy suffering? Or if no man feel for thee, yet still does thy God remember thee. Set thy thought free: free from passion, free from bitterness, and in the sole bonds of a holy reverence seek truth, and it shall come to thee the same as in thy childhood, yet another, still glowing in thy heart, yet mastering thy intellect, engaging and satisfying thy affections, whilst it engages and satisfies thy reason also. And if there be joy in heaven over that poor prodigal who has wasted his goods on grosser sins, who shall doubt the welcome he shall have who, entangled in the mazes of intellectual doubt, returns to the simplicity of his childhood's faith, strengthened by the reflection and observation of his manhood?

Nor is it unworthy of remark that a period analogous to that of which we have been speaking seems as naturally incidental to the collective Church as to the individual Christian. There comes a time when she is called upon to review her position with regard to the unchanging verities of the faith. These, in truth, are immutable, but each generation has held them in some necessary proportion to the condition of scientific or philosophical, or of the critical, knowledge of its day. Thus, at the period of the Reformation, the exigences of the position gave rise to a theory, or, if it were never sufficiently systematized to deserve that name, at least to an impression of the literal verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture, of a divine authority in each expression, alike in every portion, and extending almost to the various translations, which has had to yield to the growth of criticism. Similarly the unscientific habits of earlier times had *read into* Scripture, and especially into Genesis, statements of a scientific character which assuredly were not there, and which have now, if we may be allowed the expression, patiently and judiciously to be *read out* of the sacred writings. Who, for example, would now for a moment suppose that the expression 'that it should never be moved' militated against the revolution of the earth upon its axis or round the sun? And we are persuaded that when the earlier chapters of Genesis are understood to say what they *do* say, rather than what has been unconsciously imported into them from the unscientific minds which have translated and interpreted them, their harmony with scientific data will be no less startling than real.

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It is not difficult to foresee that the time will come when the pendulum of opinion will vibrate in the opposite direction to the present; when criticism shall have become sheer pedantry and science shall be strangled in a dogmatism of its own. Intellectual freedom will then, as ever, find its legitimate exercise in modifying or controlling prevailing modes of thought; and though such influence may at the first be neither popular nor prominent, there can be none which will do higher service in the maintenance of truth.

There is, however, another aspect of this subject which it is impossible at present to pass over, though the problems which it suggests are of exceeding difficulty, as well as of extreme delicacy.

Thus far we have been considering the subject of Free Thought only in its relation to the general constitution of the mind and its environments, without any reference to such special limitations as the individual may have voluntarily accepted, or to such special pledges as he may have given. But it is clear there is a marked distinction between the position of Free Thought in the world at large and its position in a Church or in the priesthood or teaching body of a Church. It is obvious that such a community is pledged within certain limits to the profession of a distinct faith, which faith indeed is the very reason of its existence: and that these pledges must necessarily be of a stricter character and a still more binding obligation in the case of its accredited teachers. There is nothing peculiar in the acceptance of such limitations to freedom of thought or action on the part of those who are invested with public rank or office, or charged with public duties. It is certainly at some sacrifice of consistency that the nobleman plays the part of a democrat, and enlarges upon the equality of mankind, whilst he retains the privileges and distinctions of his rank. The soldier or the sailor relinquishes some of his civil rights, and is even debarred from the discharge of some of the most prized of his civil duties, so long as he continues in active service. What is perhaps yet more striking is that a juryman is bound to exclude from his deliberations actual knowledge of the case other than such as he derives from the evidence produced, and may be bound to give a verdict inconsistent with such knowledge. All are familiar with the restrictions imposed upon the advocate by his delicate relations with his client; and, in fact, there are few if any relations in life in which some restrictions even of an intellectual character are not involved. We do not mean to imply that the limitations

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in question are identical with, or even parallel to, those to which the clergy are necessarily subject, but merely to remind our readers that the fact of restriction is not peculiar to their case. At the same time we are anxious to approach this subject with the utmost delicacy, to extend the fullest consideration to the claims of the individual conscience, and to abstain rigidly from the imputation of dishonest motives. Nay, more than this: we are of opinion that in the present condition of religious thought, when the Church and Christianity of England are evidently passing through one of those distressing periods to which reference has been made, the greatest sympathy and the utmost tenderness are due to such minds within the Communion, or even within the priesthood, of the Church as are tried and harassed by the perplexities of the day.

Nor are we without a due appreciation of that comprehensiveness which is so largely claimed for the Church of England, nor of that 'wise toleration' which necessarily accompanies it. That comprehensiveness and that toleration are a positive necessity, not more of the Church than of the age. Without these in reasonable measure neither the Church nor the Christianity of the country can retain any hold upon the stirring intellect of our times. But when we have said this we are quite aware that we have in fact said nothing, and that reasonable comprehensiveness is but an unmeaning commonplace until we have arrived at some definition of what is reasonable and what is not.

On the other hand, we are most deeply convinced of the utter worthlessness in point of vitality or influence of the 'Gospel of the indefinite.' There is no strength in an invertebrate Christianity. How shall it command the assent or win the affections of mankind, when it approaches them with no authority and offers them no substantial truth? It cannot be too distinctly borne in mind, nor too distinctly stated, that the Church of Christ is not a philosophical society in quest of truth, but a divinely organized body charged with the deposit of the divine word.

Not that the speculative instincts of mankind are without their proper office even here. A great system of Christian philosophy and ethics will naturally grow up around the revealed doctrines. Criticism and exegesis will alike be busy with the documents of the faith; whilst the organization of the Church and the relations of its several parts to each other and to the outside world will afford abundant scope for the intellectual activities of its members. Were absolute or even

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approximate unanimity desirable on these secondary though in many cases very important points, its attainment is manifestly impossible; and the attempt to enforce it has from time to time produced the most dangerous strain. Such diversity of opinion is a necessary result, not only of the variety of human character, but of the infinite magnitude of the truths revealed. These are such as can be only partially apprehended by any human intellect, and must be approached by each mind almost exclusively from its own side. On such truths men must not only differ, but they must pass through deep and strong excitement of feeling before they can agree to differ. The ever-recurring problems of the divine foreknowledge and of the freedom of the will, of the modes of the divine presence, and of the operations of divine grace, will never cease to agitate sensitive minds. Men will still form theories, all necessarily incomplete, on such subjects as the Atonement, on inspiration, on eternal punishment, and the like; and even where it might seem that less opportunity of diversity would present itself, in the actual duties of the Christian life, pious and sincere minds will form views strongly differing, as the bent of those minds is chiefly practical, logical, or mystical. Even in the middle ages, when authority was at the strongest and individual opinion was, if not at its weakest, at least restricted to the smallest number of independent thinkers, divergences on points like these made themselves felt in the Schools, and through the Schools violently agitated the Church. Still more must this be the case in the nineteenth century and in the Church of England.

In saying this we would not for a moment imply either that no truth is attainable on these subjects, or that all opinions are equally true or equally consistent with the Church's known standard of opinion. We are greatly mistaken if this, or anything like this, be the real meaning of the word toleration, however it may have been attempted to import such a meaning into it. What is meant is this, that these subjects are, and must be conceded to be, legitimate topics of discussion, and that it is by discussion that the truth must be arrived at. It is by discussion that High Church and Low Church, Broad Church and Narrow, must adjust their differences, and not by mutual exclusion. Hence it is our opinion that the peace of the Church of England is to be maintained, not by the enforcement, nor by the necessarily arbitrary interpretation of, laws which are obsolete, or even of doctrinal definitions—which last also have a tendency to become obsolete, from the change in the habits of thought

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from which they arose, and the philosophical terms in which they are cast—but in the free deliberations of her councils, in which prescription will never fail to carry its due weight, and the voice of authority will never fail to be heard with respect.

But in the meantime there arises a very important consideration. It is the fashion to say—indeed we have met with the statement *usque ad nauseam*—that Christianity has been presented to the world in a too dogmatic form. Let us only get rid of dogma, and we are told that we shall soon convert the masses and conciliate the secularists. Such an assurance we hold to be eminently inconsistent with the genius of human nature, and especially so with that of human nature in the masses, who in the matter of religion, as in other things, desire above all things a strong, distinct, forcible dogma to lay hold of. In religion, at least, abstract propositions have very little power to influence mankind till they pass from the stage of opinion into the very different stage of *conviction*. There can scarcely be suggested a more visionary proposition than that of holding the masses by an undogmatic Christianity. Still we admit that it is quite possible to be too dogmatic, and that, in fact, the presentation of Christianity to mankind has from time to time been greatly 'too dogmatic.' But in what sense has this been so? Clearly, in the only possible sense of being dogmatic *upon too many points*. Upon essential points it is impossible to be so. Dogma is the assertion of a truth. Let it become hesitating, doubtful, merely negative: it ceases at once to be dogma. One cannot as a theist too positively assert the being of God; one cannot as a Christian too distinctly maintain the Divinity of Christ. He wrought miracles, or He did not; He rose from the dead, or He is not risen. There is no middle position, no conceivable alternative; and the Apostle S. Paul emphatically urges this when he adds, 'else were your faith vain.'

There arises, then, a clear and intelligible distinction between such truths as are of primary rank and absolutely essential to the faith and such as, being chiefly of the nature of deductions from the former, are of a secondary character, capable of variation in statement, and consequently admitting of diversity of opinion. These last may be intrinsically of very great importance, and may be very necessary to a right understanding of the faith. The Church may do wisely carefully to define them, and to invest her definitions with the weight of her synodical authority. But whilst she thus directs and assists the formation of opinion within her pale, she is scarcely justified in elevating them into terms of communion,

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or removing them peremptorily from the arena of discussion. To the former class belong the fundamental verities distinctly implied in the terms of the baptismal covenant, without which no membership of a Christian Church is even conceivable. Of these the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed may be taken as the legitimate expression: nor does the Athanasian Creed do more than state the same doctrines with additional illustrations and sanctions, which, whilst they are of great value as explanatory amplifications, cannot reasonably be understood as of the essence of the *credenda*. For example, no one, we apprehend, would be held to fall under the censures of that creed, who, whilst sincerely acknowledging the true Divinity of Christ, failed to accept the union of the human soul and body as accurately representing the hypostatic union between the two natures in the Incarnation. Nor is the more dogmatic statement of the eternity of future punishment to be pressed beyond those limits which are necessarily involved in the imperfect conceptions which we can form of eternal duration, nor beyond the equally express statements of Holy Scripture on this subject. Indeed, it will be admitted by every thoughtful theologian that the verbal definitions of divine mysteries which are offered in any such symbols are no more than approximations—the nearest, indeed, to which human thought and human language, even under the guidance of inspiration, can attain—to the ineffable truths of the Divine nature and of the spiritual world. But, subject only to such considerations, we hold that the reverent and sincere acceptance of those divine verities is the indispensable condition of communion in a Christian Church. So far as these doctrines are concerned, every member of the Church, and in a still higher degree every accredited teacher of the Church, has accepted his position, and *surrendered his right of scepticism.* What, then, are we to think of the claim of the clergy of the Church of England to be emancipated from all creeds and discharged from every test and signature? How are we to reconcile with the obligations of their office the demand that the Church should be satisfied with their consent to read a liturgy to the terms of which they refuse to be bound, and of which they may conceivably hold not a word? Is not this to substitute a school of philosophy for the Church of God, and to constitute its officers inquirers for theoretical truth rather than divinely commissioned messengers of the revealed word?

We are the more anxious to state clearly what we conceive to be true principles in this matter, because there is much in the objects of Mr. Brooke Lambert and the Church

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Reform Union with which we sympathize, whilst we can seldom approve of the means by which he proposes to attain them. We feel as strongly as he can do the practical evils arising from the anomalies of Church patronage. We regret in some respects the autocratic powers of the individual parson; we would gladly enlist the wider and deeper interest of the laity in the work of the Church, and secure to them a fitting place in her councils. But we are far from content to remedy existing defects or to secure immediate advantages by accepting what we hold to be an entirely false principle, and surrendering the government, not only of the property, but of the doctrine and worship of the Church to those who may not be even members of her communion, simply because they are citizens and the Church claims to be national.

At present we are concerned with these propositions only so far as they claim to regulate *doctrine*, and a single sentence will suffice to show to what authority this most momentous office is to be entrusted.

'Individual communion with God, and individual reponsibility in judgment, are the bases of our Christianity, and where they exist they will be shackled by no finally dictated system. Our National Church, therefore, remains such as the representatives of the nation in Parliament have appointed and maintained it; *and the final source of authority in the regulation of this sacred heritage is the whole body of the nation, both clerical and lay.*'

With the details of the arrangements proposed, it is not within the scope of this article to deal. We do not at present discuss the panacea of Parochial Boards, nor examine the claims of a State-contrived 'Leitourgia' of public worship from which 'not one voice' of the national opinion is to be excluded. We do not pause to imagine the harmonies of that delightful concert in which Mr. Voysey is to chant the treble and Mr. Bradlaugh sound the bass; our business is with the intense and absolute Erastianism of such proposals, and with the sacrifice of dogma to free thought, followed by the evaporation of free thought in the freest of opinion. Exactly parallel to the view that the Church is the creature of the State is the idea that religious truth is the creation of the human intellect. Most cordially and entirely do we approve the motto of Mr. Brooke Lambert's adoption, 'In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus caritas;' but we maintain that the 'necessary' doctrines of religion are not sparks struck from the concussion of human brains, but are emanations of the fire of the Holy Spirit, and have their origin, not in earth, but from heaven. And for those

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other doctrinal definitions or constitutions ecclesiastical which claim no such immediate inspiration, and which, therefore, are not to be numbered among things 'necessary' in that highest sense, these we reserve for the decision of the Church in her synods, and absolutely refuse to refer them to the heterogeneous voice of national assemblies. Some things there are with which the Church herself may not dare to meddle, as being themselves divine, and constituting the very reason of her being, and forming the charter of her existence. Upon these she can admit no right of discussion even within her fold: did she cease to hold them she would cease to be. Other things there are of which she reserves the decision to herself, and can brook no dictation from the outer world. The things of Cæsar, her tithes, her endowments, her external privileges, she is content to hold from Cæsar, and to submit to the control of his will. For her property she must, like every other corporation, receive a parliamentary title; for the exercise of her spiritual offices in peace and quietness she must look, as others, to the protection of the civil power. Nay, for the ultimate enforcement of her own laws, and of the limitations under which she entrusts her officers to administer her sacraments and to teach her doctrines—for this, too, as far as temporal sanctions go, she must depend upon the State. But for the definition of her doctrine, or for the framing of her internal laws, she can rely upon none except herself, in dependence upon the guidance of that Spirit which is promised to her. This view may appear inconsistent with the liberal theories of modern society. We do not believe that it is so in reality; nor do we fear lest a Church so constituted should prove incompatible with the democratic instincts of the future. Political freedom does no more consist in the absence of regulation than does intellectual freedom; and the distinction between the things of Cæsar and the things of God will be no less essential to the liberties of the Church when Cæsar is represented by the Lower House of Parliament than when he is seated upon the imperial throne.

It is time that we brought this brief treatise to a close; and in doing so we shall adopt the time-honoured custom of our forefathers, and sum up in a few words the substance of our argument.

Men of inquiring minds complain, and not always without reason, that the representatives of authority, with whom they are accustomed to connect the advocates of religion, treat them with but scant sympathy, and are too much inclined to meet their inquiries with a frown. They plead, and

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not without a certain amount of truth, that both Science and Religion, History and Philosophy, are under considerable obligations to Scepticism in its better sense; that it is thus that the rust of antiquity has been rubbed off, and the mirror of Truth restored to its brightness and splendour; that but for such independent thought truth would have been sacrificed to prejudice, and made subordinate to vested interests, and to the pomp and pride of prescription. On the other hand, it is no less urgently replied that Scepticism itself is not absolutely free from passion or from prejudice; that her efforts have not been restricted to burnishing the polished surface of the mirror, but that the very substance has disappeared beneath the friction, and that whilst claiming to exercise free inquiry she has, like other zealots, forgotten the limitations under which alone freedom can be enjoyed; that there are some questions which are in their own nature insoluble, and others in which Authority may claim of right to be heard. We have endeavoured to mediate between the opposing principles; or at least to recognize what is fair and just in either claim; but more particularly have we drawn attention to those restrictions which essentially attach to freedom of thought, to the limitation of our intellectual powers, to the claims of our moral constitution, and to the existence of certain literary and historical facts which must enter into any just estimate of religious truth. But in the case of the members of the Christian Church, and more especially of those authorized to speak and act in its name, there are other and stricter limitations which they have voluntarily accepted, and of which they cannot be relieved except at the sacrifice of their position.

There are certain doctrines which hold a primary position in reference to the Christian Church, and these she cannot relinquish without forfeiting the very ground and justification of her existence.

No doubt there are minds to whom even such restrictions are burdensome; they are sensitive and highly conscientious; they feel, as they cannot but feel, the cold currents of scepticism which are in the air about them. Their doctrinal education may have been somewhat loose and ill-adjusted, their intellectual powers may be unequal to the task of weighing evidences or the yet more difficult task of analysing doctrinal terms; they may probably have committed themselves to views extreme in one direction or another, the grounds of which they have insufficiently apprehended, and the bearings of which they may have very imperfectly realized, and

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so they may feel their position insecure, and be lapsing into the torture of doubt and irresolution. Shall we be considered impertinent if we venture to conclude with a few suggestions which may be not altogether inappropriate to their case?

First of all, we would suggest that the basis of religious faith is not exclusively intellectual, and consequently neither are its evidences solely such. The moral evidences of the Gospel are those which are most intelligible to the ordinary mind, and therefore most convincing. Christianity does not approach men in syllogisms, nor address itself solely or even chiefly to the understanding. Its first and most powerful appeal is to the affections. To them it reveals Him whom they may love with a perfect love, and trust with unfailing confidence. Let a man reflect whence it is that he has received the revelation of the spiritual nature of God, and the assurance that, though His Being is in truth the sum of all perfections, yet 'God is Love;' and it will not appear doubtful to him that the source from which he received this knowledge is divine; nor will his faith be abashed by mysteries when he has looked into his own soul, and sought to fathom the depths of mystery there. If he be a scholar, learned in the history of philosophies and 'schools of thought,' if he have gazed into the weary agnosticism in which all human speculation ends, he will not feel doubtful of that message which has brought life and immortality to light. These, which are the secret and more personal supports of a man's faith, are at the same time its truest and its strongest: albeit the external evidences of the Gospel do not shrink from examination, and a man may do well to study, according to his capacity, the history and philosophy of his creed.

Nor should we omit to remark that faith, as it differs from sight and knowledge, is necessarily liable to variation in its power to present to the mind 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' Let not the soul feel that it has fallen from its faith in God because it is at one time or other harassed and clouded by sceptical thought. It is a trial to which minds of a certain character are peculiarly and painfully liable. It arises not from one cause only. Sometimes it is a dark cloud cast from the minds of others. Sometimes it is the result of mental exhaustion and bodily fatigue. Often, alas, it is the natural offspring of some permitted sin, of some corrosive worldliness, of some indulged infirmity. But often, on the other hand, it is the reaction of the soul from its own spiritual efforts, from the effort to realize the unseen, to lay hold on the eternal. Such waver-



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ings, such temporary oscillations of the soul that trusts in God and loves His Word are like the tremblings of the magnet, which so trembles and so quivers, not because it is false, but because it is so true, so faithful to its office. How much of deep though unconscious philosophy was there in the cry, 'Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief.'

The struggle of faith with unbelief has thus continued from the beginning, and will continue so long as the world shall last. It has been fought on many battle-fields, and with varying success: but it were worse than folly to ignore the tremendous issues which are at stake in the present contest. Whilst all will admit that the Church is built upon the faith of Christ, modern society rests no less really, though it may be secretly and indirectly, upon the same foundation. Never in the history of the world did human society repose securely upon the base of Atheism, even though, as in the France of the eighteenth century, Atheism was veiled in the garb of philosophy. Some faith, however imperfect, some creed, however feeble, has ever sustained, whilst it has regulated, the complicated fabric of human relations: and in European nations, at the least, the sustaining and regulating faith has been the faith of Christ. Christianity it is which gives the supreme sanction to law and the indispensable direction to conscience, whilst it cements the bond of all social relations. Remove this, and the voice of conscience is indistinct, the power of law is weak and crippled, and society must resolve itself into its atoms.

Nor is it possible to fall with safety to a lower level, and to alight unharmed upon the comparative security of ancient Greece or Rome. The society which has been Christian and descended to become Pagan sinks into the decline, not into the vigour, of Paganism. It can no more rise than Lucifer can recover from his fall and remount to heaven. A *de-christianized* nation must sink below the moral and spiritual level of old Rome; it can never rise above the feeble civilization of the decline.

Great, then, is the responsibility of such intellectual action as can lightly sap the foundations of religion, and labour to destroy that faith which it might do so much to keep fresh and vigorous. It is only when speculation is restrained within its appropriate limits that it can be either safe or strong: and Free Thought has this in common with all the great powers of nature, that then only is its action beneficent when it is confined within its proper sphere.

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## ART. X.—WORDSWORTH'S BAMPTON LECTURES.

*The One Religion: Truth, Holiness, and Peace desired by the Nations and revealed by Jesus Christ.*—Bampton Lectures, 1881. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A. (Oxford, 1881.)

NEARLY forty years have passed since Archdeacon Grant preached his Bampton Lectures on the subject of *Missions*. Those sober and earnest, yet cheerful and animating, addresses did much to give definiteness to the views of Churchmen about their missionary duty. What was then gained has never since been lost. All that has occurred in the intervening period has tended to concentrate men's attention more and more on the work of evangelizing the heathen. The consolidation of our empire in India, the opening up of China and Japan, and the constant advance of our intercourse with uncivilized races in every part of the world, have compelled men to ask themselves in what relation they, as Christians, stood to such as have not the knowledge of the Gospel. There could be but one answer in the mind of any ordinarily well-informed person: '"Christianity is a trust deposited with us on behalf of mankind;"[1] and the most wonderful facilities have been providentially afforded to us Englishmen for the performance of our trust. *Væ nobis si non evangelizaverimus.*'

The steady growth of this practical conviction among us can scarcely be doubted. In spite of all the pressing calls for help which are made to us by our home populations, there has been a marked expansion in almost every province of the mission field.

Meantime we have become gradually conscious that there has been another set of forces at work in an antagonistic direction. Various forms of anti-Christian error have during the last thirty years been finding their way into our literature. In some cases views have been professed which hardly can be said to differ at all from those of ancient Pagan philosophers. Even transmigration and nihilism have had their advocates, in France and Germany at least, if not among ourselves. It is obvious how perilous a thing it must be, at such

[1] The well-known words of Bishop Butler.



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a time, for men to come forward and undertake to form 'a science of religions.' That is a work which none can achieve who does not carry with him the touchstone of religious truth communicated from God Himself.

We cannot, therefore, but give a hearty welcome to these lectures of Mr. Wordsworth, which, he tells us in his preface,[1] are meant to be 'a contribution to the comparative study of religion from a Christian point of view.' The lecturer has shown himself to possess in an unusual degree the qualifications which are indispensable for so difficult a task. First and foremost of these is a firm hold on the truths of revealed religion. But along with this he has combined a careful study of all that relates to the religious systems of Greece and Rome, of India and China, as well as of the less cultured portions of mankind. There is no reason why a Christian may not survey these with a feeling of tender compassion. It was an atheistic philosopher who could take pleasure in seeing men everywhere

'Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitai.'

There is nothing of this feeling in the volume before us. It is evident throughout that the lecturer has endeavoured to conduct his inquiry, if with truthfulness and candour, yet with a studious desire of showing delicate and respectful consideration even to the saddest exhibitions of human frailty.

It was not an easy thing to see how unity could be given to the vast mass of details which would have to come under the lecturer's notice. The method he has adopted is at once simple and ingenious. He has distributed the main portion of his subject under the three heads of *Truth*, *Holiness*, and *Peace*. Man's intellect longs to receive a revelation from the God of *Truth*. His conscience seeks for some way of reconciling itself with Divine *Holiness*. His social affections can find their due exercise only under the protection of *Peace*. These yearnings of the soul of man are traceable in the various 'religions of the world;' but they nowhere find any satisfactory provision made for them, except under the Gospel. These three wants of men and the threefold response given to them by Christianity occupy the last six lectures; which form the staple of the volume.

Before entering, however, upon these distinctively Christian discussions, the lecturer judged it to be desirable that he should set forth the idea of God which pervades the whole Bible: since, if it be found that this idea bears on it the marks

[1] p. vii.

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of Truth, of which all other systems prove to be destitute, this will supply a reason for advancing to the remaining inquiries with all the more confidence. This is done in Lecture II.

The introductory lecture is fitly occupied with some practical remarks as to the unreasonableness, and in many cases the sinfulness, of abstaining from serious inquiry into religious truth. It is very important that this should be clearly understood. If religion be true, the obligation under which man is placed to the Author and Sustainer of his being is simply *infinite*. The very *possibility*, therefore, of its being true (as Pascal so well pointed out) makes it a duty to pay reverent regard to even the slighter evidences of its truth. To be careless in such a case is a sin, whatever be the immediate cause of such negligence. In some it may be worldliness and frivolity; in some a too exclusive devotion to literary or scientific pursuits—a very subtle form of self-indulgence; in some an unwillingness to encounter the self-humiliation which it is foreseen must be required, if the Gospel is to be the rule of life. Others are led astray by false notions of intellectual impartiality, as if nothing were to be admitted to be true or of practical obligation, unless it could be proved by the pure reason. It is difficult to say how far a habit of mind like this last may mislead some. If long continued, it may end in systematic suspicion of whatever appears to have a balance of evidence in its favour.[1]

This sceptical tendency is especially to be guarded against in dealing with the so-called 'science of religions.' Its operation here is to prejudice the mind against the legitimate deduction which is drawn from the facts—the 'testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ'—and to incline it to be satisfied with the indolent assumption that what is true of 'the religions of the world' is true of Christianity, and that if they are the products of man's own mind, so must it be.

Instead of thus foreclosing the inquiry, it is clearly their duty to examine carefully all the facts that are brought before them. Let them consider, if there be not good ground for concluding,

1. That the instinct which has led all nations to feel after God is a genuine part of our nature, and has a real object corresponding to it.

2. That Christianity does in fact supply that reality.

[1] In the month of May last, M. Renan, in the presence of the French Academy, 'professed himself ignorant whether he himself was a spiritualist or a materialist, but avowed a sceptical tendency *to doubt what was affirmed and to believe what was denied.*' ('The Guardian,' May 3, 1882.)

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We propose to follow the lecturer in his investigation of these points; first, however, giving an outline of the argument of Lecture II.

It was noticed by the early Christian apologists that when the heathen were speaking with natural earnestness they used such expressions as 'God is great' and 'God grant it,' thus showing that the human soul in its unbiased moments bears witness to the *unity* of God. Now, this instinctive testimony of the soul is confirmed by four separate, but convergent, lines of argument—'from causation and design in nature, and from the sense of dependence and the moral law in man.'[1]

But it is to be observed that this idea of the Divine Unity, which is so rooted in man's natural consciousness, and in so perfect agreement with the highest efforts of cultivated reason, has been held in its purity only by those who have had the light of Divine revelation communicated to them.[2] It appears already in the history of Abraham, 1,900 years before Christ, and it continues to shine age after age with increasing clearness, in spite of the frequent incursions of Pagan idolatries among the people who were its special witnesses. It should be especially remarked how much important truth respecting the Divine nature was wrapped up in that name of God which was communicated to Moses. The affirmation, 'I am that I am,' combines the two ideas of personality and infinity, which man's understanding has never known how to reconcile. The 'I,' which appears in each member of the name, most plainly enforces the Divine personality. Yet the words, 'I am that which I am,' place the speaker before us as absolute, self-existent, and eternal. This is well set forth by the lecturer.[3] 'All other things,' he says, 'have a limit outside them; they are finite, that is to say, bounded and conditioned, produced by, or tending to, or supported by, something else. But it is not so with God, who alone is Infinite. . . . Other things are defined in terms of something higher, and more generic. But God can only be defined as *that which He is*—the First, the Midst, and the Last; *of* whom, and *through* whom, and *to* whom are all things.' Let it be further noted that, immediately after this revelation of God as the Infinite Personal Being, Moses is commanded to say to the children of Israel, 'I AM hath sent me unto you,' thus teaching them to think of

[1] *B. L.*, p. 36.

[2] See *B. L.*, p. 34. 'Islam is, of course, no exception, even if the Moslem idea of God was less faulty than it is. For Mahomet acknowledged both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures. Cp. Max Müller on Semitic Monotheism, which he traces to the faith of Abraham, and ascribes to "a special revelation."—*Selected Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 463*f.*'

[3] p. 38.

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Him as one who watched over the welfare of His creatures.[1] 'This emphatic assertion of personal interest and loving care pervades the whole Bible, and is fundamental to the Hebrew and Christian conception' of the Divine nature.

If the argument which has been drawn from the above facts be objected to on the ground that the attributes of infinity and personality are not compatible, the lecturer suggests a twofold reply: first, that, for now a hundred generations, men have actually believed in 'the union of the two apparent opposites in the Divine nature'; and, secondly, that we can even see our way towards a *sufficient* explanation of the mystery. For (it is remarked[2]) 'the limits of the Divine Being, in His relation to other dependent beings, *are only such as He chooses to impose upon Himself.* It is His infinite will that certain finite wills should exist in time, distinguishable from His own.' This is enough to satisfy us that there is no incompatibility between the two attributes. For the rest, we need not hesitate to allow that the full reconciliation of them is beyond our power; for who does not feel that the idea of God, the Uncreated, must needs have that in it which surpasses the comprehension of any created intellect? If, then, there be a transcendental element in the revealed conception of God, this can only serve to commend it the more to our acceptance, as befitting Him, whose nature must contain in it inexhaustible riches of what will for ever remain to us mysteries.

Very different is the case when we turn our eyes in other directions. In Paganism we find these two fundamental attributes invariably severed one from the other. We have Pantheism on the one side, denying the personality of God, and on the other 'anthropomorphic Deism,' which contradicts His infinity.

The lecturer gives an interesting sketch of the various modifications of these errors, and points out their injurious influence. Pantheism tends to overthow the very basis both of morals and of religion. It obliterates all distinction between good and evil, between right and wrong. It leaves no room for human free-will to operate, and consequently removes all responsibility for what is done.[3] 'The whole of life and nature is for the Pantheist but a meaningless vision.' Deism, on its side, is ever tending to the practical neglect of God. God is no longer the Ruler and Sustainer of the Universe, but stands wholly aloof from it. The world is placed under the management of fixed laws, which are as

[1] *B. L.*, p. 39. [2] p. 41. [3] p. 47.

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stern and inexorable as destiny itself could be. Man, working inside the restraints which these laws impose upon him, may do his best to improve his condition or to cultivate his nature; but he has to do this solely in reliance on his own powers, without looking for help from the infinitely remote First Cause. The natural outgrowth of such a system is a proud, ungodly, spirit of independence. Man, in fact, becomes his own god.

In both cases it is found that a one-sided view of the Divine nature inflicts injury on man's moral character. Nothing can be less true than the notion, so prevalent in our day, that man's nature may be duly cultivated without religion. Wrong religious ideas must lead to faulty moral principles. Only a true knowledge of God can enable men to rise to the completeness of their nature.

The Biblical idea of God, which we have been examining, is of the greatest importance for any who would examine the 'religions of the world' aright. No one can have any prospect of attaining to truth on this subject, unless he himself have the fear of the Living God in his heart. Without this none can have a real insight into the meaning of the facts which meet us everywhere in human history.

These facts are presented by Mr. Wordsworth (in Lecture III) in a vivid manner. His illustrations of the subject are drawn from widely distant sources; and it is everywhere evident that he has striven to exercise kindly forbearance towards the errors he has to deal with. He points out how men have manifested their consciousness of God's presence by the way in which they attributed the phenomena of nature to His action. The trust which they placed in oracles, and the reverence paid to certain ancient books, evinced their belief that God was willing to grant His guidance and direction to mankind. Even the worship of idols and fetishes, however degrading in itself, bore witness to the ineradicable conviction man had of God's being present with His world. All this is set forth clearly and forcibly, as it deserved to be. We scarcely feel, however, that we should in every case be disposed to concede so much as the lecturer has done; as, for instance, when he would tell the Hindus that 'their own sages have heard from time to time echoes of the Divine voice;'[1] or when he speaks of the long ages of heathen ignorance as 'periods of probation, in which the Divine Logos or Reason' was 'drawing out and establishing the character of each race or nation.' Does not language like

[1] pp. 96, 108.

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this require to be considerably modified, before it can harmonize with the real facts of Paganism? The language of S. Paul is that God 'in times past suffered all nations to *walk in their own ways*.'[1] We know what those ways were. Rational creatures used their freedom of choice to worship 'demons,'[2] and this went on to such an extent, that when Christ came to establish the kingdom of God in the world, it seemed as if the empire of darkness had been everywhere firmly established. So hardened had Paganism become, so destitute of all that merited the name of 'religion,' that S. Paul could speak of the Ephesian worshippers of Diana as 'without hope and without God in the world;'[3] a statement, which he would surely not have made, unless he had known that the persons to whom he was writing took the very same view of their former condition.

The lecturer's argument, however, remains unaffected. In every age we see the nations of the world 'feeling after God,' yet confessing their ignorance of Him. The wisest of men[4] admitted that it was so. 'The world by wisdom knew not God.' Ancient philosophy failed to reveal Him; and, whenever any in modern times have forsaken the guidance of the Bible, they have fallen into the same 'ignorance of God.' If they have worshipped at all, it has been an 'Unknown God.'

Marvellous is the change when we turn to those who have lived beneath the illumination of Holy Scripture. Even in the times before Christ, we observe how the hearts of believers rejoiced over their conscious possession of truth. 'Thy testimonies,' said one, 'are *wonderful*; therefore doth my soul keep them. The entrance of Thy Word giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple.'[5] The revelation was suited to the requirements of the sage and the peasant. 'It was at once Ideal and Practical, both the highest philosophy and the most salutary discipline.'[6]

In a yet more eminent way may this be asserted of the Christian revelation, as the lecturer proceeds to show (Lecture IV) both eloquently and learnedly.

As regards the demand of *Ideal* Truth, we find that Christian doctrine is *comprehensive*; so that in it truths which elsewhere are only found apart and in fragments are combined in their full proportions. Thus it speaks with equal clearness of the holiness of God and of His mercy, of the Divine pre-ordination and of man's free agency, of the provision made by Divine

[1] Acts xiv. 16. [2] 1 Cor. x. 20. [3] Eph. ii. 12.
[4] *B. L.*, p. 103. [5] Ps. cxix. 129, 130. [6] *B. L.*, p. 109.

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grace for man's salvation and of the obligation man is under to 'work out' his salvation.

It is *mysterious*; as, indeed, a revelation concerning the nature of God must be. If we find that all scientific investigation leads up to mystery, how should Divine realities be other than wonderful? When we hear of three subsistences in the one God, of the manhood and Godhead united in Christ, of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church, certainly these are thoughts which never rose up within the heart of man; yet, when they are revealed, man finds them to be truly heart-satisfying.

It is *inexhaustible*; continuing age after age to afford new subjects of intellectual contemplation and research, suited to the endless varieties of human characters and circumstances. This is true even of the outward vehicle of revelation, the Holy Scriptures—

'which, though they have been read and commented on with such close, eager, and intelligent criticism by the men of almost every race, and with such immense and wonderful patience, as no other books in the world have ever had expended upon them, yet after two and three thousand years of experience are continually yielding fresh treasures to those who study them patiently, and enter into them with humility and love. This is a matter of simple observation, which is daily being tested.' [1]

How strongly marked a contrast do we find, when we pass from them to the 'Sacred Books of the East,' in reference to which their editor, Professor Max Müller, says in his preface:—

'It cannot be too strongly stated that the chief, in many cases the only, interest of the Sacred Books of the East is historical; that much in them is extremely childish, tedious, if not repulsive; and that no one but the historian will be able to understand the important lessons which they teach.' [2]

While the Christian revelation thus satisfies the claims of the Ideal, it has also the qualities which befit *practical* truth.

It is *authoritative*; resting on the teaching of One who declared Himself to be the Son of God, and confirmed His word by supernatural works. This gives to Christian doctrine a claim to attention which is absolutely unique.

It is *definite*; and this even when it sets forth mysteries. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, for example, is clearly apprehended, and rejoiced in for its practical consolation, by men of plain and simple minds.

[1] *B. L.*, pp. 118, 119. [2] p. 120.

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It is *permanent*; the great body of its teachings being such as are of universal concern to our whole race; so that 'the truth which was from the beginning' is 'living and effective' (Heb. iv. 12) through all time.

Such is the thread of gold on which Mr. Wordsworth has strung his numerous pearls, gathered from many remote seas. One of these is of so remarkable interest that we transfer it to our pages. It is taken from Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. ii., p. 301 (London, 1880), and is given by the lecturer as an illustration of the practical power which the Bible has to touch the conscience.

'Some books of the New Testament, and other Christian books, found their way, almost accidentally, into the hands of a prisoner at Otsu, a scholar incarcerated for manslaughter. "A few months ago a fire broke out, and one hundred incarcerated persons, instead of trying to escape, helped to put out the flames, and to a man remained to undergo the rest of their sentences." It turned out that the possessor of the books had used them to teach his fellow captives; " and Christian principles, combined with his personal influence, restrained them from defrauding justice. The scholar was afterwards pardoned, but remained in Otsu to teach more of *the new way* to the prisoners."' [1]

On this most singular narrative we would beg leave to make a few remarks. The book from which it is quoted is beyond suspicion. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of the account which Miss Bird has given. But, is not the history in itself radically improbable—all but incredible? Is it in human nature to act as these men are said to have done? Was such a thing ever known to have occurred on this our earth?

Yes; *once*, and, so far as we know, *once only*, such an event *has* occurred. In one of the books of the New Testament (those books to which the conversion of the Japanese scholar is attributed) we are told [2] that when the doors of a Roman prison had been opened by an earthquake, and the jailer, taking it for certain that the prisoners had escaped, was on the point of killing himself, one of the released prisoners, a Christian teacher, cried out to him and said, 'Do thyself no harm; for *we are all here*.' Have we not in this a sufficient

[1] *B. L.*, p. 142.

[2] See Acts xvi. 25–30. That the Book of 'Acts' was one of the books of the New Testament which were studied by the Japanese scholar is suggested by the following 'undesigned coincidence.' The name given to Christianity in Otsu was '*the new way*;' and the term by which Christians are four times designated in the Acts (ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxii. 4) is '*the way*.'

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explanation of the conduct of the Japanese? If so, the very thing which seemed to throw suspicion on the narrative, becomes an exceedingly strong, because so extremely latent, a confirmation of it.

To return from this digression. The subject of the next pair of Lectures (V, VI) is man's natural sense of separation from God, and of the need of an atonement; for which deep want of our nature Christianity alone has made adequate provision.

The altar which existed at Athens to the 'Unknown God' may be cited to bear witness on this point. Whether it were erected[1] 'to expiate a pestilence' or not—in any case, being an *altar*, it was intended to propitiate an offended deity, whom yet it confessed to be 'unknown.' That was no solitary confession. It was but a typical instance of what was taking place in every part of heathendom. Everywhere we find that—

> 'The heathen world feels itself estranged from God. It knows that God is angry with sin; it feels itself punished, or likely to be punished, by a power which has retired into a mysterious and awful cloud of reserve; it stretches out its arms into the darkness, vainly trying to propitiate the offended majesty.'[2]

Tradition told of a happy time of old, when gods and men had lived in friendly intercourse, and when death had been only a tranquil falling asleep.[3] But a desolating change had swept over the world. Man was a sinful and miserable being; knowing himself to be the object of Divine displeasure, and fearing to die, chiefly because he was afraid of what might await him after death. Various methods of allaying these apprehensions were resorted to.

In some cases, the burdened heart poured itself out in humble confession of its guilt, appealing suppliantly for divine mercy. Others took refuge in lustrations, and pilgrimages to holy places, and prolonged penances. By far the greatest reliance, however, was placed on the rite of sacrifice, in which it was supposed that the offerer's guilt was removed by being laid on an innocent victim as his substitute. The lecturer appears to acquiesce in the supposition that the practice of animal sacrifice originated in the workings of man's own mind. We feel it very difficult to accept this view. If the practice had existed only here and there, it might have been so accounted for; but when we find that what is in itself a strange and revolting rite has been tenaciously clung to in every part

[1] See *B. L.*, p. 145, *note*. [2] *B. L.*, p. 145 [3] *B. L.*, p. 147.

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of the world, by far the simplest explanation of the fact appears to be that which derives it from primitive tradition. We know that the first act of Noah upon leaving the ark was to consecrate the human family to God by animal sacrifices. What wonder if that act remained indelibly imprinted on the minds of his immediate descendants, and that through them the memory of it was transmitted to after generations? So long as the primitive tradition respecting the meaning of the rite was retained, however imperfectly, men would feel that it awoke up within them true and solemn thoughts, such as they would not willingly part with. When, however, in course of time, the primitive truth was weakened or distorted, they began to show their distrust of the rite, partly by resorting to human sacrifices, partly by allowing the rite itself to fall into abeyance.

About the sixth century before Christ, we observe a clear conviction springing up in different parts of the world that animal sacrifices, offered as men had come to offer them—that is, as bribes which were to induce the gods to pardon those who had no intention of amendment—could not have any worth.[1] This was, perhaps, the vital point of Sakya Muni's quarrel with Brahminism. The position in which he entrenched himself was, that no sacrifice could in the slightest degree undo the demerit of evil deeds. That remained, he said, to be dealt with by the evil-doer himself, and by no other.

Thus the natural conscience was left confronted with two facts: the inviolable law of eternal justice, and its own guilt. How was man to be extricated from the collision that was ever threatening to take place between these two seemingly irreconcileable facts?

When all appeared hopeless—when, even inside the Elect Nation, the hope of 'good things to come,' which sacrifice was meant to keep alive, was well-nigh extinct—the Gospel came in and proclaimed that the one, true, Atonement which had been contemplated by the wisdom of God 'before the world was' had been wrought out in act by Jesus Christ.

Is this announcement one which the reason and con-

[1] Is it a mere chronological coincidence that in this same century the overthrow of the Jewish Temple and its altars gave final effect to the remonstrance which had been uttered 150 years previously in God's name: 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me?' May it not be that when the nation which had been called by the God of all the earth to be *a priestly kingdom* to Himself (Exodus xix. 5, 6) was deposed from its office, a change passed over the spiritual condition of the rest of the nations?

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science can accept? That is the inquiry to which Lecture VI is meant to supply an answer. It undertakes to show that the Christian doctrine of the Atonement is both worthy of God and suited to our human needs.

It is worthy of God, not only in its *comprehensiveness* (its virtue extending to the whole race of man, past and present, Rom. v. 18, 19), but also in the *completeness* with which it reconciles Divine mercy and justice. These find their union in that holy love which was manifested in the death of the incarnate Son of God. Divine love is thus shown to be no mere placid benevolence, which might consent to remit the penalty that was due to man's sin, out of pity for his weakness. It is an energetic principle, intolerant of everything that would attempt to thwart the development of its own eternal plan for the well-being of its creatures; implacably opposed, therefore, to sin. Sin must be exterminated from the universe. To achieve that end, the Word of God will even condescend to become man, and will, in man's nature, endure the worst of sufferings and indignities. In this way love will at the same time manifest its inexhaustible strength and vindicate its indefectible holiness.

It is, moreover, suited to our human needs. It inspires men with *confidence in approaching God*; seeing that Christ, having made reparation for the sin of man, has entered heaven as the representative of the human race, so that in Him, the sinless One, we are objects of Divine complacency. At the same time, it furnishes us with the most powerful motive that can be conceived for *hating sin and cultivating holiness*; and also sets before us *a Pattern of life*, which is as attractive in its gentleness and humility as it is elevating in the perfectness of its purity and generosity, so that the very words, 'the imitation of Christ,' are filled with 'a freshness and a fragrance that belongs to no other words.' [1]

So ends the Sixth Lecture—perhaps the most forcible, lucid, and satisfying in the volume.

One more topic remains to be handled (in Lectures VII, VIII), the natural longing of man's heart for *peace*, and the response which is made to that longing in the Church of Christ.

Man is a social being. He cannot reach the full development of his powers in solitude. He needs the assistance of other men's gifts and acquirements, of their sympathy and character. He rejoices in the thought of belonging to a wisely ordered community, in which he may hope to attain

[1] *B. L.*, p. 216.

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that perfection of his being in which peace[1] consists. Where shall he find a society capable of affording him this blessing?

Political arrangements have given useful and valuable help to the extent of their power. But this was always very limited. In general, the utmost that was effected was the maintenance of outward peace, and even this was only very imperfectly secured. Various attempts therefore have been made to supplement the civil ruler's efforts by means of religion. Of these, three in especial are selected for examination.

1. The first case is that of statesmen, who, having themselves no belief in the popular forms of religion, yet patronized them as tending (they thought) to preserve good order and peace. Such, we know from Polybius, was the condition of things at Rome in the second century before Christ.

'Inasmuch as every multitude is fickle,' says the historian, 'and full of lawless desires, irrational anger, and violent temper, it is proper to keep such people in order with unseen fears and such-like tragic display.'[2]

We know what the issue of that experiment was at Rome.[3] It led to the deification of mere outward tranquillity in the person of the Emperor.

2. Others said, 'Search carefully for the truth, and then impose it upon all. If it be true, it will be good for them, whether they like it or not.'[4] Such was the course recommended by Plato in his *Laws*, as by Rousseau in his *Contrat Social*. Mohammed went further, and carried this principle into practice. Only a short time before his death he published his *Sura IX.*,[5] in which he directed that all idolaters who did not embrace Islam should be killed, and that all Christians and Jews should be warred against, until they submitted to be tributaries. What marvel if the religion which was thus enforced has in it no trace of love to God, or of love to man as man! It consists chiefly in outward acts, which seem under it to have more than their usual tendency to become mechanical. It blunts the conscience of men by teaching them that God is lenient, because He knows that 'man was created frail.' As for Mohammed's own example, it was most pernicious. During the last seven years of his life he fell far below the average moral standard of his own age, and then pretended to justify his licentious conduct by alleged messages from heaven.[6] We can scarcely be

[1] The Hebrew word, which is commonly rendered 'peace,' has for its first meaning (Gesenius) 'integritas, incolumitas, salus.'

[2] *B. L.*, p. 239. [3] p. 241. [4] p. 242. [5] p. 246. [6] p. 249.

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surprised, when we are told that among Moslems generally there is 'a belief that all the enjoyments of sense are the rightful heritage of the faithful who dare to seize them.'[1]

Mohammed assuredly was of those 'who say, Peace, peace, and there is no peace.'

3. Others proceeded on what was in itself the sound principle of forming communities, which should be held together by the voluntary profession of a common belief, and should attempt to influence society at large only by the way of persuasion. This class finds its most eminent instance in Sakya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, the object of which system was expressly declared to be the attainment of *peace.* Not many words need be spent in explaining what his method was or what his success. Sakya's first and fundamental assumption was that *nowhere in the universe could man find peace.* His only hope lay in the utter despair of finding peace by any other means than that of self-extinction. And how was this to be achieved? His disciples were to go through an elaborate process of asceticism; each stage of which would set them free from some portion of the burden of humanity, and the termination of which at death would be annihilation.[2]

Most saddening is the reflexion that teaching like this should have been welcomed by millions as the one specific for human misery. How great must that misery have been! How truly must they have felt themselves to be 'without God in the universe,' when they accepted spiritual suicide as the only 'way of peace'!

This review may prepare us for weighing more attentively the character of that society which Christ founded.

The *ideal* of that society is (we may reverently affirm) worthy of God. It is *one, holy, and catholic.*

[1] Sir B. Frere; quoted in *B. L.*, p. 258.

[2] Professor Monier Williams says, in his Sanscrit dictionary, '*Nirvâna* . . . (with Buddhists and Jainas), absolute extinction, or annihilation, complete extinction of individual existence.' We observe that Dr. Frankfurter, whose essay on 'Buddhism' is printed by Mr. Wordsworth as an appendix to his Lectures, speaks of Nirvâna as a *positive* thing, 'the highest state of blessedness,' 'beatitude' (pp. 345, 347). Similarly Mr. Rhys Davids (*On Buddhism*, passim). Mr. Davids, however, enables his reader to correct his error; for he remarks (pp. 112, 113) that, when 'Nirvâna' is used of one who is still in the body, it implies 'the cessation of individual existence;' and that he who has attained this state will, at death, '*be no longer alive or existent in any sense at all*; he will have reached parinibbana, *complete extinction.*' To give the name Blessedness to this state is like equating zero to infinity.

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These characteristics belonged to the Church essentially from the beginning. On the Day of Pentecost, when the Christian Church was consecrated to its high office, it was not only one and holy, but *catholic* as well. Every one of its faithful members at that time knew that he was united to a society, by means of which eventually 'all nations were to be blessed.' The same has been the case in every succeeding age. A few remarks on these characteristics will suffice for our present purpose.

1. As to *Unity*. Within thirty years after the Ascension, there had sprung up in the chief cities of the Roman Empire churches, in which men who had thought themselves severed by impassable barriers of nature—Jew and Gentile, Greek and Scythian, freeman and slave—were joined together 'in one body and one spirit.'

If in later ages forgetfulness of the sole Headship of Christ over His Church has led to a suspension of visible intercommunion between large portions of Christendom, this has not destroyed the vital unity of the Church. Evidence of that is given by a profound agreement of belief in all main articles of the Creed, by a common acknowledgment of the authority of Holy Scripture, and by the administration of the same sacraments. Nor need we doubt that even those outward divisions are overruled 'for good to them that love God.' As in the moral world evil is turned into a discipline of goodness, so the separation of Churches has given occasion for a higher training of the true *spirit of unity* ; and this spirit, so strengthened and exalted, may (if God see fit to remove the accidental hindrances to its exercise) shine forth again before the world with surprising brightness and unlooked for results.

2. *Holiness.*—This belongs to the very idea of the Church, which was formally constituted by the descent of the Holy Spirit, and all whose members are 'called to be holy.' Though holiness be in its nature a hidden thing, yet the Church's inward holiness has manifested itself in a gradual sanctification of the nations.

3. *Catholicity.* — This was declared to belong to the Church's character when our Lord commanded His apostles to 'go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' As a matter of fact, every century has seen the Church (in spite of reverses) advancing towards its ideal ; not merely covering a larger amount of the earth's surface, but penetrating more deeply into every part of human life—domestic, social, political, and intellectual.



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Thus the Church, when viewed on its ideal side, is well fitted to satisfy man's noblest aspirations; and we find no less adaptation to human needs when we consider the instruments with which the Church is furnished for *practically fulfilling* its mission. These are the doctrine and sacraments and discipline of Christ.

1. The whole tendency of Christian *doctrine* is, first to establish the believer in inward 'joy and peace' (Rom. xv. 13), and then to dispose him to 'seek peace with all men.' We may fairly refer to the proclamation issued by Constantine, shortly after he had gained the sovereignty of the East, as an illustration of this. He says—

'My own desire is for the general advantage of the world and all mankind, that Thy people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who are still blinded by error be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. . . . Only let men of sound judgment be assured of this, that those alone can live a life of holiness and purity, whom Thou callest to find rest in Thy holy laws. As for those who hold themselves aloof, they may, if they please, retain their temples of falsehood. We have the glorious edifice of Thy truth, which Thou hast given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

2. The Christian *sacraments* are specially fitted to satisfy the longings of the soul after peace. They are God's own seals to His covenant of peace. By them He assures us 'of His favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body' of His Son.

3. The *discipline* of Christ, administered by a body of men whose duty it is to publish in all its purity the 'word of reconciliation' (2 Cor. v. 19), has been an eminent means of upholding the kingdom of peace upon earth. If the Church has been compelled in every age to confess herself to be 'militant,' this detracts nothing from her real character. She is militant only against the foes of peace. She fights only against evil, and is never more truly the friend of peace than when she is engaged in this holy war. Meantime, she offers up continual supplications 'for all men' (1 Tim. ii. 1–4), asking that it may please God to 'give to all nations unity, peace, and concord;' and retains within herself her Saviour's last bequest, 'the peace of God, which passes all understanding.'

We have endeavoured to give our readers an outline of Mr. Wordsworth's great argument, in the hope that it may lead them to obtain the volume itself. We can promise them that they will find in it an unusual amount of fresh and

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vigorous thought, accompanied by a rich variety of illustrative matter; like 'apples of gold in figured-work of silver.' The Church at home will find in it a real addition to her store of 'Christian Evidences,' and those who are labouring in the mission-field will welcome it both for its own intrinsic worth and as one more token of the growing interest which we at home are taking in the work of evangelization.

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## ART. XI.—THE RELIGIOUS CENSUS AND THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

*A Census of Religions, Denominational Worship, and the National Church.* Three Essays. By the Right Hon. J. G. HUBBARD, M.P. (London, 1882.)

WE gladly welcome the separate publication of Mr. Hubbard's essays, as a most solid and useful contribution to the cause of Church defence.

The first of these essays, which is reprinted by permission from the *Nineteenth Century*, is on the census of religions. It is a most clear statement of the crucial points involved in this prolonged controversy, and a complete exposure of the tactics by which the Liberationists have tried to work it to the disadvantage of the Church. Appearing at the time and in the form in which it did, it was of especial service; and, indeed, the scant courtesy with which the author was treated by his opponents showed very well their estimate of its value. Nor is the subject one of transient interest. As Mr. Balfour remarked in the recent discussion, if the question of disestablishing the Church were to be raised in the House of Commons, one of the first questions that would be asked would be as to the comparative numbers that belong to the Church and to other religious denominations. In this question of a census we have, in fact, the great lever by which the Liberationists hope to disintegrate the solid foundation on which the Church rests; and hence, while persistently rejecting the only means which could give a fair religious census, they have brought forward a series of false and delusive enumerations. The danger to the Church is lest by these means they should in time create an impression or belief in the public mind that the Church is in a decided



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minority; and hence the value of a true statement of the case. So long as our opponents persist in their present tactics, it is the bounden duty of Churchmen as persistently to reiterate their view of the case; nor do we make any apology for restating, under the guidance of Mr. Hubbard, the chief points.

The question of a census of religious profession—as opposed to the delusive enumerations which our opponents advocate—is one which has an import and a bearing extending far beyond the narrow bounds of Disestablishment controversies. In a free government like ours, laws derive their force and efficacy from being the expression of the sentiment and conviction of the people. If, instead of answering to these convictions, they conflict with them, so far from producing order and harmony, they only introduce disorder and confusion. Hence the importance to the State of accurately measuring the nature and tendency of a sentiment so important as the religious: a sentiment which is not only operative on the religious and moral sphere, but which, from its tendency to create ideals, enters largely into social and political life. This sentiment cannot be gathered from the prevailing views and feelings of parties under the leadership of advanced thinkers; for these never penetrate beyond a certain depth, and are besides partial, fluctuating, and transient. It can only be got from the people themselves by putting to them a direct question as to what they think and believe; in other words, by a census of religious profession. In this respect, through the tactics of Liberation fanatics, England is at a singular disadvantage as compared with other countries. We have no census of religious profession; and, consequently, in regard to some of the most vital questions of the day, both social and religious, our statesmen must work comparatively in the dark.

It was not till 1851 that the country began to be aware of the importance of this view. By the Census Bill of 1850, the Secretary of State received power to issue questions referring not only to the numbers, ages, and occupations of the people, but also to such further particulars as might seem to him advisable. Under the head of 'further particulars,' it was at first intended to collect information as to the 'number, varieties, and capabilities' of the religious and scholastic institutions of the country. This, however, on the objection of the House of Peers and the law officers of the Crown, was dropped; and ultimately the 'further particulars' comprised information as to the existing accommodation for

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public religious worship and the attendance on the census Sunday.

It is very evident, however, that these particulars, whatever importance may be attached to them, fall very far short of the requirements of a genuine religious census. Of this the statesmen of the day were fully aware; and, in fact, it was intended that the deficiencies of 1851 should be supplemented by the census of 1861. Accordingly the Census Act of 1860, as presented to the House of Commons, contained a provision for obtaining the religious profession of every individual. In the meantime, however, the Nonconformist interest had had time to weigh the effect of this proposal if it should be carried out. They saw clearly that it must result in the return of an overwhelming majority in favour of the Church; and, as a consequence, an end would be put to the schemes of spoliation and destruction which they meditated against the Church. By this time, too, they were fully aware of the advantage to be derived to their cause from the dexterous manipulation of the slippery and inaccurate statistics of 1851. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the whole Nonconformist influence was arrayed against the proposal. The omission of the clause, Mr. Hubbard tells us, was moved by Mr. Edward Baines, the member for Leeds, in a speech embodying all the arguments that ingenuity and imagination could suggest.

'He was answered by Sir George C. Lewis, the then Home Secretary. Sir George began by showing that all presumptions were in favour of a religious census—an accessory and assistance to good government which had found place in the general practice of civilized States; and he gave reasons for believing that the difficulties which were apprehended would disappear in the face of a well-organized system of enumeration. Sir George Lewis, with a warmth unusual in him, contemptuously spurned the insinuation that the religious census would be perverted into a means of oppression through undue influence; he reproved the inconsistency with which the several sects protested against the record of their religious profession in the national census, while their very protests were made with an ostentatious display of their Nonconformity; but he concluded by withdrawing the provision for the record of a religious profession.'[1]

Lord Palmerston was not less energetic in his condemnation of Nonconformist pleas, nor, alas! less weak in yielding to the clamour. Attempts have, indeed, been recently made to represent Lord Palmerston as supporting by his high authority the accuracy and fairness of the delusive census of 1851. Mr.

[1] *Essays*, p. 6.

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Richard, in his speech on the Census Bill of 1880, is reported to have said that, in answer to a question by Mr. Apsley Pellatt, 'Whether any recent inquiry had been made into the accuracy of the returns of the Registrar-General, and whether in consequence any doubt existed as to their fairness?' Lord Palmerston replied—

'That he had made inquiries on the subject, and he entertained no doubt as to the accuracy of the returns with regard to all the facts to which they referred. . . . He reposed entire confidence in the general accuracy of the returns, and in the diligence and care of those under whose arrangements they had been made, by whom he believed every means had been taken to render their statements as accurate as possible.'[1]

We know not on what authority Mr. Richard relied in making this statement, but its general purport stands in striking contrast with what Lord Palmerston did say in 1860, as reported by Mr. Hubbard on the authority of Hansard.

'I do not agree with him [Mr. Baines] as to the mode of obtaining the information, because nothing could be more fallacious than the mode adopted in 1851. . . . No inference of value could be drawn from such information, and I protest against adopting such a mode, attended with trouble and leading to no reasonable conclusion. . . . With respect to the enumeration of 1851, I do not believe there was fraud practised, but I cannot but think that there is no truth whatever in the conclusions which have been drawn from it. . . . With all respect to the Nonconforming body I still entertain the opinion that their objections are not borne out by any reasons that will bear the test of argument. We defer to their feelings, but we cannot assent to their reasoning.'[2]

Thus the opportunity for obtaining a really trustworthy census was lost in 1860. There was little hope that the loss might be repaired in 1870 or 1880. By this time the Liberal party had become still further enslaved to the Dissenting interest; and, of course, on a question which that interest regarded as so vital, could not be expected to go against it. The consequence is that no really trustworthy religious census has yet been obtained.

When we turn to consider the arguments by which the opponents of a census of religious profession endeavour to support their cause, we are deeply impressed with a feeling of their hollowness and ineptitude. In the *Nonconformist* of July 29, 1880, a summary of these arguments was given; and Mr. Hubbard has an easy task in exhibiting their insufficiency. We shall not recapitulate what he has said; but,

[1] The *Nonconformist*, September 9, 1880. [2] Preface.

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as specimens of the shifts to which they are reduced to support a foregone conclusion, we shall instance an argument of Mr. Charles S. Miall, and a statement of Mr. Bright. Mr. Miall writes to the editor of the *Spectator*:—

'To take a census as proposed, you must invest every householder —one person, say, in every twenty—with arbitrary authority to fill up the column relative to religious profession on behalf of every one under his roof on a given Sunday night in the spring. Let us see how this might work. To take an extreme, but illustrative, case: The manager of the Grand Hotel, Charing Cross, is bound to state something as to the religious profession as well as the names and ages of two hundred inmates. Could he or would he ask his guests their religion? Or is it not likely that, instead of such an offensive inquisition, he would put them all down as Churchmen?'

But what right has Mr. Charles Miall to impute a dereliction of duty to the manager in question? We have no idea as to who the gentleman spoken of may be; but we should imagine that, filling the responsible position he does, feelings of honour and fair dealing are as precious to him as they are to Mr. Miall. Then, why should he not ask his guests their religious profession, and why should they not answer him if disposed to give the information? The manager is already bound to see each of them individually, and put to them questions which, whether offensive or not, are certainly inquisitive enough. He is bound to ask every individual under his roof his 'name, sex, age, profession or occupation, condition as to marriage, relation to head of his family, and birthplace.' Surely his labours will not be sensibly enhanced if, in addition, he asks his religious profession! It is seen that Mr. Miall's argument, if it is good for anything, militates against having any census at all.

Mr. Bright's statement is not an argument, but an epithetical ejaculation of the kind which the right hon. gentleman knows so well how, upon occasion, to utter. Speaking of the census of religious profession in the debate in 1880 he says: 'The thing is offensive and insolent; and in this country, I believe, it will never be agreed to.' But why offensive and insolent? Surely in this case the right hon. gentleman has spoken without that mature reflection which usually precedes his utterances. Has he forgotten the saying of his Master and ours: 'To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might bear witness unto the truth?' Christians of every denomination, at all times and in all places, have felt that, while these words of Christ laid upon them a tremendous responsibility, they at the same time

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endued them with a power which enabled them to conquer the world. In consequence of these words thousands of believing men, women, and children have felt constrained to confess their religion in face of the rack, the lions, and the flames. What, indeed, would Christianity be without this fundamental duty of 'bearing witness to the truth?' And surely if a man is convinced that his Church or denomination is the truth, so far from feeling it offensive or insolent to be asked about it, he ought to be 'always ready' to give an answer to a proper inquiry. He is no Christian, but a renegade to his Master, if he refuses. The right hon. gentleman would appear to have quite forgotten the tradition in this respect of his own sect: a tradition which redounds so much to its honour. What mean broad brims and scanty collars? Surely if they mean anything it is this: Before you even ask us, we will tell you our religious profession.

But do people really feel it offensive and insolent? Or is there any unwillingness, as the saying is, to 'ticket themselves?' So loudly has this objection been trumpeted, that it is extremely satisfactory to find, from practical experience, that neither the feeling nor the unwillingness do in fact exist. We have before us an account of the religious census in the Diocese of Liverpool recently undertaken under the direction of Canon Hume. In this case no less than 1,013,763 persons were enumerated: that is to say, 71,121 less than the Government enumeration over the same area. No difficulty whatever was experienced in obtaining the religious profession of the people enumerated; and we search in vain in Canon Hume's account for any statement that the question was deemed by anyone to be either offensive or insolent.

Rightly or wrongly, however, the Dissenting interest has succeeded in preventing the only religious census that could be of any avail—the census of religious profession. Nor is this all. While fully aware of the damaging effects such a census would produce on their own schemes, they are equally aware of the advantages they derive from the delusive census of 1851. Hence, not only have they manipulated the figures then obtained, but on every occasion they have advocated its repetition. They have not, it is true, succeeded in obtaining this; but, in default, they have favoured us with amateur attempts, based on the same principle. In 1872–3 they gave us a census of religious accommodation, taken in 141 towns; and only quite recently another census, ostensibly undertaken by newspaper proprietors, has given a statement of attendances. Nothing could be more delusive than all

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this. Not only are these attempts utterly inaccurate and untrustworthy,[1] but they are manipulated for a purpose which they could not, even if accurate, by any possibility accomplish. It is attempted by means of them to get at the relative numbers of the Church and Dissent. In other words, having prevented by every means in their power *a direct and accurate mode* of attaining these numbers, they attempt to get at them *in a roundabout and delusive way.* Probably the most valuable part of Mr. Hubbard's Essay is his complete exposure of these tactics; and we shall merely follow him in his argument, adding such illustration as may occur to us.

Mr. Mann's figures for the census of 1851 were as follows:—

ACCOMMODATION FOR WORSHIP.

| | Buildings | Seats |
|---|---|---|
| Church of England . . . | 14,077 | 5,317,915 |
| Nonconformist . . . . | 20,399 | 4,894,648 |

| | ATTENDANCE AT WORSHIP (Supplying by estimate defects in the returns) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Morning | Afternoon | Evening |
| Church of England . . | 2,541,244 | 1,890,764 | 860,543 |
| Nonconformist. . . | 2,106,238 | 1,293,371 | 2,203,906 |
| | 4,647,482 | 3,184,135 | 3,064,449 |

By assuming that of the afternoon attendants one-half, and of the evening attendants one-third, had not been at the Morning Service, Mr. Mann obtained a total of

| | |
|---|---|
| Worshippers in the Church of England . . | 3,773,474 |
| Worshippers of other Denominations . . | 3,487,558 |

or in the proportion of fifty-two Churchmen to forty-eight Nonconformists. 'Upon these doubtful data,' adds Mr. Hubbard, 'the Liberation Society constructed their computations, eventuating in the discovery that Nonconformists constituted a majority of the people of England and Wales.'

Let us deal, first, with the question of attendance. Granting that Mr. Mann's figures are correct, granting even that the figures of the recent supplementary census are correct, how from the recorded attendances on a given Sunday are we to arrive at the relative numbers of the different

[1] Regarding the census of 1873, Canon Hume, of Liverpool—than whom none is more qualified to form an opinion—writes: 'I analysed but a single line—that of our churches in Liverpool—and the whole bubble was burst; every return was false from bottom to top.' In regard to the recent census of attendance, complaints of its unfairness to the Church reach us on every side.

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denominations? The Liberationists contend that the relative number of the different denominations present on census day is to be applicable as a scale to determine the religious profession of the rest of the population: in other words, by a simple rule of three you are to score off from the residuum of non-attendants a proportionate number for each denomination. But surely nothing could be more unwarranted. Mr. Mann's figures reveal the melancholy fact that only 7,261,032 individuals, in a population of eighteen millions, were present at worship. We have therefore, from the presence of these seven millions, to divine the religion of over ten millions. Mr. Hubbard shows the absurdity of the rule of three process. From the very nature of the case Dissenters would be more largely represented at worship than Churchmen. In fact, when a Dissenter ceases to attend service, he as a rule ceases to be a Dissenter. Then, many of the sects are purely local; why should they be credited with a proportionate number of adherents all over England? Why, for every seven persons present at Mr. Voysey's service, should we suppose that eleven others in different parts of England adhered to him? The delusive nature of the calculation is thus apparent.

Perhaps this will be still more evident if we look at the matter from a concrete point of view. Let us suppose a well-worked district of, say, 8,000 people, where the clergy have knowledge more or less of every family residing in it. What is the state of things that, on an average, they would have to encounter? They would have to score off a small percentage of Roman Catholics who refuse their ministrations, and possibly double the number of earnest Nonconformists. But how about the rest of the population? It is found, in the majority of cases, that not only do these not refuse to be ministered to, but they claim a right of property in the clergy and their ministrations. As a simple matter of fact, pastoral relations, more or less intimate, are formed with every remaining family. Children are baptized and instructed; there are confirmations, marriages, parochial visitations, visitations of the sick, and burials of the dead. In addition to this the clergy are expected to plead the cause of the poor in their temporal struggles, and to aid them in troubles and misfortunes. It is quite true that in the matter of church attendance, much is to be desired. Here, in fact, we have the weak point in the Church's ministration. Whether it be that they have not been properly taught, or whatever may be the cause, our people do not attend at public worship as

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they ought to do. But, after all, matters are not quite so bad as they are often represented. According to Mr. Mann's figures 10,000,000 people were absent on census Sunday: *i.e.* nearly two-thirds of the population. It would be rash, however, to conclude, as is sometimes done, that the greater part of these do not attend church at all. The real truth is, that while one-half the attendance at church may be reckoned as habitual, the other half may be said to be representative: *i.e.* composed of representatives of the families of the 10,000,000 absentees. Sometimes it is a child, at others a daughter or a son, or it may be the wife or the husband. In a well-worked parish there will be few families that will not be more or less represented at the services of the Church.

No doubt there are dark places; there are teeming populations with which the present resources of the Church are unable to cope. No doubt much way has to be made before all the clergy attain to what ought to be the standard of work. Still the picture we have drawn is by no means illusory; it is already realized in thousands of parishes, and is daily tending, as our Liberationist friends well know, to be realized more and more. Now, taking this state of things as our standard, it is seen how utterly delusive is the process by which a census of religious profession is deduced from a census of attendance. The actual attendance at a single service in the parish church affords no indication whatever of the number of souls in pastoral relation with the clergy, and in reception of the ordinances of religion; nor does the fact that a popular preacher may collect an audience nearly equal to that in the parish church imply that the population of the parish have transferred their allegiance from the clergy to the preacher. As the Bishop of Manchester well remarked, 'Dissent is *congregational*, the Church of England is *parochial*.'

We have next to consider the question of church accommodation. The contention of the Liberation Society is that Nonconformity in the number of its places of worship, as well as in its worshippers, has grown, since 1851, much faster than the Church. In support of this contention they adduce the retrospective calculations of Mr. Mann, as well as their own census of 1872 and 1873; and they have arrived at the conclusion that out of 100 sittings 41·2 are provided by the Church and 58·8 by Nonconformists.

The whole particulars of this discussion are in the highest degree slippery and confusing. In the first place, while the numbers of churches can be ascertained, we have no means of getting at the actual numbers of Nonconformist chapels. The

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number at present on the register is 21,366; but that is only the true number, provided that all those certified prior to July 1, 1852, have been *recertified* since then. In the second place, a far more perplexing circumstance concerns the rate of increase, which is in fact the crucial point. Since 1852 there have been added to the register no less than 25,977 chapels. Now, if all these are new; if they are to be added to the 20,390 given by Mr. Mann, we get the enormous number of 46,367 chapels; and, in that case, it would be idle to deny that Nonconformity has grown, and is growing, at a rate which far outstrips the Church. But, confessedly, a great part of these additions consist of the chapels of 1852 recertified. The exact number, however, is not given, and thus we have no means of ascertaining what has been the increase. But, in the third place, what completes our state of perplexity is the strange fact that parallel with the column of registrations there stands a column of *cancellations*.[1] What is the meaning of this strange phenomenon? If we think the matter over we shall see that it can only mean one thing: viz. that a vast number of the so-called chapels are not chapels at all. They are buildings which are hired for purposes of meeting, and which to that extent may be called chapels. But they are chapels of a peculiar kind. They may be chapels to-day, and anything else to-morrow. When a church is built and consecrated it is a church for ever; or, at all events, a permanent addition to the Church's accommodation. But a chapel of equal capacity may be in existence this year, and quite drop out of existence the next.

But we naturally want to look closer at these fluctuating chapels, to see of what nature they really are; and happily Mr. Hubbard has gratified our curiosity. It turns out that they are of the most miscellaneous description. 'School-rooms,

[1] The actual figures up to the present date are as follows:—
'Number of Nonconformist Buildings registered for Worship, and the number of Cancellations in the following Decades.

| | Registered. | Cancelled. | On the Register. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1852 to 1861 | 14,761 | 99 | 14,662 |
| 1861 to 1871 | 5,682 | 1,816 | 18,528 |
| 1871 to 1881 | 5,534 | 2,696 | 21,366 |
| | 25,977 | 4,611 | 21,366 |

The above includes chapels certified prior to July 1, 1852, if the parties have thought necessary to recertify them, but it is not compulsory.'

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music-halls, amphitheatres, vestries, temperance-halls, occupied houses, rooms in a house, cottages, club-rooms, railway arches, bake-houses, malt-kilns, town-halls, &c.'

The following extract, culled by Mr. Hubbard out of the Blue-book illustrative of this, deserves to be widely known :—

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6. A dwelling-house in the occupation of John Poor, labourer, Old Park, near Bramdean.
16. A room in a house belonging to Mr. R. S. Boyt (Uxbridge), Subscription Reading Room, Lyme-Regis.
23. Loft belonging to Robert Roe, Lynton.
24. Primitive Methodist preaching-room, owned by Henry Nuttall, Esq. (Barkby).
27. 'The Room,' in the occupation of Henry George Childs (Milbury Osmund).
30. Club-room, Pelican Inn, New Town, Ebbw Vale.
33. Nos. 75 and 76, Railway Arches, under the Eastern Counties Railway, North Street, Bethnal Green.
Amicable Hall.
Christian Community Memorial Hall.
People's Hall.
Albion Grammar School.
42. Great and Little Bolton Co-operative Hall.
44. Boston Sunday School Union School-room.
46. Hall of Freedom.
52. A dwelling known by the name of Benjamin Wilkins's.
Dwelling-house, Chilton Polden.
54. People's Hall.
Assembly Rooms.
Bethel Arch.
Royal British Schools.
56. Assembly Rooms, Fox and Goose Inn, Redditch.
62. Girls' British School, in the rear of the church.
68. Bake-house attached to the dwelling-house of Mr. Jacob Crabb.
100. Noah's Ark.
124. New Public Hall, Godalming.
133. Mr. Tanner's Lecture-room, Bohemia Mews, Hastings.
143. Royal Amphitheatre, 85, High Holborn.
Doughty Hall, 14, Bedford Row.
Claremont Hall, Penton Street, Islington, a hall owned by Mr. John Stabb.
166. Gladstone Music-hall (Leicester).
184. Buildings in the occupation of Hezekiah Kitchmaid.
233. Black Horse Inn, Long Room, Reading.
Forester's Assembly Rooms, Reading.
243. Co-operative Assembly Rooms, Delph.
A wooden movable building owned by Mr. Edwin Austin.
245. Justice Room, back of the Porcupine Inn, Tywordoeath.
248. The Great Hall of Freemasons' Tavern, London.

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Royal Music Hall, Holborn, London.

249. The Ark Victoria Rooms.

350. A Railway Arch, Walworth.

Ten buildings in the occupation of Joseph Floyd, at Mirfield, Ossett, Thornhill Lees, Ossett Common, Gauthorpe, Chickenley, Whitley, Thornhill, Briestfield, Battley Carr, all in Dewsbury Union.

It is plain that this is not 'accommodation' in the same sense as churches constitute accommodation, and that there can be no comparison between the two. Another thing is very evident: the delusive nature of the process, if such chapels are made the bases of a calculation as to relative denominational numbers. A single self-denying and earnest man by hiring a hall or a railway arch might call into existence 'accommodation' for three or four thousand people, which never was filled, and never is likely to be, and which of course would drop out of existence the moment he left the scene. No doubt a great deal of Nonconformist accommodation is of as permanent a character as is that of the Church, and it would be extremely desirable if we could distinguish the permanent from the fluctuating. This, however, there appears no means of doing, unless the number of chapels licensed for marriage might be taken as an indication. If we could suppose that all or nearly all the chapels which have a permanent character have been so licensed, we should in that case have something to go upon. The number of chapels of this description, as given by Mr. Hubbard, amounts to 8,413; that is, considering the difference in capacity,[1] to rather less than a third of the accommodation provided by the Church. This would give us, if we ventured to draw the Liberation inference from accommodation to denominational numbers, a surer basis of calculation than the entire number of registered chapels. But the fallacy of any such inference is made very apparent by a fact furnished to us by Canon Hume. In 1834 there was a creed census made of the population of Ireland. Besides the three larger sections of the community—Church people, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians—there were numerous minor sects, such as Wesleyans, Baptists, Independents, Quakers, Moravians, &c. These minor sects had no less than 403 chapels, not spread over the whole 32 shires, but usually at certain strong points. This number would, at first sight, seem to indicate, as belonging to

[1] In Mr. Mann's report, 14,077 churches yielded 5,317,915 sittings, while 20,390 chapels yielded only 4,894,648 sittings.

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them, a considerable proportion of the population. It was found, however, that their numbers, all told, amounted only to 20,882 persons; which gives an average of 54 persons to each chapel, or, say, 11 families.

But our Liberation friends would not agree to any limitation of the registered chapels; and, as the matter stands, we can only admire the patience of the people of England with agitators, who, after hindering by every means in their power an accurate return of denominational numbers, attempt to conjure these numbers out of such materials as we have indicated.

We gladly turn from these delusive processes to seek for some more certain indication as to the relative strength in numbers of the Church and of Dissent. In the absence of that which alone could give a true account, viz. a census of religious profession, there are certain returns which throw light upon the subject; and this light is all the clearer inasmuch as, proceeding from a variety of sources, all the scattered rays concur towards one result. Taking the year 1870, the year previous to the School Boards, we find the number of children under instruction in Church schools was 72·6 per cent. Again of the number of marriages celebrated in 1878, 72·6 were in church; of the seamen and marines employed in the navy in 1875, 75·5 were Churchmen; and, what is very remarkable, the army, although recruited not only in England, but in Ireland and Scotland, where the Church is in a minority, still yields 62·5 of Churchmen. To this we have to add the inmates of workhouses of whom, in 1875, 79 per cent. belonged to the Church; and the prisoners in gaol in 1867, of whom 75 per cent. were Church.

The remarkable thing about all these figures is, that, though coming from the most varied sources, they all concur in attributing to the Church a percentage of from 70 to 80 of the population. It is true that in the case of the army the percentage falls below this figure; but if the census had been confined to English-born soldiers it is probable the percentage would have equalled, if it had not surpassed, that of the navy. The conclusion, therefore, is that the denominational numbers of the Church do embrace from 70 to 80 per cent. of the population.

A remarkable confirmation of this conclusion is derived from the census recently completed in the Diocese of Liverpool, mainly by the enterprise of Canon Hume. As the Government in 1880, yielding to Liberation influence, declined to have a census of religious profession, it was felt to

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be of prime importance to have such a census at least for the Diocese. Accordingly census-books were issued and house-to-house enumerators appointed under the direction of the clergy of the various parishes and ecclesiastical districts. These books have been preserved and could be easily referred to were the details called in question. As we have already mentioned, no difficulty was experienced in obtaining from the people their religious profession. With the true instinct of Christians, men 'were not ashamed of Christ and (what they believed to be) His words.' Altogether 1,013,763 persons were enumerated, or 71,121 less than the Government enumeration. The reason of this difference is, that the Government census, taking place simultaneously over the whole area in one night, was enabled to enumerate the 'floating population;' whereas the Diocesan census, being taken at different times, was necessarily confined to the residents. The figures for the Diocese were given by Canon Hume in the *Liverpool Courier* of March 1, 1882; but we take them from the official account. They are as follows:—

| 1. Archdeaconry of Liverpool. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Churches | Districts | Rural Deaneries | Church of England | Dissenters and others | Roman Catholics | Religion unknown | Total |
| 16 | 16 | Wigan . . | 74,653 | 22,280 | 19,381 | 20 | 116,334 |
| 27 | 26 | North Meols . | 48,328 | 17,168 | 9,596 | 105 | 75,197 |
| 50 | 46 | Liverpool (Nth.) | 175,624 | 57,406 | 111,945 | 2,293 | 347,268 |
| 93 | 88 | | 298,605 | 96,854 | 140,922 | 2,418 | 538,799 |
| 2. Archdeaconry of Warrington. | | | | | | | |
| 44 | 43 | Liverpool (Sth.) | 137,836 | 48,529 | 45,076 | 3,679 | 235,120 |
| 36 | 33 | Prescot . . | 89,894 | 30,219 | 37,356 | 49 | 157,518 |
| 24 | 21 | Winwick . | 48,460 | 18,712 | 14,661 | 493 | 82,326 |
| 104 | 97 | | 276,190 | 97,460 | 97,093 | 4,221 | 474,964 |
| 197 | 185 | Sum for the whole Diocese | 574,795 | 194,314 | 238,015 | 6,639 | 1,013,763 |
| | | | 56·7 | 19·2 | 23·5 | ·6 | 100 |

Canon Hume also gives the percentages for the various rural deaneries, which are interesting and instructive, not only in a local point of view, but on general grounds. They are as follows:—

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| | Church of England | Dissenters and others | Roman Catholics | Religion unknown |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wigan . . . . | 64·2 | 19·1 | 16·7 | |
| North Meols . . | 64·4 | 22·8 | 12·8 | |
| Liverpool (North) | 50·6 | 16·5 | 32·2 | ·7 |
| Liverpool (South) | 58·6 | 20·6 | 19·2 | 1·6 |
| Prescot . . . . | 57·1 | 19·2 | 23·7 | |
| Winwick . . . | 58·7 | 22·8 | 17.9 | ·6 |

From these we see that outside the overwhelming Roman Catholic population the percentage of Churchmen rises as high as 64·4, while it sinks to 50·6 when the Roman Catholic rises to 32·2. Another remarkable fact is that in no case does Dissent attain a higher percentage than 22·8; while for the Diocese generally it is as low as 19·2. If we take the highest of these numbers as holding good for England generally, it would follow that in those districts of the country where the Roman Church is at its average figure, the percentage of Churchmen is from 70 to 80, which is exactly what all the indications given above would lead us to expect.

In many respects Liverpool is the most favourable ground for the Liberation view. It is the great receptacle in the first instance of the Irish immigration; while its population is extensively recruited from Scotland and Wales. If under these adverse circumstances the Church can show a percentage as high as 56·7, its numbers in other parts would undoubtedly rise to the figure we have mentioned.

Mr. Hubbard, in his last two Essays, takes up the subject of Denominational Worship and the National Church. Our space is already nearly exhausted, and we cannot follow him into these questions. One word, however, we should like to say on the subject of the National Church. The great object of the Liberationists in their attempts at a religious census has been to create the impression that 'the Church of England, in a numerical sense, is no longer the National Church.' So wrote Mr. Charles Miall to the *Times* when heralding the most recent of these attempts. The phrase is a specious one; but what does it mean? What have numbers to do with the nationality of the Church? The Church of England *is* the National Church, and no power, not even Parliament, can make it to be other than it actually is. Parliament, it is true, might degrade its bishops, confiscate its revenues, and injure it in many ways. One thing, however, Parliament, omnipotent as it is supposed to be, cannot do. It cannot reverse the course of history. So long as the Church of England



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exists it is and must remain the National Church, the inheritor of glorious traditions and ennobling memories. The Patriarch of Alexandria, with his scattered remnant of faithful, is still a Patriarch of the Œcumenical Church, the successor of S. Mark and S. Athanasius; and so long as there is an Archbishop of Canterbury he will remain the successor of S. Augustine, of Becket, and of Cranmer. If our friends imagine that by any process of Disestablishment they are to destroy our identity by changing us into a modern sect, they had better disabuse themselves at once.

But what is it that they mean by Disestablishment? What is it that they hope to accomplish? If we listen to Mr. Hugh Mason, presiding over the Liberationists at Manchester, Disestablishment is a very small thing indeed. 'We do not,' he says, 'wish to plunder the great Episcopal Church of this country of one brick or stone, or one shilling of money, which rightfully, legally, morally belongs to her.' But, then, if this is all, how are we to account for the utterances of subsequent speakers? Mr. C. McLaren, for instance, must have had a somewhat different idea, inasmuch as he is reported to have said—'When he looked back at the past history of the English Church, he regretted the political influence which it had exercised, and he felt that, if full justice were to be done, perhaps it should be disestablished before its sister the Scottish Church.' This is pretty well for a member of the great Liberal party which is generally supposed to advocate freedom of political action for all. Why should the Church of England be *punished* because the conscientious convictions of its members have led them to a different course of action from that which Mr. McLaren approves? But the point we have at present to deal with is that, in the idea of Mr. McLaren, Disestablishment is a *punishment.*

We fear that Mr. McLaren's idea is the true one. Disestablishment is meant by the Liberation Society to be a punishment, or perhaps something more. When we turn from speeches to the deliberate proposals of the Society, as set forth in *Practical Suggestions,* we find it proposed—*that every corporation in the Church should be dissolved, and the whole ecclesiastical law repealed.* Now, if this is really carried out it is idle to talk of bricks and stones, and shillings of money. You cannot give back either buildings or endowments, for the Church of England to which you pretend to give them back has been legislated out of existence, and is incapable of legally holding any property at all. After the terrible revelations contained in *Practical Suggestions,* there is no denying

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the fact that by Disestablishment the Liberation Society mean the *destruction* of the Church, or at all events its effectual *crippling*. We only wonder that it has never occurred to them to consider this aim in a moral point of view. Many of them are upright, honourable, Christian, God-fearing men. We ask them how it can be just, right, equitable, or at all permissible by the Divine Law of Christ, to endeavour to destroy or cripple a great institution for good.

It is as a serious blow to the efficiency and usefulness of the Church that Disestablishment is regarded by Mr. Hubbard. In his idea the Church is engaged in a great contest with iniquity; her means are sorely inadequate; she is unable to cope with teeming populations; and she has been crying aloud for help—a cry to which her laity have nobly responded. Is this a juncture in which it is politic to destroy or cripple her? If you do so, what is to become of the millions to whom she ministers? What organization is to take her place? What, especially, is to become of the labouring poor whose Church she emphatically is? Are they to be scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd?

Against considerations of this kind what have the Liberation Society to bring? Simply the cry of religious equality. But the real question is, not whether religious equality be a good thing, but how it is to be got? How is equality of any kind to be got? I am old, my neighbour is young; how are we to be made equal? John is strong, Thomas is a cripple; how are they to be equated? It is precisely the same with Churches. How is the great Church of England, embracing 70 per cent. of the population, to be equated with, say, the Independents? The thing is simply impossible. Suppose the Church is not destroyed or crippled, but equitably disestablished, would equality be reached? Far from it. There would still be the great inequality of numbers; and we know what that means. It means the possession by the one of resources, such as wealth, culture, intelligence, social position, political influence, and so on, which the other does not possess. So far from inequality being redressed by an equitable Disestablishment, it would be rather aggravated. The Church of England for the general good, and as the price or penalty of her legal position, submits to serious restrictions on her freedom of action. Remove these restrictions and she will be more powerful than ever. It is because the policy of an equitable Disestablishment would fail, that the Liberation Society have resorted to a policy of destruction. A man by a long life of industry has surrounded himself with wealth and



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comfort; *therefore* we are to set upon him, destroy his policies, and confiscate his goods, in order to make him equal to a young neighbour just beginning life. Such is the policy of the Liberation Society in regard to religious equality.

Then there is the great constitutional question involved in Disestablishment; and it is far more serious than many people think. It is said there is no Establishment in America and in the Colonies. Of course there is not; and no one would think of establishing a Church in *young* communities such as these. But it is a very different matter in an *old* country like England, which has passed through so many vicissitudes, and has ripened under the process. You cannot touch her constitution so matured, in an essential part, without the greatest danger of its complete destruction. An old tree in the garden may not have grown into the shape we should prefer; but we know well that it cannot now be remedied. Were it young it might be trained; but to break it up, under the idea that we could rearrange its parts, would only end in its destruction. The Church of England is bound up with the Monarchy and the Legislature, and it could not be touched without serious danger to both.

One word regarding Disestablishment in Scotland, which the Liberation Society have undertaken previous to attacking the Church of England. The Church of Scotland is generally supposed to be the weaker of the two. This may be so; but the case is so complicated, the circumstances are so different from anything that prevails in England, that the result may be very different from what is expected.

One thing is a matter of wonder in England, viz. that the doctrine of a State Church is held in many denominations outside the Scottish Establishment. Still more surprising to an Englishman is the fact that two denominations, neither of whom are established or ever likely to be, have been known to split or keep asunder on this very question of a State Church. If one were to say to them, 'What does it matter either way?' the answer would be, 'Practically very little; theoretically a great deal.' But the most surprising thing of all is that the doctrine of a State Church is held in Scotland in an inverse way to what it is in England. In Scotland, it is not so much the State which establishes the Church, as the Church that establishes the State. The real truth is that Presbyterianism, in its fundamental idea, is essentially a Theocracy. The Lord Jesus is the King of nations. He has delegated to Church-officers a 'government distinct from the civil magistrate.' He has likewise delegated certain

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powers to the civil magistrate. Thus the two powers, temporal and spiritual, are co-ordinate; and in an ideal nation they will act together in harmony. Unfortunately, the State has too often been backsliding and unfaithful; and it has been the duty of the Church to call it to order by censures and other means, the extreme penalty being separation from it. When the Cameronians walked forth they had no idea that they were being disestablished; on the contrary, they were disestablishing the State, and doubtless, had their numbers justified the attempt they would have taken measures to enforce the sentence. Even the great Free Church does not, or did not, feel itself disestablished. It retired from a connexion which compelled it to submit to what it felt to be unlawful; but it left open to the State a place of repentance, and awaited patiently the time when the State might be received back into union with it. Thus, from this point of view, in asking the people of Scotland to disestablish the Church, the Liberation Society are asking them to forego and for ever abjure a fundamental tenet of the Presbyterian religion.

What the effect will be we cannot pretend to say. No doubt there has been much Liberation shouting; but that is a very different thing from the judgment of the nation, when it is asked to reflect upon the matter, and record its judgment at the poll. It may be that the Presbyterians of Scotland have drifted from old moorings, and that not even the voice of a Chalmers could awake an echo in their hearts. But at the same time it may not so be. The agitation might lead to a revival of old ideas; and if the scheme were carried by a bare majority, it might not be unattended with grave political risk.

Another thing which complicates the matter, is that to all intents and purposes the Scottish Church is disestablished already. It was disestablished by the law courts at the disruption, when they took up a position inconsistent with the Presbyterian theory of the relation between Church and State. Ever since then, the Establishment has stood in the same relation to the State as other religious bodies, the judgments of its courts and the legality of its acts being liable to review in the civil courts. This is the real reason why the Free Church have not come back on the removal of patronage. They have been chagrined and disgusted at having their own sentences reviewed; and they have no inducement to join a body that is liable to the same evil, and is in fact in their eyes as much a sect as they are themselves. It would be

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different if the old Church previous to the disruption, the Church of Thomson and of Chalmers, were revived. Probably the Free Church are moved to their present course of action by despair—despair of ever seeing realized the high Presbyterian ideal.

Under these circumstances, what is it that the Scottish measure which will go by the name of Disestablishment will practically amount to? It cannot alter the relations of the Church to the State, for these have already been reduced to the same level as those of the other bodies, and indeed, for that matter, of the Church of England itself.[1] It must be confined wholly to disendowment. But is that worth anybody's pains? Nor can the measure go far in this direction. It must leave the churches, the manses, and the glebes, and can only take tiends after satisfying life interests. It all, therefore, comes to this. Without satisfying a single aspiration, for the measure will be an insult rather than anything else to the Scottish ideal; without benefiting a single living soul by the spoliation, a huge fine will have been inflicted upon the adherents of the Scottish Church, for the laity will have to replace every shilling which Parliament takes away.

## SHORT NOTICES.

*The Revisers and the Greek Text of the New Testament.* By Two Members of the New Testament Company. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1882.)

The New Testament Revision Company has ceased to meet, and even if it were still meeting it could not as a body come forward to answer the charges brought against its work. But it is well that two members of the company have published this clear and simple statement of the chief reasons which influenced the Revisers in the textual changes they have introduced. The publication of this statement is of course prompted by the vehement and reiterated assaults of the

[1] From the point of view of the Presbyterian ideal, the Church of England would not be regarded as an *Established* Church at all. It would be viewed merely as a huge sect on which the State has laid its hand heavily by way of restraint; for all its ecclesiastical decisions are liable to review in the Queen's courts. It was in fact the analogy of the Church of England that misled the Scottish lawyers. Their main argument for forsaking the old constitutional practice of Scotland was that the Queen's Bench reviewed the ecclesiastical decisions in England. Eight judges against five took that view. The minority, however, amongst whom was Lord Jeffrey, was very strong.

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Quarterly Reviewer. But it is not designed as a formal reply to those assaults.

'Our concern,' say the writers, 'is not so much with the Reviewer as with his readers. The main task which we propose to ourselves is twofold: first, to supply accurate information in a popular form concerning the Greek text of the New Testament; secondly, to establish, by means of the information so supplied, the soundness of the principles on which the Revisers have acted in their choice of readings, and by consequence the importance of the 'New Greek Text' (as the Reviewer calls it) of which the Revised Version is a translation.'

They begin by giving an account of the Received Text, and showing that it has no claim of any kind to authority; they next give a brief account of the documents from which the text of the New Testament is to be ascertained; and then they proceed to explain how this mass of materials is to be used:

'The process by which this vast mass of documents has been reduced to such simple and manageable dimensions has been going on almost from the very earliest days of sacred criticism. From the year 1716, at all events, when Bentley was corresponding with Wetstein, down to the year 1881, when the elaborately constructed Text and exhaustive critical introduction of Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort were given to the world, the problem how to master and use properly the accumulating materials has been that which each generation of critics has been labouring to solve, and labouring, we may fearlessly say, with steadily increasing success. When we remember how Bentley's hints and prelusive suggestions of 1716 and 1720 were expanded by Bengel in 1734, recruited by the materials of Wetstein in 1751, developed and systematized by Griesbach in 1796, practically set forth by Lachmann in the text of his Greek Testament of 1831, and recognized, illustrated, and solidified by Lachmann's great successors, Tischendorf and Tregelles, in our own days, we may certainly feel that we have now reached firm critical ground, and that what were once surmises and theories have become acknowledged facts and verified and accepted principles.

The great contribution of our own times to this mastery over materials has been the clearer statement of the method of genealogy, and by means of it the corrected distribution of the great mass of documentary evidence.'

We do not propose to follow the two Revisers through their explanation of the application of this and other principles of criticism. We hope our readers will study it for themselves, if they have not already done so.

Having thus supplied the reader with a few broad outlines of textual criticism, they address themselves more immediately to the consideration of the Revisers' textual work. They point out (1) that the largeness of the company prevented the predilections of individuals from usurping the place of evidence, and (2) that the variety of its composition precluded all danger of corporate prejudices or preconceptions in favour of any particular school of criticism or any particular edition of the text. It is important that this should be clearly understood, for the Quarterly Reviewer repeatedly asserts that the exact opposite was the case.

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'The Reviewer often speaks as if Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort were responsible for all the results at which the Revisers arrived. This is absolutely contrary to the facts of the case. . . . The passages in which the Company arrived at different results from those that are to be found in the edition of Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort are by no means few, and would suffice in themselves to prove (if proof were necessary) the complete independence of the Revisers in their final determination of the Greek Text.'

In proof 'that the text of the Revisers is, in all its essential features, the same as that text in which the best critical editors during the past fifty years are generally agreed,' an analysis is given of the changes of reading adopted in the Sermon on the Mount in S. Matthew's Gospel, and in the First Epistle of S. Paul to Timothy. In the passage of S. Matthew forty-four changes have been made; in thirty-eight of these the Revisers' reading is identical with that of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and in the remaining six with that of two out of these three eminent critics. 'There is thus in these one hundred and eleven verses not a single instance of any change peculiar to the text adopted by the Revisers.' Forty-one out of forty-eight changes in the First Epistle to Timothy are found to have been adopted by all the three critics above mentioned, and of the remaining seven there are only two which are not supported by two of them. The latter part of the pamphlet is occupied with a discussion of some of the chief passages which the Reviewer singled out as containing readings especially deserving of censure.

We hope this work will be widely circulated and read. It ought to reassure those whose confidence in the Revisers' soundness of judgment has been shaken by the dogmatic assertions of the Quarterly Reviewer. We venture to think that in some respects it might have been more complete without being too technical, more attractive without sacrificing seriousness and solidity. But its very self-restraint and temperateness ought to recommend it. Only it must be remembered that no brief abstract or popular presentation can give an adequate idea of the real strength of the arguments of modern textual criticism. The true sense of their overwhelming force comes by patient study only.

*New Testament Revision. Westcott and Hort's Textual Theory. Quarterly Review*, No. 306. April 1882. (London: John Murray.)

THE Quarterly Reviewer, after demonstrating to his own satisfaction 'the utterly untrustworthy character' of the readings adopted by the Revisers, and the 'defective scholarship' which renders their work 'intolerable,' has now proceeded to 'grapple definitely with the Textual Theory of Drs. Westcott and Hort.' For in his judgment they are 'virtually responsible for the Revisionists' Greek Text.' They are 'the true authors of the mischief' which has been done. 'Dr. Hort advocated his own peculiar views in the Jerusalem Chamber with so much eloquence, eagerness, pertinacity, and plausibility, that eventually—notwithstanding the warnings, the remonstrances, the en-

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treaties of Dr. Scrivener—his counsels prevailed, and the utter shipwreck of the Revised Version has been the disastrous consequence.'

At the risk of repetition, we must beg leave once more to point out (1) that it is certainly somewhat strange that the two Cambridge Professors could exercise such a fatal power of fascination as to blind the eyes and destroy the independence of judgment of a majority of at least two-thirds in the whole company of Revisers—not only of the English, but also of the American Revisers—and force them to decisions which, according to the Quarterly Reviewer, are in direct conflict with facts; (2) that many of the readings adopted by Drs. Westcott and Hort are either not recognized at all, or only placed in the margin of the Revised Version; (3) that by far the majority of the readings adopted are to be found in the critical editions of all the best textual scholars of the century. We must repeat once more that the responsibility of the so-called 'Revisers' Text' belongs to the company, and not to two members of it.

The Quarterly Reviewer imagines that he has demolished the theory of Drs. Westcott and Hort. To examine his article in detail would require many pages. It would be necessary to review the arguments of Dr. Hort's book, and show that what the Reviewer stigmatizes as 'magisterial assertions' are really laborious inductions from patient study. The Reviewer seems to be incapable of appreciating the weight of the cumulative evidence supplied by the convergence of different lines of evidence. He is always insisting, and quite rightly insisting, on the necessity of *proof*, but ignores the fact that the proof cannot, from the nature of the case, be a mathematical demonstration. We agree with him that it would have been better if Dr. Hort had accompanied his abstract reasonings by a large selection of the facts on which he bases those reasonings: but facts are at the bottom of them, though he has not thought it needful to show in detail all the foundations of the superstructure. To take an illustration. A train of mathematical reasoning is not invalidated because some of the steps are omitted. We have seen able mathematicians puzzle for hours over some of the late Professor Maxwell's proofs, but they did not reject the result, because they could not supply the missing calculations without long thought and labour. We have not space to examine a tithe of the questions on which the Reviewer and the Professors are at issue. But we propose to notice as briefly as possible one or two points of interest.

1. The Reviewer is unfavourably impressed at the outset by the circumstance that Drs. Westcott and Hort 'rely for documentary evidence on the stores accumulated by their predecessors,' and add nothing to the mass of critical materials already available. But it is perfectly obvious that the collection of materials, and the use of those materials when collected, are two distinct departments of the science of textual criticism. A faultless collator may be destitute of the requisite knowledge and breadth of view for using the materials he gathers; and, on the other hand, a critic who attempts to deal with all the evidence must inevitably rely on the work of others who have brought the evidence together. Some direct acquaintance with the

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characteristics of MSS. is of course necessary for the critic, and this the editors have taken pains to secure;[1] but they are perfectly justified in maintaining that 'the collection of evidence is in itself by no means an indispensable apprenticeship for the study of it.'

2. The Reviewer is never tired of repeating, with wearisome iteration, his indictment against the 'foul,' 'depraved,' 'corrupt' codices ℵ and B, 'the two false witnesses,' which owe their preservation 'solely to *their ascertained evil character*.' Does it never strike him as strange that the two most magnificent and sumptuous MSS. of the New Testament in existence, transcribed with the utmost care on the most beautiful materials, prepared, in all probability, for public use in some great churches, should have been copied from an utterly corrupt exemplar, at a time when, by his hypothesis, the purer text was in general use? That would indeed be strange negligence on the part not only of the scribes, but of the guardians of Holy Writ in the Church. But all his denunciation of these MSS. comes to no more than this, that they differ from the traditional text, which has been generally current since the fourth century, and therefore they must be wrong. This procedure simply ignores the evidence which has come down to us from the ante-Nicene period. The distinctive readings of the types of text represented by ℵ and B, on the one hand, and D on the other, are to be found in the Fathers and versions of that period; the distinctive readings of the 'traditional' text (the 'Syrian' text of Drs. Westcott and Hort) are conspicuous by their absence. The problem would have another aspect, if it could be proved that the Peschito in its present form must be assigned, as the Reviewer thinks, to the second century; but, *pace* the Reviewer, the best Syriac scholars are now quite decided as to the relation of the Peschito to the Curetonian Syriac. The ruder Curetonian must be regarded as the older version, and the Peschito presents a later revision.

3. We come to the Reviewer's own critical method. It is, briefly, whatever he may say to the contrary, the old and false method of quantity of evidence *versus* quality.

> 'The *only* trustworthy method of ascertaining the truth of Scripture we hold to be the method which—without prejudice or partiality—simply inquires *which form of the text has the fullest, the widest, and the most varied attestation.* That a reading should be freely recognized alike by the earliest and by the latest available evidence, we hold to be a prime circumstance in its favour. That Copies, Versions, and Fathers should all three concur in sanctioning it, we hold to be even more conclusive. If several of the Fathers, living in different parts of ancient Christendom, are all observed to recognize the words, or to quote them in the same way, we have met with all the additional confirmation we can possibly require. Let it only be discoverable *how* or *why* the rival reading came into existence, and our confidence becomes absolute.'

This method sounds very plausible, but it shirks the real difficulty of the problem, how to decide between conflicting readings when documentary authorities disagree. There is no hint of the necessity

[1] Westcott and Hort, ii. 90.

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of estimating the relative value of the MSS., Versions, and Fathers. Provided the support for a reading is numerically large, it is sufficient for the Reviewer. This is nothing less than a complete neglect of the fundamental canon of all textual criticism, that 'witnesses must be weighed, not counted.' But space forbids us to repeat the reasons which have already been given in this Review for preferring the testimony of a small number of ancient MSS., Versions, and Fathers, to the apparently formidable array of a host of later MSS. and post-Nicene Fathers.

By all means let the textual problems of the New Testament be fully sifted and exhaustively discussed. We have no wish to see the text settled by the *ipse dixit* of Professor, or Dean, or Bishop. But we are confident that whatever modifications in detail may be necessitated by fresh discoveries, or renewed survey of existing evidence, no large amount of variation is possible from the results arrived at by Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and, lastly, Westcott and Hort.

*A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church. Later Treatises of S. Athanasius, with Notes; and an Appendix on S. Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret.* By the Rev. WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church. (Oxford: James Parker and Co., and Rivingtons, 1881.)

IT may well be that the changes which the last five years have brought to the Church in Oxford will be obscured or hidden by other revolutions, enacted on a larger and more public stage, before they can be viewed in the perspective of history. But if it should happen that anyone endeavours fifty years hence to look back and, in the temper of the observant reminiscences which Mr. Mozley has lately told us, tries to rehearse the circumstances under which Christianity was extruded from its place in the corporate and collegiate life of Oxford, he may perhaps notice with an interest not untouched by pathos a fact which is illustrated by the appearance of Dr. Bright's book. As, in such a retrospect, the historian of the University looks for the causes or justification of the assault and the secrets of its success, he may perhaps first dwell upon the blunders and intolerance which in the first decade of the Tractarian movement turned to the loss and weakening of Oxford the minds and hearts which should have been for her wealth; and he will probably then go on to speak plainly and sternly of the manifold delinquencies, the ruinous divisions, the faintheartedness, and lack of concentration, by which Oxford Churchmen are painfully conscious that they have often provoked or accelerated the sentence which has been passed upon them. Probably, too, he will mark and emphasize other failures and mistakes, which are now less easily detected, but which may have done their part in laying open the University, expectant and prepared, for the free and decisive operation of the spirit of the age. But it may be hoped that he will also notice, with something of admiration and something like compassion, the fact that in the generation upon which the blow actually fell the theological faculty of Oxford was

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producing works of the very highest and most difficult excellence; works which the lapse of fifty years may only have promoted to the rank of classics; and which, as he looks at the date of their first publication, may make him feel that, so far as the professoriate was concerned, the old form and order of academic life and the historic protectorate of the pure faith passed away in dignity and strength. And if he is himself a Christian he may own a debt of hearty gratitude to those who in the field of exegesis, of dogmatic theology, of constitutional and ecclesiastical history, have won an European recognition for the positions which they have held, and secured the Church of England from the suspicion of having been in its highest representatives intellectually unfit to lead the religious thought of the Universities. One must not use words of ill omen in regard to Regius Professors; but when the troops of Midian are converging upon the chairs which Dr. Pusey and Dr. Bright have placed among the most eminent and effective in the University, one is irresistibly reminded of the apparent inopportuneness of that abbot's fate who was hanged in the interests of Reformation outside the very gate which he had himself rebuilt and glorified.

It is nearly half a century since the *Confessions of S. Augustine* appeared as the first volume of the *Library of the Fathers*; and now the *Later Treatises of S. Athanasius*, translated into accurate and noble English, appear, with a most graceful and suggestive preface by the one remaining editor, to declare the continuity and vitality of the thought with which the series began its course. Indeed it may be thankfully and reverently said by any who look back over the succession of great works which have thus been brought to bear upon the mind of the English Church and revived in her the temper of the patristic theology—

μέγας ἐν τούτοις Θεὸς οὐδὲ γηράσκει·

The present volume contains eight treatises written by S. Athanasius subsequently to his return to Alexandria in 362. The first is the Tome sent in the name of a small council of bishops held at Alexandria in order to heal the severance which existed at Antioch between the consistently orthodox members of the Church and those who had only returned to loyalty under Meletius after recognizing a line of Arianizing prelates. Then comes an answer to a letter from Jovian 'asking for a compendious account of the Catholic doctrine;' then the epistle addressed in 368 or 369 to the bishops of the 'diocese of Africa,' in the name of a council of Egyptian bishops, and intended to annihilate any credit which they might be attaching to the Western Council of Ariminum. Three personal letters follow, written about the year 371 to Epictetus, Bishop of Corinth, to Adelphius, Bishop of Onuphis, and to Maximus, a Christian philosopher. The collection ends with the two most valuable books against Apollinaris, introduced by a preface of the greatest interest and learning, and followed by a critical note on the 'De Incarnatione et contra Arianos,' and the 'Sermo Major de Fide,' which Dr. Bright refuses to attribute in their present form to S. Athanasius.

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It is not possible in this brief review to give any account in detail of these eight treatises, or to attempt to define or illustrate the qualities which constitute their especial value. But they have one great and constant characteristic, which Dr. Bright has selected for the strongest emphasis, and taken as the point of departure for the admirable and masterly pages which he modestly calls an appendix. On this, then, it may be allowed that a few words be here written.

S. Leo notices (*Ep.* 109) that, in the letter to Epictetus, S. Athanasius 'asserted the Incarnation so lucidly and carefully, that in the heretics of his own time he already defeated Nestorius and Eutyches.' So too, it is remarked, by the letter to Adelphius he plainly 'condemns both Nestorius and Eutyches long before the rise of their respective heresies;' and indeed throughout the whole of this volume, as Dr. Bright says at the beginning of his Appendix, attention is repeatedly called to 'that large and luminous insight, that majestic comprehensiveness, that stedfast grasp of the revealed Verity as a whole, which made the genuine teaching of Athanasius on this subject an authority and a support in those two momentous controversies respecting the Person of our Incarnate Saviour which troubled the peace, but matured and consolidated the thought, of the Church in the fifth age.' This quality is marked and illustrated by Dr. Bright in his copious notes with a sustained watchfulness of thought, a wealth of learning, and a lightly-wielded accuracy of expression, which seem to leave nothing unnoticed or obscure; so that anyone who will read this one book with the patience and attention which are its due will surely find that he has gained a definition of the doctrine of the Incarnation which is as directly and appropriately effective for the defence of the truths enshrined in the words Θεοτόκος and ἀσύγχυτος, as almost anything which was written by those whom God illuminated and enabled for their express protection. But this high and peculiar glory of S. Athanasius is further drawn out in the Appendix, which is devoted to illustrating the character and range of this Father's 'theological influence on the mind of Greek-speaking Christendom in the Nestorian and Eutychian period, by some detailed references to the best-weighed statements of two eminent men who represented the two aspects of Ecclesiastical Christology.' It is hard but necessary to refrain from quoting at length the vivid and sympathetic picture which Dr. Bright has drawn of S. Cyril and of Theodoret, in their mutual relations of collision, misunderstanding, and agreement, each doing 'that sort of work for which his antecedents and habits of thought had fitted him,' and thereby giving in 'his appropriate contribution to the ultimate settlement of the twofold question raised.' From an admirable sketch of the rise and nature of Nestorianism, the Appendix passes on to a full and lucid account of the Twelve Articles of S. Cyril, with the objections brought against them by Theodoret and by Andrew of Samosata, and the explanatory defence thus elicited from S. Cyril. This is followed by an interesting account of his reunion with the Antiochenes, the passage of the extreme anti-Nestorian party towards and into the Eutychian heresy, and the attack made from this quarter upon Theodoret as a Crypto-Nestorian.

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And last, but by no means least, comes a really delightful abstract or paraphrase of the three dialogues between 'Orthodox' and 'Eranistes,' with which Theodoret confronted this attack. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the loss of ease and alacrity and reality in religious literature since those early days than the contrast between these dialogues, so quick, and earnest, and humorous, and life-like, and those hardly galvanized catechisms in which two lay-figures drearily differ and agree for the instruction of our childhood.

Throughout the whole of this Appendix Dr. Bright is engaged, as has been said, in tracing, and defining, and expounding the influence which S. Athanasius exerted from the fourth century for the guidance and protection of the fifth. Doubtless Dr. Pusey touches the true secret of this strange and almost prophetic power of condemning error before it has been uttered, when he writes in his prefatory Observations :

'The acuteness of S. Athanasius, which enabled him, while "not using the post-Nestorian or post-Eutychian Catholic phraseology," to "anticipate both Nestorian and Eutychian heresies," was a special gift of God. But it was bestowed upon him, in addition to that eagle-sight, through another gift, his intense and reverent devotion to his Lord. He saw, as it were intuitively, what would affect that faith. "His zeal for the Consubstantial," it has been well said, "had its root in his loyalty to the Consubstantial."' (pp. xi, xii.)

The characteristic thus evinced throughout this volume may perhaps be also illustrated by the analogy of a gift which has been noticed in the very greatest of the poets : the gift by which they so substantiate and realize their own conceptions, that their *dramatis personæ* do not cease to be and act within the limit of the tragedy for which they are first fashioned, nor are confined to the one πρᾶξις in which the poet shows them to the world, but rather seem to take their place for ever among living personalities, and to persist both real and active through changes of environment and necessities which might seem undreamt of in the mind which first imagined and defined them; so that we can follow Odysseus and Achilles, Prometheus and Antigone, Hamlet and Prospero, through almost every scene in all that drama long as time in which the will of brave hearts is always fighting the same battle against the force of circumstances infinitely various. Somewhat thus, it seems, was the very truth present in all the reality of substantial existence before the mind and soul of S. Athanasius; and as, with an insight clearer far than any natural vision of material things, and a love which was stronger than death, he clothed in words, fit and splendid like golden armour, the great verity which he saw, he displayed and bore into the heart of Christendom an image and a character which should pass through all the convulsive tumult and violence of the centuries, unshaken and royal, to control the allegiance and to assure the faith of all who would look stedfastly upon it, whether in the fifth century or in our own.

It is no light debt of thanks which is due to Dr. Bright for setting forth, as he perhaps alone in England could have done, this rare and

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significant characteristic of S. Athanasius. He has devoted to this work, as to all those other works which the Church has welcomed from his study, an expository power, a keen realization of the history of dogma, an unerring estimate of the truly important, and an unflagging energy of accurate observation, which may recall to some the luminous and steady atmosphere of thought which they first found in the doctrinal writings of Dr. Newman or Dr. Mill. It is hard to know where one must find in such a book the critic's proper quarry of defects. But lest this notice should lack shadows to win credence for its gratitude, it may close with a request for the elimination of the few misprints which are the one hindrance to the enjoyment of the Treatises.[1]

*The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By JOHN EDWARD FIELD, M.A. (London : Rivingtons, 1882.)

'ONE chief purpose of this work is to trace throughout the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews a continuous line of allusion to the Holy Eucharist, showing that the writer keeps this always in view as the practical centre of Christian worship and the highest expression of the Christian faith. Its further purpose is to examine the important subject of alleged quotations from the Greek Liturgy of S. James in the New Testament.'

It is thus that Mr. Field states his object, and accordingly the main part of his book is taken up with a running commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, analysing its argument, and connecting the thoughts and phraseology on every possible occasion with the Eucharist, while an appendix of a hundred and twenty pages is devoted to an examination of 1 Cor. ii. 9, which Mr. Field, like the late Dr. Neale, believes to be a quotation from the Liturgy of S. James. The whole work is of a laborious and painstaking character, and great credit is due to the writer for his patient and thorough search into the text of all parts of Scripture and the early liturgies, and for the diligent way in which he has traced out every conceivable hint and allusion. But we must own that we laid down the book with a feeling of disappointment, which we fear will be shared by most readers. It is fanciful rather than profound, ingenious rather than convincing, and it is a sore trial of patience to read through page after page, with the feeling that all is far-fetched, overstrained, and improbable. We do not say that this is the case throughout the whole book. In some places Mr. Field seems to be on strong ground, and to bring forward points that are worthy of serious consideration. But he loses sympathy, and is in danger of missing a patient hearing, owing to over-refinement, and straining after coincidences which are barely within the bounds of possibility, and after all not worth much, even if they are granted to be real. For example, the following is a specimen of the way in which it is attempted to trace out the chain of thought in the mind of the writer of the Epistle, and to show what suggested to him the words used or

[1] pp. 43, 76, 106, 155, 170, 171, 217.

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illustrations employed. The subject is the eleventh chapter, and the previous pages have been devoted to an ingenious 'proof' (for which we have no space) that some names are merely subsidiary.

'The following is the complete list of examples of faith which S. Paul has enumerated, some being of greater and some of minor importance in the list; *Abel*, with Enoch subsidiary; *Noah; Abraham*, with Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph subsidiary; *Moses*, with the captors of Jericho and Rahab subsidiary; *Samuel*, with Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah and David subsidiary.

'Now there is a remarkable parallel with this list in the prayer of Oblation of the Elements which has come down to us in the Liturgy of S. James, and other kindred rites, and which is traceable in several widely different churches. Comparing the different versions of this prayer, and omitting what is peculiar to one or two of them, we get the following:—

'"Look upon this our service and accept it, as thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the burnt-offerings of Abraham, the priestly services of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel."

'Thus the names mentioned in the prayer are, with the exception of Aaron, precisely those which occupy the leading positions in this eleventh chapter to the Hebrews. Yet it would be impossible to imagine that this is the source from which the list in the prayer was compiled; but when we dissect the chapter, we see at once how naturally that list may have suggested the form of S. Paul's martyrology, and may have been the basis on which he compiled it' (p. 326).

Can Mr. Field really think that any single person who reads over the eleventh of Hebrews carefully, and then turns to the Liturgy, will agree with him in thinking that the one 'naturally' suggested the form of the other? Or, again, can he suppose that he will carry conviction to a single mind in suggesting that when the writer speaks of the angels as 'ministerial (λειτουργικά) spirits, sent forth (ἀπεστελλόμενα) to minister (εἰς διακονίαν),' &c., 'he would have us understand that the angels in their celestial ministry correspond to the priests and deacons and apostles of the Church on earth?' (p. 32). But the climax is surely reached when we are invited to believe that in speaking of certain worthies as wandering about in 'sheepskins and goatskins,' S. Paul is 'comparing the faithful of the Old Covenant to the sheep and goats of sacrifice' (p. 338).

Everyone knows how, when a man becomes absorbed in his subject, he can sometimes see it only from one point of view. He becomes blind to all that runs counter to his theory. His vision is distorted; he sees similarities where no one else can see them, and magnifies things out of all proper proportion. He is too near his work to be able to judge of it fairly. He needs, like an artist, to stand off from the picture from time to time, and contemplate it from a distance, in order to judge of its effect. This is exactly what Mr. Field has failed to do, and his work has suffered in consequence more than we care to confess. We can only hope that in a second edition a considerable portion of the book may be given '*emendaturis ignibus*,' and then he will probably obtain a patient hearing for the remainder, though we fear that it is a hopeless endeavour to prove

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that the words of the Liturgy were so thoroughly fixed in the apostolic age as his argument would require.

The whole subject of the antiquity of the liturgical treasures of the Church, and of their relation to Holy Scripture, is one of the greatest importance, and of which we desiderate a more adequate treatment than has yet been given to it; but it needs very delicate handling, and the fine insight of a trained critic. It will not do to be always reading in between the lines, and arguing that liturgical passages and thoughts must have been latent in the minds of apostolic writers, because of the occurrence of a single word which is supposed to be specially 'liturgical.' (Instances of this kind of argument, which will strike most readers as little more than ingenious trifling, may be seen on pp. 52, 98, 99, 114, &c.) We need also a more thorough comparison of the liturgies with the prayers of the synagogue, before their relation to Holy Scripture can be adequately determined. Mr. Field devotes an appendix to this subject, but acknowledges that he has had 'little opportunity of consulting original authorities' in this part of his work, and it needs a fuller treatment than he has accorded to it. We have been surprised too to find no allusion whatever to the very remarkable prayer in the recently recovered ending of S. Clement's Epistle. This was noticed some years ago in this Review, and it might have supplied Mr. Field with some striking illustrations and arguments for the antiquity of the liturgical forms, but we have been unable to find the slightest reference to it throughout his work. And yet it should certainly have been quoted in illustration of Heb. xiii. 3, *μιμνήσκεσθε τῶν δεσμίων* (cf. Clem. Rom. lix. *λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν*), and in connexion with the 'liturgical' title, *βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων*, in 1 Tim. i. 17 (cf. Clem. Rom. lxi., where the same title occurs); while the fact that a prayer for the temporal rulers already occurs in it (lxi.), besides being frequently alluded to by Jewish writers,[1] might lead to some modification of the view, taken on p. 467, that 'the absence of such a prayer in the Greek S. James is a primitive feature.' Such a prayer was certainly not absent from the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century (*see* Cyr. Jer. *Cat. Myst.* v. § 8), and it probably dropped out at a later date, just as it has done in the Liturgy of the Church of Rome.

*A New Page of External Evidence of Supernatural Revelation.* By G. B. Kitson. (London: J. G. Virtue and Co., 1882.)

The work before us is an attempt, and far from an unsuccessful attempt, to present to the unscientific reader (though not indeed exclusively to such) an argument very apposite to the conditions of modern scientific data and of modern scriptural exegesis.

The elders of the present generation were in their first youth when men's minds were first seriously disturbed by the alleged discrepancies between the records of the Holy Scripture and those which geology had begun to decipher upon the rocks. Those whose

[1] Cf. Baruch i. 11; 1 Macc. vii. 33; Joseph. *Ant.* XII. x. 5; Pirke Aboth III. ii., &c.



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memories will carry them back some forty years will remember how various and in many cases how vain were the attempts to reconcile the two, and how considerable was the uneasiness which affected many minds upon this subject. It was not until many years had elapsed that men began to reflect that both the scriptural and the geological record were as yet very imperfectly understood, and that the structure both of the one and of the other needed much careful investigation before they could advantageously be compared. If the advocates of religion were inclined to be dogmatic, those of science were not less so; and both were more prepared to speak with the voice of authority than to give a patient hearing to the other side. And there was this singular fact in addition, that whilst the opponents of revelation were proceeding upon information obviously as yet very imperfect, its champions had intrenched themselves within far narrower lines than their more liberal-minded predecessors of many centuries ago, and were committed in popular estimation to a literal interpretation of the six days of creation which had not been binding upon S. Jerome or S. Augustine. Years have passed on, and many a crude theory of science, and many as crude an interpretation of Genesis, has passed away with them, till at last it has come to be felt that they who would effectively reconcile Scripture with Science must ascertain first, as clearly as may be, what Scripture actually states, and what Science may be admitted to have proved. Hitherto men have been dealing not with the actual statements of Scripture, but with those traditionary impressions which they have derived, not from the scriptural documents themselves, but from a translation of those documents, which, being the product of an unscientific age, has impressed its own colour upon the records. It is, we believe, a frequent reproach of the Jews against the Christians that they do not know how to read the Book of Genesis. There can be no doubt that not only has the cause to which we have referred done much to complicate the popular study of this question, but that the traditionary impressions of our childhood, its stories, its pictures, and, later on, the poetry of our youth, have all combined to construct for us a system of creation very different from that which the strict rendering of the text would suggest.

Mr. Kitson, in the brief work before us, has attempted to compare the ascertained results of modern science with the original statements of the Mosaic records. He very modestly disclaims the character either of a scientific philosopher or of a Hebrew scholar. A scientific student he certainly is, and well informed as to the scientific discoveries of the day. Accepting certain scientific principles as proved, he proceeds to show that in the evolution of the world according to these principles, certain successive stages in the process would *à priori* be expected to occur, and that these correspond to the successive periods indicated in the Mosaic records. Not that he confines himself to the *à priori* view, but shows, moreover, that, from the testimony of scientific men, such successive stages of development did, in fact, occur, and in the order of the scriptural narrative. The argument then resolves itself into that of his brief

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motto, '*πόθεν τούτῳ ἡ σοφία αὕτη*;' whence did the author of Genesis derive such a familiarity with scientific principles as is here implied; or, to use the words which he does us the honour to quote from a recent number of this Review, 'whence this anticipation in the infancy of the world of the wisdom of its maturer age?' This argument appears to us to be of very great force, though it may be safer at present to limit it to a negative statement. We mean that it is better to rest it upon the very remarkable fact that the author of the Book of Genesis contradicts no ascertained principles of science, than to conclude that he was, as Mr. Kitson would almost seem to imply, scientifically acquainted with them. And this surely is sufficient for the cogency of his argument; for it is inconceivable that any writer of an utterly unscientific age should have escaped such contradictions, unless he derived his knowledge ultimately from inspiration.

Mr. Kitson evidently inclines to the theory of visions of the successive stages of creation presented to the mind of the inspired writer.

We are not quite sure that we are prepared to adopt this view, nor in the limits of this 'short notice' can we venture to indicate our own. But we are convinced that the time will come when our knowledge both of the inspired records, and of the results of more mature science, will be so enlarged that the consistency of the two will become more and more apparent. Meanwhile we are glad to acknowledge Mr. Kitson's modest, well-informed, and very interesting contribution to a discussion of such extreme importance. And we cannot conclude without calling attention to some very pertinent remarks which occur in the earlier portion of his treatise upon the necessary limitations to which all language is liable in describing the act of creation, and more particularly the impossibility of anticipating in the language of an unscientific age the subsequent discoveries of modern times.

'The vocabularies of all the earliest languages known were necessarily insufficient to express even to the most educated the facts discovered or invented by modern science; and even now, what is intended for and addressed to the mass of the people conveys no meaning to them unless expressed in the language of common parlance. Concurrent with the discoveries of science was the enlargement of the vocabulary. . . . To have spoken to ancient Romans or even to Englishmen of one hundred years ago of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, calcium, iodine, or electricity, . . . . would have been like speaking Greek to an unlearned English ploughman.'

Mr. Kitson may well imply the impossibility of Moses describing to the children of Israel the creation of the world in the terms of modern science.

In concluding this notice we may refer to an admirable little work published under the auspices of the Sunday School Union, *Genesis and Evolution*, which not only deals most intelligently with the scientific aspect of the question, but commences with some extremely pertinent remarks upon the temper in which such subjects should be approached. The author differs from Mr. Kitson in some of his



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theories of inspiration, and some of his suggestions are very ingenious, and, so far as we are aware, original. But the book has a peculiar and independent interest, as showing how far these discussions have penetrated into the hitherto unscientific strata of society, and how many minds, among those from whom the Nonconformists derive their Sunday-school teachers, are looking anxiously for guidance and assistance in their difficulties.

*A Church History.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Vol. II., containing the History from the Council of Nicæa to the Council of Constantinople. (London: Rivingtons, 1882.)

WE have here another of the Bishop of Lincoln's self-imposed holiday tasks: the fruit of a brief interval of hardly-earned leisure snatched from diocesan labour of no ordinary weight and anxiety. But though a task, it is as far as possible removed from task-work. It is evident that the learned author might say of it, *labor ipse voluptas.* Every page evidences the pleasure which Dr. Wordsworth has felt in pouring out the long-gathered stores of his vast erudition and illustrating them from his ripe wisdom, accurate theological knowledge, and lengthened experience, for the instruction of those for whom his pages are designed, primarily the students of the Theological College he has called into being. And by this the reader is greatly the gainer. Unlike too many Church histories, repulsive from their aridity—'valleys strewn with bones,' to adopt the late Dean of Westminster's language, 'very many and very dry'—the Bishop of Lincoln's volume is eminently readable. The outcome of a mind full of his subject, grasping it firmly in all its chief outlines, and with a memory wonderfully tenacious of its characteristic details, using his authorities simply for reference to verify his facts, refresh his remembrance and guard him from mistake, the Bishop's narrative flows on in a bright and even course, attractive by the graces of its style, and maintaining the interest of the reader by its graphic presentment of the facts it records. The work of a theologian of vast and multifarious learning, which the ripest student may read with profit, it may be recommended to the general reader as one which cannot fail to interest him, and which, when once taken up, he will find it hard to lay down.

The period embraced in this history, the half-century between the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, is that of the obstinate controversy between the Arian and semi-Arian perversions of the faith, supported by all the power of the Empire and the Court party with their band of subservient prelates backed by the influence of the ladies of the Palace and the intrigues of the Eunuchs, and the orthodox creed maintained by the inflexible Athanasius and the faithful few who shared in his lifelong persecution, and prepared the way for the final triumph of the faith. It is the age of the many Councils and Synods, the anathemas and counter-anathemas, the 'labyrinthine maze,' as Socrates appropriately calls them, of ever varying creeds and confessions, the tangle of fierce feuds, bitter rivalries, and subtle controversies, the 'acts of imperial tyranny and caprice,

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malignity, injustice, and treachery in the Church of God,' which marked this period, when within so few years of the condemnation of the Arian heresy at Nicæa, and the authoritative declaration of the orthodox faith, in the words of Jerome 'the condemnation of the Nicene faith was proclaimed to the world, and the world groaned and was amazed to find itself Arian.' Few epochs are more tedious and wearisome to the student, who, despairing of obtaining any clear comprehension of the bearing of the various events on one another or on the main points at issue, and cast down at the terrible contrast between the idea and the reality of the Church of Christ, 'may turn away from such a scene of confusion in weariness and distress.' This difficulty has been met, and, we think, far from unsuccessfully, by the Bishop of Lincoln, by partially disregarding the exact chronological sequence of events, and grouping the facts round the chief characters of the time. The four heroes of this volume in whom the reader's interest is centred are Athanasius, Julian, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nazianzum. Of these Athanasius naturally holds the chief place, and we know no English writer—the Duc de Broglie, to whose thoughtful and statesmanlike *L'Eglise et l'Empire* the Bishop acknowledges his large obligations, is the only foreign rival—who presents so brilliant and life-like a picture of the character and work of this great confessor of the faith, 'whose life runs like a golden thread through all the confusion of that sad day of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy,' uniting, says Bishop Wordsworth, 'child-like simplicity and playful cheerfulness with philosophic wisdom, theological science, political sagacity, saintly piety, and heroic magnanimity,' which, while it 'may make us feel our own littleness and shortcomings in the presence of so grand an example,' will also 'show us where true light is to be found—not in ourselves, but in Him whose we are.' The portrait of the Emperor Julian is also admirable. Full justice is done both to the strength and weakness of that strangely-mixed character—that 'mysterious enigma,' as some have called it, 'with its strong claims both in life and death for compassion and commiseration'—'not an atheist, far from it,' with 'a deeply-rooted faith in the existence of Divine powers, looking forward to a future eternal world in which the soul, . . . delivered from the burden and corruption of the body, will have uninterrupted communion with heavenly and divine beings,' 'an imperial personification of the religion of Heathenism,' leading it, 'allied with Judaism, to the battle against Christianity;' but 'devoid of the modesty and timidity which dispose men to seek for Divine truth and to be ready to receive it; and lacking that simplicity of mind and singleness of purpose which make them love truth for truth's sake'—'his life a sophistical study and rhetorical exercise of the schools'—'vain-glory his ruling passion,' his very 'acts of philanthropy and beneficence wearing an air of unreality,' 'prompted by a desire to vie with the Christians in their acts of mercy, and to win for heathenism a popularity for virtues which he envied rather than loved.' 'Punished by his own devices, his fate inspires awe and sorrow, and teaches the wisdom which is the child of fear. Chastised with judicial blindness for his

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rejection of Christianity, he became a victim of puerile credulity and degrading superstition. Therefore, whether the actual words were spoken by him or not, his history proclaims the result of the struggle in this emphatic sentence—"Thou hast conquered, O Galilean."'

The other chief characters—that of the 'large-hearted and many-sided' Basil, 'consecrating his studies of Homer, and Hesiod, and other Gentile writers to the glory of God, and the good of His Church, and the salvation of souls,' but in his controversy with Valens and the cringing time-serving semi-Arian prelates of his day, 'not surrendering a single iota of the sacred dogmas, and ready to welcome all kinds of death rather than do so;' and of his fellow-student and life-long friend, the loving and tender, but over-sensitive, Gregory of Nazianzum, earning the title of 'ὁ θεολόγος, the Theologian, by his orations in defence of the orthodox faith "in his beloved Chapel of Anastasia," the symbol of the resurrection of the truth at Constantinople—like a Jonah casting himself out of the ship, and retiring from his see that he might restore peace to the Church'—are both drawn with equal skill but with somewhat less elaboration.

But for these we must refer our readers to the work itself. They will thank us for so referring them.

This second volume of a history which will, we think, be justly regarded as not one of the least valuable of the Bishop of Lincoln's many literary gifts to the Church, closes most fittingly with the Council of Constantinople; the volume, the Bishop remarks, having been completed 'in the year 1881, the fifteen-hundredth from that Council in which the Creed was promulgated which is now received by all Catholic Churches.'

'The third volume (if it pleases God to enable the author to write it) will bring the history down to the Fourth General Council—the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and will complete the work.'

RECENT BOOKS ON ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

1. *The Student's English Church History.* First Period. By G. G. PERRY, M.A., Canon of Lincoln, and Rector of Waddington. (London: John Murray, 1881.)
2. *Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England.* By the Rev. A. H. HORE, M.A. (Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1881.)
3. *Ecclesia Anglicana.* By the Rev. A. C. JENNINGS, M.A., Vicar of Whittlesford. (London: Rivingtons, 1882.)

SOME years ago there was a wonderful dearth of text-books on the history of the Early English Church. Bishop Short's little book was almost the only one that gave anything like a concise narrative from the foundation of the English Church. But besides being excessively meagre, it had the misfortune of being written before the flood of light in which we now bask had been let in upon our early history by the labours of the Oxford band of historians, Messrs. Haddan & Stubbs, *cum multis aliis, quos nunc perscribere longum est*; and consequently for some time it has been felt to be out of date and inadequate. Much has been done of late to supply the want, and certainly there is now no lack of books on the subject of English

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Church History. Canon Bright's delightful chapters on the *Early English Church*, Mr. Dixon's spirited *History of the Reformation*, and the *English Church in the Eighteenth Century* by Messrs. Abbey & Overton, are admirable studies of different periods; and the past season has seen the publication of three books covering a wider field, and meant to serve as text-books giving a bird's-eye view of the whole subject. Canon Perry's book, which we have placed first on our list, is a companion volume to the one published by him some time ago on the Reformation period, and forms a worthy pendant to it. It is intended to give the history of the English Church from the planting of the Church in Britain to the accession of Henry VIII., 'in a concise form, but with sufficient detail to fix it on the mind of the reader,' and admirably has the author succeeded in the execution of his design. The work has the great merit of being written throughout from original sources, though the labours of previous workers in the same field are frequently laid under contribution, and Canon Perry is already so well known as a careful and accurate historian, that we feel that we are in the hands of one who is fully competent to weigh the value of his authorities, and to give an independent judgment on the various questions that arise. We notice, by the way, that he follows the Norman writers in asserting that Harold was crowned by Stigand, without giving any hint that Florence of Worcester, and most of the best English authorities, mention Ealdred as consecrator: an omission of some importance, owing to its bearing on the question of Stigand's position, and the feeling with which he was regarded by the English party. The account of Dunstan and the great works connected with his name strikes us as singularly good, and free from the bias and unfairness with which this part of the history is so often treated. Full use is made of Canon Stubbs' admirable preface to the *Memorials of S. Dunstan* in the Rolls Series, and something like justice is done to the great man who has been so persistently misjudged and misrepresented by both mediæval and modern biographers. And so throughout the history as a general rule the salient points are brought out with force and vigour: *e.g.*, the changes introduced at the Conquest, and the quarrel between Henry II. and Becket, although we could wish that a little more stress had been laid upon the arguments for the clerical immunities and the barbarities inflicted by the King's Court, and that attention had been drawn to the *popular* support which the Archbishop received, being greeted everywhere by the people as 'one who came in the name of the Lord, the father of the orphan, and the judge of the widow.' Coming down to later times, our author is on very familiar ground when he treats of Bishop Grosseteste and his resistance to the exactions of the Papal Court: and the whole history of the relations between England and Rome, and the revolt against mediæval doctrine, is carefully and thoroughly dealt with, attention being again and again drawn to the way in which 'the Church of England is found struggling and contending against the encroachments and exactions of a foreign power, and asserting its rights against the ever-growing pretensions of Papal Supremacy.'

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Altogether Canon Perry's two volumes form a model text-book, and supply a desideratum that has long been felt. Clergy and candidates for Holy Orders have now no longer any right to complain of difficulty in obtaining an accurate and unbiassed account of the past history of the Anglican Church, and Canon Perry deserves the thanks of all Churchmen for the labour he has devoted to the subject.

Of a somewhat different character is the second volume on our list, Mr. Hore's *Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England*: a pleasant, chatty narrative, which makes no pretensions to originality, and can hardly claim to be a *history* of the English Church. The events of the pre-Reformation period are rapidly sketched in outline; the 16th and 17th centuries are dealt with more fully; and almost a third of the whole book is devoted to the last century and the present one. Mr. Hore seems to us somewhat hasty in jumping to a conclusion, and his statements, especially in the early part of the volume, must be received with caution. For example, on p. 18 he repeats the old mistake that the British Church followed the Oriental method for computing Easter, in spite of all that has been written on the subject by Dr. Bright, the late Mr. Haddan, and others. On p. 61 the statement that Gregory the Great had a Pope for his great-grandfather is taken as 'a proof that celibacy was not at that time enforced'; whereas we are not aware that there is any evidence to prove either that Felix married after his ordination, or that children were born to him after that date. On p. 121 the old legend of Edgar's septennial penance imposed by Dunstan appears as sober fact, and later on a large part of the Wulfstan legend assumes the dignity of history. Passing on to the Reformation period, we are struck by the meagre account given of the various religious formularies *e.g.* the Bishops' Book, the King's Book, &c.; and Mr. Hore does not seem to have very clear notions either of the object or of the effect of the 'Whip with Six Strings.' Again, it is surely a strong statement to say that 'the reign of Charles II. is considered the golden era of the English Church' (p. 425), and 800 is a very modest estimate of the number of clergy ejected at 'Black Bartholomew.' Canon Perry calculates the number at 1400 at the lowest. Altogether, the book bears clear traces of having been 'read up for,' and we should have preferred more references to original authorities, and fewer to Dr. Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*. But, in spite of these blemishes, the book will be useful. It is eminently readable, and has the great merit of bringing out forcibly that the Reformation was not a beginning, but only a turning-point in the history of the Church. Indeed one object with which the work was undertaken was apparently to combat the idea 'that the Church in England was founded by the State at the Reformation, and that the State, therefore, has the right to deal with it as it pleases, to secularize its institutions, or to confiscate its endowments.' The erroneous nature of this notion is fairly exposed, and as it is a subject on which a good deal of confusion exists, and on which the views of many who call themselves Churchmen still need clearing, we think that the volume before

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us is likely to prove serviceable. Another valuable feature in the work is the full account given of the present century. It is of course too early for any real *history* to be written of the great Catholic revival, but still a large number of persons are in want of a connected narrative and outline of the whole movement from its birth at Oxford down to the present day. A generation is growing up to whom such expressions as *The Tracts for the Times*, the *Ecclesiological Society*, or the *S. George's Riots*, mean very little. They have heard vaguely of them, but they can tell nothing of their history, and scarcely know where to turn for information. To all such Mr. Hore's book will be most welcome, as it supplies exactly the information which is wanted. It was a bold thing to undertake to tell the whole story, not merely down to 1874 and the Public Worship Regulation Act, but even to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, and Mr. Hore deserves credit for the way in which he has done it. His narrative is interesting, and in the main impartial; and he has collected a mass of information on various points connected with Church life and progress which will make his book extremely useful for reference.

The third book on our list, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, is candidly avowed by the author to have been written 'chiefly with the view of meeting the wants of candidates for theological examinations at Cambridge and elsewhere, and judging from the size of the book we presume that the 'Theological Special' is the examination mainly contemplated. This leads us to expect little more than a bare outline of facts, which is what we find, but the facts are carefully put together, and the book will probably serve its purpose well. We cannot say that it is of thrilling interest: the dry bones of history seldom are. Indeed Dunstan, and Anselm, and Becket are singularly uninteresting persons in Mr. Jennings' pages. But what of that? Undergraduates must be helped through their schools, and it is not interest that they look for, but a book that is easily read, and that is likely to secure their 'pass.' These requirements are admirably met by this little work, for which we may safely predict a considerable demand; and if candidates for theological examinations at Cambridge are to have their path made thus easy to them, we are glad that the work has been undertaken by one whose views on present controversies are so sound as those of Mr. Jennings. It will do no harm to the ordinary undergraduate to be told by his text-book of the struggle which the Public Worship Regulation Act brought about, that 'hitherto its effect has been to show Puritanism in its darkest colours, and vastly augment the popularity of the Ritualists, four of whom have preferred imprisonment to sacrifice of principle. But above all it has induced a conviction that a large and active body, such as the Anglican Church, can no longer be fettered by the caprices of aliens or indifferentists, but must at all hazards recover those rights of self-government which are now claimed by all other institutions, and which were hers before they were theirs, and are theirs because they were hers.'

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*Short Notes on the Greek Text of the Gospel of S. Mark.* By J. HAMBLIN SMITH, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, late Lecturer in Classics at S. Peter's College, Cambridge. Third Edition. (London: Rivingtons.)

THESE brief notes represent such fragmentary explanations and instructions as a teacher would give to an intelligent pupil in the course of construing his Greek Testament. We should have been inclined to doubt whether it were worth while to spend paper and printing type upon them. But the sale of two editions would seem to show that they have been found practically useful in this form. And the notes are good though brief.

*A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament.* Prepared by CHARLES F. HUDSON, under the direction of HORACE L. HASTINGS, Editor of the *Christian* (*American*). Revised and completed by EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. (London: S. Bagster and Sons, 1882.)

A CONCORDANCE to the Scriptures, if it be at all complete, is generally a very bulky book. But it may be greatly reduced in size by the simple expedient of *giving references* to the passages in which words occur, instead of setting them out in full. That is the course adopted here, and a very handy and useful book has thereby been produced. The preface claims for it, and apparently with good reason, that 'it leads the English reader to the Greek original and its various readings. It leads the Greek scholar to the common English translation as given both in the text and in the margin.' From Young's *Analytical Concordance*, the work which it most nearly resembles in the endeavour to combine the concordance with the lexicon, it differs by adapting the alphabetical order of the *Greek* words, instead of the English, and the book will be of great use to all such as require a compact guide to the *copia verborum* of the Greek Testament, and to the manner in which they have been rendered in the English version.

*Christian Ethics.* Special Part. First Division. *Individual Ethics.* By Dr. H. MARTENSEN, Bishop of Seeland. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1881.)

THIS well-intentioned work seems to us to fail because it is a hybrid. It borrows its material from theology, its method, or quasi-method, from science. On the one hand, it is mainly a series of sermons, but of a discursive kind and cut off from their texts, being a good deal weakened thereby. On the other hand, these homilies are arranged in a systematic form, and have assumed something of the form and dimensions of a treatise. It is a little puzzling to see exactly for what purpose the book is meant. If it is intended as a volume of sermons on the practical duties of the Christian, we should have preferred the familiar form: but if a treatise on ethics in the abstract and speculative sense, then it had been better to have kept

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rigidly to the method and nomenclature of philosophy, and to have eschewed all sermonizing.

We must not, however, be understood to assert that these pages are without much accurate and careful discrimination of the various classes of moral actions, or without much forcible argument for the good and against the evil.

*Transcendentalism, with Preludes on Current Events.* By the Rev. JOSEPH COOK. Boston Monday Lectures. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881.)

THE thoughtful reader will find this book interesting for various reasons. A somewhat tardy desire in the United States for international copyright with Great Britain has probably some connection with the feeling of an increased value and importance in the literary harvest on the other side of the Atlantic. On this ground alone the book before us has some claims to be considered. And it is certainly the produce of a mind itself familiar with some of the best literature of the world, and possessing vigorous powers of analysis and synthesis. That the subject of it is religious belief, and that it boldly takes the affirmative side, is another reason for making acquaintance with it. Of English-speaking peoples the American, we have been assured, will probably, in the course of two or three generations, become vastly preponderant, at least in regard to numbers. It cannot consequently be a matter of indifference to us what currents of religious thought, swaying the educated classes of Americans now, are likely to have wide influence in the future.

*So far as Mr. Cook goes* in his exposition of religious dogma, there is much in his volume that it is a pleasure to read; while the arguments for the foundations of religion, for the unique moral excellence of the Bible, for the necessary nature of moral truth, for the harmony of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Atonement with the 'nature of things' (the deliverances of the human conscience included), for the uselessness of mere verbal faith or assent to religious truth unaccompanied by self-surrender, and for the existence of a stern law of moral retribution: the arguments on these points, though seldom original, are urged with unusual force. Mr. Cook's trenchant style and plain speaking, not unadorned by apposite illustrations drawn

'From art, from nature, from the schools,'

does not always conform to those nice rules which a cultivated audience in England is generally accustomed to; but it is not often that the difference is greater than that between some famous English preachers of past centuries—Latimer, for example—and those of our own time. We have nothing to say in defence of the last portion of the following passage: 'Judas, in your voluntary Church-system, often carries the bag; . . . and sometimes, when he does carry it, the infelicity is that he rules the purse-strings and will not go and hang himself' (p. 138.) Tastes may differ with regard to the metaphors in the following passage:—

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'All disloyalty to the still small voice which declares what ought to be is followed by pain. *What if it were not?* Is God God if, with unscientific liberalism, we in our philosophy put the throne of the universe upon rockers, and make of it an easy chair from which lullabys are sung both to the evil and the good?' (p. 142).

It is only fair to say that gems of thought, in which criticism can find no flaw, abound in the volume; such, for example, as—

'It is only when a hush produced by the sense of the Divine Omnipresence fills the chambers of philosophy that they are fit places in which to discuss the fact of sin. . . . Our ears are too gross to hear the innermost truths of conscience until we feel the breath of eternity on our cheeks. But what a man sees only as truth in his best moments is truth in all moments' (p. 98).

It remains to be said that the term Transcendentalism, as used by Mr. Cook, denotes a belief in the existence of mental powers for arriving at truths which transcend experience, such as Universal Causation; that the philosophical basis of the work is the system of Kant modified by the philosophy of Common Sense; and that the opinions more particularly combated are those of Theodore Parker.

*Palestine Explained; with a view to its present Natural Features, and to the prevailing Manners, Customs, Rites, and Colloquial Expressions of the People, which throw light on the Figurative Language of the Bible.* By the Rev. JAMES NEIL, M.A., formerly Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1882.)

IT is agreed on all hands, that the key to Ancient Palestine and its history as recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures is Palestine as it is now. But if we had hesitated to believe this, Mr. Neil's admirable little book would have converted us. Though much of the ancient fruitfulness which rendered it a land 'flowing with milk and honey' has passed away with the careful industry which was bestowed upon its tillage, and though the language is greatly modified, and a vicious superstition rules over the people, in all essential points the '*unchanging* East' is to-day what it was in the days of David or of our Lord Himself.

The great recommendation of Mr. Neil's book is that its author transfers to its pages something of the impression which the Holy Land has made upon his own mind, and that this instantly suggests some scene or expression from the pages of Holy Writ. The sections entitled 'Concerning the Potter's Vessel,' the 'Night Mist,' the 'Ancestral Staff,' will be read with the greatest interest. The author suggests, on p. 181, that the word rendered 'apple'[1] in Cant. ii. 2, should be the orange. He is only partially correct, however, when he says, 'The Romans called almost every kind of globular fruit *pomum*, apples, &c.' *Pomum* was the *generic* term, equivalent to our word *fruit*. The specific appellative both of *apple* and *orange* would doubtless be *malum*. But, again, Virgil's usage of the word, to which

[1] תפוח, *tappooah*, meaning any round fruit.

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Mr. Neil refers, is far from being an indisputable argument on his side. For instance, Ecl. iii. 70—

'Silvestri ex arbore lecta
Aurea mala decem misi;'

undoubtedly means *golden, i.e.*, ripe apples, not oranges; and so Conington takes it. We are not so certain of Ecl. viii. 52. The apple, he urges, degenerates in the climate of Syria. See also Prov. xxv. 11, a still more striking instance.

Again, what a parallel we have to the treatment undergone by Our Lord before Caiaphas, when the author describes a scene such as he says 'generally occurs at a criminal trial in Palestine.' The accused person 'upon cross-examination refused to admit that he was guilty; the officers standing by, with brutal violence, *struck him on the face with the palms of their hands.*'

Here is a curious instance of the identification of an obscure phrase:—

'There is another mode of threshing much less common, but which I once witnessed on a floor not far from Jerusalem. In this case the cattle are yoked to a rude sledge constructed of heavy logs of timber, having its under surface full of small, sharp pieces of the hard, black basalt stone, called *hajr es soda*, and sometimes of iron points, firmly let into the wood. The sledge, to which oxen or horses are yoked, is then driven over the loose sheaves by a man who stands upon it, and thus adds to its grinding power the benefit of his own weight. . . . This heavy sledge is doubtless Isaiah's "sharp threshing sledge having teeth" (Is. xli. 15). It is still called *morej* by the *fellahheen*, which with the invariable softening of the *g* into *j*, is the same as the Hebrew word *moarag* (מוֹרג).'

On the whole this is a book which it will be found both pleasant and profitable to study.

*Memoir of Henry Venn, B.D., Prebendary of S. Paul's, and Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.* By WILLIAM KNIGHT, M.A. A new Edition, with Portrait and Appendix. (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1882.)

MR. VENN, the subject of this memoir, came of a remarkable family, which claimed that ever since the Reformation its ancestors had been clergymen of the Church of England in each generation, and in an uninterrupted succession. He inherited and carried on the family tradition in this respect; unhappily he did not inherit likewise the Cavalier and High Church principles of his ancestors. He was like his immediate predecessor in that respect. No straiter adherent of the 'Clapham Sect' than he; and a young man brought up as was Henry Venn, in the bosom of a religious circle at once so rigid and so morally powerful as was that which included Zachary Macaulay, James Stephen, John Cunningham and William Wilberforce, was certain to have drunk deeply of the spirit which influenced and indeed dominated it. We trust we shall not be thought illiberal if we say that with all its incidental excellences this was essentially a *sectarian* spirit. Such was, at all events, the character of Mr. Henry Venn, as shown in the general tenor of his life. He was earnest and

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devoted indeed; but it was earnestness expressed in the shibboleths of a party, and devotion to the interests of an institution which did not pretend to be, or wish to be, considered as an open ground to the whole of the Church.

His life was not eventful in the outward sense. He had rather a distinguished career at Cambridge, and became Fellow of his college (Queens'), and afterwards tutor and proctor. He served for four years a laborious post in the curacy of S. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. Then he was presented by Mr. Wilberforce to a small parish in the suburbs of Hull. Here he stayed six years, and then accepted the offer of S. John's, Holloway. In 1841 he undertook, in addition to this, an honorary secretaryship to the Church Missionary Society; proposing 'to work the parish by means of curates.' But as the work of the Society grew upon him, this proved less and less easy to do. He finally made up his mind to resign his parish and to devote himself wholly to the secretaryship. He appears to have debated the question long and anxiously with himself; and the letter to his brother in which he sums up, no doubt for the sake of clearing his own mind, the reasons on the one side and on the other is admirable in the clear appreciation which it shows of the responsibility which his ordination vow had laid him under. 'Every clergyman,' he says, 'is bound, as a general rule, to make the exercise of his office as a preacher and a pastor the first object; (2) for the sake of keeping up the spiritual tone of my own mind, a stated attention to pastoral duties, and to a preparation of parochial sermons, is most useful.' But the upshot was that he became Secretary; and from that time until 1873 was one of the most able, indefatigable, and (according to his lights) faithful conductors that any Society was ever privileged to possess. So much it is strict justice to say; and the unselfishness shown in this 'devotion of his life to a noble object,' as Bishop Wilberforce rightly called it (for he never accepted any salary as secretary), added an additional grace to his service. Pity it is that such service was not rendered to the whole Church, and in a more catholic and charitable spirit!

We do not feel able to dwell upon the incidents of his secretaryship, as the story of them has been related some time since, and is probably familiar to many. They were not in reality of a very marked character, although sufficiently important to the institution concerned; and to the supporters and well-wishers of the Society in question this revised and condensed edition of a very favourite work will doubtless be welcome.

*Deceased's Wife's Sister Bill: A Village Talk.* By THOMAS VINCENT, M.A., Rector of Pusey. Second Edition, with Letter from the Bishop of Oxford. (London: Parker and Co., 1882.)

WE strongly recommend this little paper for distribution in country parishes. The narrowness of the majority in the House of Lords against the Bill for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister is a warning that no effort should be spared to give a wide circulation to sound arguments on this most important subject. For town popula-

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tions, Archdeacon Hessey's *Scripture Argument against permitting Marriage with a Wife's Sister* (London, Scott) is more suitable.

*Histoire de la Constitution civile du Clergé* (1790–1801), par LUDOVIC SCIOUT. 4 vols. 8vo. (Paris: Didot, 1881.)

THE annals of the Gallican Church during the period of the first Revolution are highly instructive; but they have not yet been discussed by writers with the minuteness and the impartiality the subject deserves. The political debates of the Legislative Assembly and of the Convention, the startling episodes of Terrorism, the struggles of the republican armies against the forces of civilized Europe, the vicissitudes which brought to power in rapid succession Constitutionalists and Girondists, Hebertists, Dantonists, and Jacobins; in short, the merely *secular* incidents which marked the progress of the Revolution, have hitherto enjoyed the lion's share in the numerous compilations treating of the history of France from 1789 to 1803. It remained for M. Ludovic Sciout to supply a desideratum which had long been felt, and the work, of which the fourth and last volume has appeared, forms a valuable contribution both to Church and to political history. Without attempting to review in detail M. Sciout's narrative, we shall say that, written from the Roman Catholic point of view, it brings out in strong relief the absurdities and iniquities perpetrated by the Revolutionary Government in its various forms and under its various denominations. When we see thinkers such as M. Edgar Quinet denouncing the short-sighted policy of the Revolutionists in matters of religion, we are driven to the conclusion that it had no excuse, no plea whatever.

The Constituent and Legislative Assemblies limited themselves to the persecution of those ecclesiastics who had not subscribed the *Constitution civile du clergé*. This was the first step in the career of illegality; the second was adopted by the National Convention, which, by proclaiming the worship of Reason, expressed its firm purpose of doing away with Christianity in all its forms, whether it was the Jansenism of the Abbé Grégoire, or the Ultramontanism of the Breton clergy. Give up your letters of orders (*lettres de prêtrise*), or renounce your vows of celibacy: such is the alternative laid down by the Revolutionary tribunals; if you do not comply with either of these requests, you must go to the guillotine.

The events of Thermidor and the downfall of Robespierre served to inaugurate an epoch of moderation and of comparative freedom. It has been observed that the Thermidorians were by no means inclined to do away with the policy of Terrorism; all they wanted was to throw off the yoke of a dictator, and to avoid the destiny of Danton, Barnave, and Camille Desmoulins. In like manner, they hated religion quite as strongly as Saint-Just, Robespierre, and Fouquier-Tinville; but at the same time they had to take into account the expression of public opinion, which was beginning to call loudly for a system of liberty, and therefore public worship, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, was gradually reinstated throughout the length and breadth of the land. Clergymen

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who had emigrated returned to France, and although they incurred thereby the danger of being sent to prison, or even put to death, in most places the local authorities winked at what was really an illegal act. The faithful obtained leave to hire churches and chapels for religious meetings, the bells began once more to toll and to chime from the village steeples, and both marriages and christenings could be solemnized in accordance with those holy rites to which generation after generation had been accustomed. The *coup-d'état* of Fructidor was a reaction against this improved state of things, and a return to the severity of the Revolutionary Government. M. Sciout's fourth volume describes with much detail the recrudescence of absolutism established by the Directoire, and we are introduced to all the manifestations of the anti-religious spirit which prevailed amongst the members of a government eaten up by corruption, and anxious to conceal from the eyes of Europe its deplorable weakness. It is true that the guillotine was no longer active; but, on the other hand, transportations to the swamps of Guiana answered exactly the same purpose, especially as a simple decree was enough to seal for ever the fate of hundreds of victims. Death, under the sway of Robespierre, was instantaneous; it had now become a lingering kind of process: that was the only difference. M. Sciout has taken the trouble of going through the lists of the wretched people condemned to transportation; in Belgium especially, where the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church have always been firmly adhered to, the sentence of exile was carried out almost wholesale, and as pretexts are always ready at hand when blind hatred comes in with its suggestions, individuals were arrested and shipped off to Guiana on the most futile charges. Keeping the Lord's Day holy, on the one hand, and working on the *décadi*, or national fête, on the other, were visited with exile; the sale of fish was strictly prohibited on fast days, with the view of compelling the faithful to eat flesh, contrary to the ordinances of the Church. That the summary expulsion of the Directoire by Buonaparte should have been hailed by the whole nation with feelings of delight, is not much to be wondered at. After eleven years of the most abominable and most absurd system of tyranny that has ever been devised, the proclamation of atheism and the secularization of the clergy had proved an utter failure, and the Concordat, by restoring the Church to its normal position, did infinitely more honour to the First Consul than his most glorious military successes.

Historians will still be able to glean many valuable details on the history of the Gallican Church during the Revolution from the works of MM. Thiers, Mortimer Ternaux, Wallon, and Von Sybel. The great merit of M. Sciout's volumes is that they treat the subject separately and independently, the author being thus enabled to go into particulars when others must needs be satisfied with general remarks.

*Le Talmud de Jérusalem traduit pour la première fois.* Par Moïse Schwab, de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Tom. IV. *Traités 'Schabbath' et ''Eroubin.'* 8vo. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1881.)

Professor Moses Schwab is prosecuting his French translation of the

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Jerusalem Talmud with a perseverance which deserves the highest praise, and the fourth volume now before us contains the treatises *Schabbath* and *'Erubin*, the least attractive perhaps of the whole work, but at the same time amongst the most important. These books open, as most scholars are aware, the second section of the Mishna, known by the name of *Moed* (*i.e.* festivals), and treat of the various observances and rules to be kept in the celebration of holy days. These observances, as Professor Schwab remarks, may be traced through oral tradition to the first lawgiver of the Jews, and are collected together in twelve codes or books of unequal length. The succession of these various disquisitions, such as Professor Schwab gives it, is not uniformly adopted by all the editors of the Mishna, but it has the authority of the great Moses Maimonides, and the present translator purposes reverting to it and justifying it in the general introduction which is to complete his work.

'The feast of the Sabbath,' says Professor Schwab, 'is the most important of all those observed by the Jews. By its weekly occurrence it commemorated some of the most elementary beliefs of God's people—thus the creation of the world and the action of Divine Providence. It was quite natural, therefore, that amidst all the persecutions from which they had to suffer the Rabbis should cling with a certain amount of passion to that old festival, giving to it a peculiar character of holiness, and surrounding it with love, veneration, and respect.'

Professor Schwab's plan being the integral translation of the Talmud, he could not, as he was often tempted to do, merely give extracts from the treatises *Schabbath* and *'Erubin*, and we believe that he has adopted the safer course. At the same time, the minute distinctions, classifications, and subdivisions introduced by the Rabbinical doctors amongst things allowable render the present volume extremely uninteresting. Legends and stories abound, as a rule, amongst the treatises which form the Talmud, and they illustrate in a very interesting manner the precepts of the ceremonial law. Here, however, they are of rare occurrence, only eight having been discovered and mentioned by Professor Schwab (pp. 78, 109, 122, 129, 141, 154, 159, 225). The explanatory notes added by the learned editor refer chiefly to points of astrology and philology. They are as brief as was consistent with clearness, and will be found to deserve close study. Besides a concordance and a table of contents, we find an interesting lexicon of Greek, Latin, and Arabic expressions which have passed current in Rabbinical literature. We are glad to see that the French translation of the Talmudic commentaries has been favourably received by Biblical scholars; the first volume, containing the treatise *Berakhoth*, is now out of print.

*A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and some other Syntactical Questions.* By S. R. DRIVER, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. (Oxford, 1881.)

THIS book handles a difficult subject in an able and philosophical manner. Ewald, in his *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, had already pointed out the way to a sound appreciation of



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the Tenses in Hebrew; but none of the Grammars that have been mostly used by English students were at all satisfactory in this department. The difficulty arises from the fact that Hebrew has but two tenses at its disposal, whilst the languages which are mostly taught at schools have several. It is therefore obvious that any attempt to bend the usages of Hebrew to the ideas which have been acquired in the Latin Grammar must be fatal to all true progress in the language. Every student who has learned a little Hebrew has probably been struck with the seemingly arbitrary and inconsistent use of the two Tenses, the so-called *past* tense being continually used to describe events in the future, and *vice versâ*. The wide truth is, that the instincts and the habits of a Semitic language are not those of an Indo-Germanic language, and Mr. Driver's book will bring that truth home to the mind of the student. His chapter on the 'Principle of Apposition in Hebrew' is especially suggestive in this respect. When all has been said, indeed, in the way of philosophical analysis, there will still remain some difficulties in the use of Tenses in the Bible; but no Hebrew scholarship can be considered complete without some acquaintance with the methods and the conclusions that are presented in this volume.

*Theologische Literaturzeitung*. (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1882.)

A PROPOS of Dr. G. Ratzinger's book *Die Volkswirthschaft in ihren sittlichen Grundlagen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1881) there is in the January number of this periodical an interesting article which compares the attitudes of the Roman and Protestant Churches towards the labour question. Dr. Ratzinger, in a review of the social condition of his country, sees no hope for its amelioration except by a speedy return to the principles of 'freedom and love,' which to him is tantamount to returning to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. He sums up the condition of the German nation before the Reformation as follows, in words very like to some which have been applied to mediæval England:—

'General prosperity, and that not only of farmers and burghers, but also of agricultural and skilled labourers, was the general characteristic of the latter half of the Middle Ages. The farmer was rich and fared sumptuously; his servants had high wages and good food. The workman was prosperous: he worked hard, but not excessively; his life was enjoyable. The apprentices had good wages and care, such as the working classes have never before nor since enjoyed. Life was cheerful and withal honourable; joy and content reigned in all circles of the population, and a proletariate class did not exist.'

This almost Utopian condition of things Dr. Ratzinger attributes to the fact that in the Middle Ages the Church taught people the universal duty and honour of labour. Here Dr. Uhlhorn, of Hanover, (his reviewer,) joins issue with him. It was not the mediæval Church, but the Protestant, that first taught the dignity of labour. Thomas Aquinas's definition, *negotium quia negat otium malum est*, and the well-known exaltation of the *vita contemplativa* over the *vita activa*, do not seem to inculcate the universal duty and dignity of

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labour. On the other hand, the Augsburg Confession includes *servire vocationi* amongst the requisites to *perfectio christiana*, and no preacher insisted more emphatically than did Luther on the dignity of manual labour. The article forcibly reminds one of a remark made by a north-countryman about the Church Catechism. No decent-minded Scot, he said, would tolerate for one moment the idea that it was required of him to do his duty in the state of life to which it should please God to call him. It was required of every Scot to 'better himself.'

In the second number we have a review from the pen of Dr. Harnack of an essay which gained a prize at Würzburg on the meaning of the term 'catholicity' with respect to the Church and the faith. The essay itself does not seem to bring forward anything particularly new, the conclusions being that the Church is catholic because (1) she is one body, though her members are scattered abroad in various places; (2) because she has a mission to the whole world, whereas the sects which fall away from her become localized; (3) because, though incomplete in any given locality at any given moment, she yet remains lasting while the sects which cause her to be locally incomplete come and go; (4) because she teaches all truth, whereas the sects teach fragmentary truths; (5) because she is the only regular institution for the salvation of mankind. To this Dr. Harnack appositely remarks that this is a doctrine which no one denies. The difficulty lies in applying this solely to the Roman body. For though (as he admits) in the earliest centuries communion with the Roman Church was a recognized sign of Catholicity, and though as early as the second century the Roman Church took the lead in matters such as the settling of the canon of Scripture, the wording and explanation of the Creed, the firm establishment of the hierarchy, yet all this is of little avail for the Roman controversialist unless he can also prove that the Roman Church of the nineteenth century is the Roman Church of the second.

A pretty book of a different sort seems to be an anonymous brochure (*Pfarrleben in einem Gebirgsdorfe*) giving an account of ministerial labours in a village in the Hessian mountains. It would seem that in Germany as in England the stronghold of religion and religious life is in the country, and that it is due to the traditions and labours of the ministerial life in country parishes.

In No. 4 we have a review by Dr. Weizsäcker, of Tübingen, of Dr. Bonwetsch's *Geschichte des Montanismus* (Erlangen, 1881, Deichert). Dr. Bonwetsch maintains that Montanism is not of Ebionitic origin, but was of Gentile origin, and to be accounted for by the course of the Church in the second century and the division that arose between 'the old and new spirit of the Church,' and that Montanus was not the originator of the movement, but only gave impulse by his prophecies to a movement already existing to reassert the 'liberty of prophesying,' as against the rigid uniformity which was being introduced to the detriment of the liberty which accompanies the spirit.

The fifth number contains articles of considerable length on Dr.



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Nestle's *Brevis linguæ syriacæ grammatica* (Karlsruhe, Petermann, 1881), Dr. Zahn's critique of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, being the first edition of a longer work on the history of the New Testament canon, and a monograph on *Damasus, Bishop of Rome*, by Herr Rade, of Freiburg, and on several liturgical works of a practical and local character. Herr Rade's book on Pope Damasus would seem to be a very valuable work.

Dr. Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, Hinrich) is reviewed in No. 7. By a careful comparison of Biblical with Assyrian authorities the author thinks that he has rediscovered the situation of the Garden of Eden. It is the district which Babylonians and Assyrians alike term *Kar Duniâs* (the Garden of the God Dunias), in close proximity to Babylon. The four streams, then, are (1) the Pallakopas, arm of the Euphrates=Pison; (2) the Schatt-en-Nil, a channel of the Euphrates which flows through the central districts of Babylonia=Gihon; (3) Tigris=Hiddekel; (4) Euphrates proper. Whether he has proved his point or not seems to be a point which we must leave to the decision of specialists in this branch of learning.

The next group which deserves our attention consists of M. Aube's *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1881, Didier et Cie.) and Dr. Uhlhorn's *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit in der alten Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1882, Gundert). Written from the standpoint of a politician rather than from that of a religious historian, the former, as such, receives considerable praise from the reviewer, Dr. Overbeck, of Bâle. The latter seems to have already attained considerable popularity in Germany, and to form a tolerably complete and unbiassed *résumé* of the various works of spiritual and corporal mercy undertaken by the early Church.

Dr. Thomas's *Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (Berlin, 1882, G. Reimer) is reviewed at considerable length in No. 10. It seems to be one of those books which make us very thankful for being Catholics, and so preserved from those terrible doubts about the foundations of our faith which beset the intellectual Protestantism of the day. But in the same number there is a very short notice of a small pamphlet which speaks of better things in prospect. The spiritual awakening amongst the German Protestant clergy has led to a desire for more frequent celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, and the pamphlet in question, *Ein Votum für die sogenannte Selbstcommunion*, gives expression to the desires of a pastor whose flock are not yet in readiness to receive the Sacrament as often as he would like to receive it himself.

We are glad to notice another edition of Hilgenfeld's *Pastor of Hermas*, also editions of Godet's *Commentary on the Romans*, Keil's *Commentary on S. John's Gospel*, and several new works on Church history, especially two monographs on *S. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans.*

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